TSHIANZWANE MUSIC: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND ABSTRACTIONS IN CULTURAL PROGRESS AND CHANGE

by

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DATE February 2013
Declaration

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I declare that "The Relationship between Physical Structure and Abstraction in Cultural Process and Change" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Summary

Title: Tshianzwane Music: the relationship between physical structure and abstractions in cultural progress and change

In this dissertation, I explore music styles from Tshianzwane village in HaMakuya, in the Limpopo Province of South Africa, particularly malende, tshigombela, and children’s songs. I consider the music styles as embedded in their extra-musical physical structure and abstractions; social rituals; frame of reference; forms of habitus; social order; cultural capital; social meanings, behaviour, power hierarchy, status, space, agency, institutions; formal-informal education and means; symbols; musical instruments; dance; religion; ancestor worship; traditional health practice; norms and values; mentorship and rites of passage. I further explore how and why music performers and other cultural patterns at Tshianzwane interpenetrate with each other and their living space through social roles; demonstration-imitation learning method; enculturation; dialectics of normative-interpretive, embodiment-hexis or cues, internalization-externalization, surface-deep structure, conscious-unconscious level, qualitative-quantitative understanding of music styles and genres and local-foreign context; means of communication; reinterpretation and redefinition of concepts. In conclusion, I consider how people and cultural patterns at Tshianzwane, through interpenetration, form progressing and changing social web; social connections; attachments; trance; state of flux in cultural patterns; synthesis of cultural patterns; embedded contexts; shared culture and resultant cultural patterns. Since cultural patterns, as a result of interpenetration, reflect each other, I point out the challenges in socio-spatial mapping of forms of habitus and cultural patterns. In my dissertation, I use John Blacking’s work as my primary theoretical framework. Furthermore, I use Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, and Hugh Tracey’s and David Dargie’s audio CDs on African tribal music to enrich my theoretical ground. I collected my field data at Tshianzwane in collaboration with Joseph Morake and Ignatia Madalane (students), Dr Susan Harrop-Allin (supervisor), Samson Netshifhefhe, Obert Ramashia, Paul Munyai and Musiwalo (informants).
**Key words:** music culture, extra music culture, physical structure, abstractions, frame of reference, habitus, cultural capital, bodily hexis, interpenetration, social web.
Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the inspiration of my late grandfather, my father’s father, who offered for my project with his heart-felt pride ideas on amaHlubi of Zangele origin. I talked to him on 2 May 2010 and that strengthened my ideas for this project, as well as provided new ones. Briefly, it is a good idea for a person to study his racial or ethnic social meanings as much as it is to study that of other races and ethnic groups, because today we live in interpenetrating cultures. Social interaction and interpenetration would be fulfilling if humans thoroughly knew one another. While some people would infer that money and material goods make the world go round, I can confidently declare that conflicting social meanings make the world go round. Money and material goods primarily serve to promote social meanings.

I also acknowledge the contributions to my field data of Dr Susan Harrop-Allin, Ignatia Madalane, Joseph Morake, Samson Netshifhefhe, Paul Munyai, Obert Ramashia, Musiwalo and all the performers and interviewees at Tshianzwane. To avoid repetition, the roles of these people in this project are detailed in the glossary and subsequent chapters.

I further acknowledge my previous internal and external supervisors at the University of South Africa, Thokozani Mhlambi and Dr Mogomme Masoga and my current supervisor, Prof. Marc Duby. I can sing Prof. Marc Duby’s praises forever but, briefly, he is the person who has made my academic life at the University of South Africa a success. I also acknowledge the great contribution that my previous educators and fellow students have made in my academic life. Since 1988, when I began my academic career, my educators and fellow students have had to provide extra support for me because I am partially sighted.

I come from a materially and financially needy family. For my entire schooling career so far, my family have provided the material and financial support they could. However, my previous educators and fellow students, the Department of Labour and the financial aid departments at the University of the Witwatersrand
and the University of South Africa respectively have contributed a significant share of the material and financial support, especially for my tertiary education.

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Glossary

With this section, I aim to explain key concepts in my dissertation, especially those that are in other languages. I mark each of them in bold when they appear for the first time in the text.

**Afrikaans**: Its speakers also call it the *Taal* (dictionary.com). It is one of the official languages of South Africa that the white people who arrived in South Africa from Holland in the 17th century developed (dictionary.com). It still overlaps with Dutch, a language of Holland in Europe (dictionary.com).

**Balobedu**: They are one of the neighbouring clans of *Vhavenda*. Even though they infer that they are an independent ethnic group, the South African constitution classifies them as one of the *Basotho* clans.

**Bankstoel**: A homemade wooden bench.

**Bapedi**: Even though they are a *Basotho* clan, the South African constitution classifies them as an independent ethnic group. Thus, *Basotho* refers specifically to the *Basotho* clan who lives in the south of South Africa. Their culture or cultural pattern is called *Sepedi*.

**Basotho**: The South African constitution refers to them as an independent ethnic group. The majority of them are located in the south of South Africa. It is of note that the South African ethnic mapping reflects the previous homelands mapping.

**Bepha**: *Vhavenda* music culture that was still in practice during John Blacking’s fieldwork in the 1950s.

**BB Best Blend**: A packet of dried tobacco leaves. Smokers often roll it with a piece of newspaper before they smoke it. In my culture, BB Best Blend is for the old people; the youth are advised to smoke cigarettes because smoking BB Best Blend is a sign of economic weakness. Women love men who smoke cigarettes because they can financially afford their families.
Bones [Thangu]: Animal bones that an African traditional health practitioner uses to observe the abstract information in and about his patients. The bones, as traditional health practitioners infer, have supernatural powers from their ancestors.

Children’s Songs: A translation from Vhavenda music style classification, nyimbo dza vhana.

Dak boy: A person who mixes water, cement and sand in a building or construction process.

Domba: Vhavenda initiation for pre-marriage and married males and females.

Horn [Phalaphala]: An instrument made of an animal horn that kings use to call their juniors. It is also a musical instrument.

Johannesburg: South Africa’s most developed area that served as a source of employment for many years. I have lived here for ten years and I think its social meaning is partly utopian, especially for people from the rural areas whose academic qualifications need some improvement. I understand that their culture needs them to marry and establish families, which means they need to come to Johannesburg to work for their survival. Rural people still value the family as the pinnacle of human achievement. As I have witnessed, they earn low wages and live in risky accommodations for the sake of their families. Our ancestors established themselves as gods or names through their children, descendants and people they conquered in battles. The social order has progressed and today a family is important as supportive of careers through which career people can establish names for themselves.

Magaraba: It refers to workers who come home from Johannesburg. People in the rural areas expect money, food and drink from their magaraba.

Malende: Vhavenda music style that commoners culturally facilitate. They dance it for leisure and social bonding. Some call it beer music, while our insiders also prefer to call it a free-style form of art.
**Malopo:** My culture’s ancestor worship ritual and music.

**Malombo:** Tshianzwane culture’s ancestor worship ritual and music.

**Malugwane:** The facilitator of the Tshianzwane tshigombela.

**Mashuvhuru:** People who abstain from circumcision.

**Minwenda:** Traditional Vhavenda attire.

**Murula:** A beer made from a wild fruit, marula. It also refers to the marula tree.

**Musevhetho:** Female circumcision Vhavenda adopted from Bapedi.

**Murumba:** A type of Vhavenda music drum.

**Muvenda** (plural: **Vhavenda**). **Tshivenda:** Muvenda refers to male or female Muvenda. Tshivenda refers to their culture or cultural pattern such as language.

**Mwali:** The God of Vhavenda. But today it is variable with the Christian God.

**Ndaa!** A concept that Vhavenda use when they greet each other.

**Netshifhefhe, Ramashia, Munyai:** They had been our informants, with Netshifhefhe as the key one.

**amaNguni:** I use it to refer to amaNdebele, amaXhosa, amaZulu and amaSwazi ethnic groups in South Africa.

**Ngwena:** Vhavenda word for crocodile.

**Ngano:** Vhavenda cultural narrative or story.

**Ngoma:** A type of Vhavenda music drum.

**Ngomalungundu:** A type of Vhavenda drum that they believe has magic or supernatural powers.
Phalaphala FM: A South African radio station under the South African Broadcasting Authority that broadcasts in Tshivenda (Vhavenda language).

Professor Lara Allen: I was her student at the University of the Witwatersrand when she was a PhD graduate. Now she is a Professor.

Sekhukhune: He was the king of the Bapedi at my birthplace. The South African government named my birthplace after him, but there had been people before him with Sekhukhune as their name. We can only speculate about the origin of the name. Some accounts conclude that it originated in Botswana.

Shibelana: A Vatsonga traditional music culture.

South African Comrades Marathon: A marathon of about 89 km that takes place annually between Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the Kwazulu-Natal province of South Africa (www.wikipedia.com).

Spice: Our informants use ‘spice’ to refer to the increment of the activity in the music performance. They infer that it makes the music nice, which I think reflects their attitude or conception of food spices.

Stokvel: A welfare maintenance affair wherein people group to help one another afford a reasonable salary, wage, donation or food. For example, if five people group themselves, a member earns more every five months as they rotate their earnings amongst themselves.

Tshianzwane: A village in the Limpopo province of South Africa, at Hamakuya in the Mutale Municipality.

Tshifasi: Cultural Vhavenda music style for boys and girls. However, like other music styles at Tshianzwane, it is now for children and adults.

Tshigombela: Vhavenda music style for pre-marriage females.

Tshikanganga: Vhavenda music style for pre-marriage males.
**Tshikona**: Vhavenda music style for men.

**Tsotsi**: A person with deviant social behaviour.

**Tshulu**: Trust Camp: Tshulu Trust has a camp at Tshianzwane where they offer jobs to the local people and rent accommodation to visitors and researchers.

**Tumbula**: A type of Vhavenda music drum.

**U anetshela**: It means to narrate.

**Utavha Mukosi**: It means to ululate.

**U imbela**: It means to sing.

**U renda**: It means to praise.

**Vhadzimu**: It refers to gods. Gods are people who lived on the planet earth before, which means that only their bodies perished. It also refers to seniors.

**Vatsonga**: A neighbouring ethnic group of Vhavenda. Some of them live in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. They are also called Ma(t)shangana.

**Vho**: A prefix that people use for respect. For example, Netshifhefhe is prefixed VhoNetshifhefhe.

**Vhusha**: An initiation for females.
CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND

I have been researching Vhavenda music since 2008 and have found that there is still a great deal of a scope for research. For that reason, I aim to contribute to further research on their music.

This dissertation is a progression from my fourth-year research project, in which I explored the structure and state of flux in Tshianzwane music styles, particularly malende, tshigombela, and children’s songs. From my analysis I concluded that, the music styles as sound and dance overlap. Performers in the various music styles vary the same music materials to produce song and dance. In order to explore further why they overlap, it is worthwhile to focus on their associated social rituals, because, according to my analysis, the insiders at Tshianzwane use social rituals to identify their music styles and vice versa. My fourth-year dissertation is thus a study of Tshianzwane music as independent from its extra-musical elements. In this dissertation, I consider Tshianzwane music style as embedded in its extra-musical setting, which is what makes this dissertation different from the previous one.

1.2 FRAME OF REFERENCE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Since this dissertation focuses on Tshianzwane music theory, specifically frame of reference, habitus or social order, this section aims to define these concepts and state my research question. Habitus, social order and frame of reference have overlapping meanings, but for the purpose of my dissertation, they have the same meaning. Habitus is Bourdieu’s theoretical frame (Cregan 2006).

A theory is a web of experiences and skills (Downey 2002) that people require for surviving in their space of social interaction (Joas & Knöbl 2009). Thus, human experience and skills organise the social space into human interaction. Furthermore, theories interweave the social space and its cultural patterns. For
example, insiders at Tshianzwane expect tshigombela to (a) sing, (b) dance uniformly, (c) have malugwane, (d) wear a tshigombela uniform, (e) play three drums, and (f) perform in the headman’s home. In case the tshigombela has excluded some of these characteristics, the performers have varied or changed it. In this way, humans make sense of their social interaction space through theories in a specific time and space. Tshigombela is a reality specifically with Vhavenda culture, while Netshifhefhe’s theory of tshigombela represents his understanding of tshigombela at Tshianzwane.

People internalise their cultural context and externalise it in turn through the physical layout, material, norms and values and so on (Cregan 2006:64), ‘which is…the dialectic of the internalisation of externality or habitus and the externalisation of internality or bodily hexis’ (69). This dialectic is also called subject-object dialectic, because the internalisation is a process of creating “me”, the individual, and externalisation is the creation of “we”, the shared social experience (69). The bodily hexis is the cultural, verbal and symbolic conceptions and habits as externalised in a habitus in a specific time (72). Embodiment or internalisation is a conversion of cultural context into affective and cognitive information, whereas externalisation or bodily hexis is a conversion of affective and cognitive information into verbal and symbolic information in a specific time and culture. Embodiment is a process of learning social meanings; externalisation, a process of expressing social meanings. Thus “one’s place in society is characterised by the” social spaces and institutions in which s/he is located and interacting with people (65).

Habitus is the…cultural…environment that…social beings inhabit, through which [they] know [them]selves and others identify [them]. The factors that constitute a habitus are…interpenetrating, [which means the webbing of physical and abstracted cultural patterns]. They are all the social connections, achievements, attainments and attachments one acquires from birth whether by formal or informal means…Bodily hexis or embodiment is the political expression of all the factors that make up one’s habitus…The possession of [material wealth and] expertise in [cultural] practice [is called] cultural capital. (66-67)
Some elements of the habitus, especially the abstractions, are resultant from the
day-to-day interpenetration of cultural patterns in a specific time and place (81).
Social meanings are abstractions that result from conscious and unconscious
social interaction. They progress or change with the progressing or changing
nature of the interpenetration of the cultural patterns. Since the observer who
needs to define habitus has a cultural background, the definition also varies from
person to person since people have varying or different cultural backgrounds.

In a largely social oral formation…the kind of abstraction and objectification of
cultural capital…that enables the embodiment of the habitus is not passed on
through the written word (formal education). It happens…through the symbolic
systems…which are more immediately related to one’s body in space (71-
72)…An action becomes a given, and is thereby reduced to a symbolic
representation, a playing out of series of actions and reactions. (86)

The power of a person’s externalisation or bodily hexis in the society is
determined by the amount of cultural capital s/he possesses (68). Culture benefits
people based on their degree of social power (65). The more cultural capital
people have, the more power they have to influence their cultural context.
Furthermore, Bourdieu suggests that new or progressing cultural norms and
values are embedded into the old ones and the hierarchy of culture versions from
new to old is associated with or transformed into the hierarchy of social power
from high to low (65). Thus Bourdieu is concerned with how people develop and
maintain cultural capital and meanings and how those processes produce and
develop levels of social power. Even though education is enculturated as
important in determining a person’s social status, some people attain it but
afterwards notice that there is still something more needed for them to rise in
social status (78). Thus, there is something more to education that people in a
culture need to accumulate to earn social power. Bourdieu does what Blacking
(1955-2001) (refer to chapter 2) is doing: focusing on rural or single-habitus and
class or multiple-habitus cultures. In rural life, there is one habitus headed by a
king, while in urban life, there are forms of habitus such as the elite and the
working class. The elite are generally more powerful than the working class.
Ethnographers study structures that produce sound experience rather than sound experience itself (Downey 2002:488) with some conviction that “sound evokes textures, sights, and physical qualities of the object that produced it” (497). Furthermore, people internalise or abstract the shape of their particular music instruments’ structures through dance or body movement, and when they migrate to structures of other music instruments’, they need another abstraction process (Downey 2002). Thus, body movement is a requirement for internalisation and externalisation of music expertise (504). I think the challenge arising from dialectics such as internalisation-externalisation is like that of the puzzle of the chicken and the egg: which one came first? When people learn music in a different culture, the music may be new to them or they may be reinterpreting it.

An oral tradition in which social theories are abstract characterises Tshianzwane. I therefore aim to explore the Tshianzwane music frame of reference that the people of Tshianzwane practised in 2008 from 18 to 25 August.

As a result, what is the Tshianzwane music cultural frame of reference relative to the music cultures that I discuss in this dissertation? Briefly, why would we infer that there are multiple music styles and genres in a culture such as Tshianzwane wherein the same individuals perform music in its totality? Furthermore, why would we infer that Tshianzwane has a music style that is different or unique whereas it is embedded in other music cultures? For this reason, John Blacking saw the need for researchers to produce their research products in collaboration with the research subject or insider to deeply assess and understand the abstractions that result from and contribute to music production (Grau 1993; Blacking 1965). Following on from my fieldwork, these sub-questions also arise: What is a cultural frame of reference? Who constructs it? How, why and when is it constructed? How does it progress or change?

1.3 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

In chapter 2, I explore John Blacking’s biography, theoretical framework and ideas on music as embedded in its social order. I do this with a focus on Vhavenda music during his fieldwork from 1956 to 1958 at Tshakhuma and Sibasa in
Vhavenda region of the Limpopo Province of South Africa. Blacking’s point of view on music is thus my theoretical framework for this dissertation. I also briefly explore and outline the tribal African music cultures that Hugh Tracey and David Dargie collected. In so doing, I lay the foundation for subsequent chapters.

In chapter 3, I define and discuss ethnographic method as evident in this project; qualitative and quantitative methods, data collection and documentation methods, data analysis and interpretation and the production of the final research product. I also explain how we used ethnographic method in our fieldwork, as well as introduce my co-researchers and research informants.

In chapter 4, I define the conditions and culture of Tshianzwane village because these are important for the understanding of Tshianzwane music, namely means of communication, cultural power structure, physical infrastructure, religion and economic standard.

In chapter 5, I evaluate how research participants construct the Tshianzwane music frame of reference, as well as point out its characteristics. In this way I aim to focus on Tshianzwane cultural structures that interpenetrate with their music in their habitus. I examine the village, the elders, the researchers and the children, and how these facets of Tshianzwane society inform the nature and social function of their music. In this sense, I use Blacking’s suggestion that some of the factors that contribute to the production of music are extra-musical. The difference between this chapter and chapter six is that this one is an analysis and interpretation of Vhavenda music through fieldwork conversations and interviews.

Chapter 6 is an analysis and interpretation of select audio-visual recordings of Tshianzwane music performances using western or academic music concepts. I explore how the nature and function of Vhavenda traditional music at Tshianzwane inform the progressive nature of the various facets of their society. In this sense, I use Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the progressive nature of the social order are musical.
In chapter 7, I summarise this dissertation, generalise on the oral traditions I have explored and offer suggestions for further research on *Tshianzwane* music culture.

1.4 APPENDICES

In addition to the information I have referenced in my dissertation, I have included additional information in my accompanying data. These are my fourth-year dissertation, some articles that use Pierre Bourdieu’s theory, a detailed bibliography, fieldwork audio-visual data, a guideline on some of the accompanying audio-visual data in the index folder, geographical maps of South African municipalities and photographs. I have included this extra information in my accompanying data because it contains some of the sources that I have studied since the beginning of my tertiary education. These sources have informed the direction and nature of my ideas in the completion of this dissertation.
CHAPTER 2: Literature survey

I have divided this chapter into four sections: John Blacking’s biography, his theoretical framework on music, and the social order and music culture during his fieldwork from 1956 to 1958 at *Tshakhuma* and *Sibasa* in Vhavenda region of the now *Limpopo* Province of South Africa. In so doing, I lay the foundation for subsequent chapters.

With section four, I aim to show that what I infer about Vhavenda music is generally the case with oral music traditions as collected by Hugh Tracey and David Dargie. I first mention the ethnic groups that Hugh Tracey (218 CDs) and David Dargie researched and briefly discuss the variations and overlap of the tribes and their names as social orders in progress. Secondly, I focus briefly on the traditional musical instruments in oral tradition based on my research data: I discuss their role in the symbolisation of ethnic groups, as well as the variation in their names. Thirdly, I discuss the key concepts and practices in oral tradition and their role in the progress of social orders. Finally, I explain the importance of informants in post-fieldwork data analysis and interpretation.

2.1 JOHN BLACKING’S BIOGRAPHY

2.1.1 Teaching career

While Blacking, a Briton by birth and upbringing (Campbell 2000), was a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1969, government officials called him in for disciplinary processes on his activities. As Campbell states it (342):

> He had [contravened] the rules…that [were facilitating interactions between] people of various “races” in [the] same workplace, by arranging for musicians of African, Indian and Chinese background to perform and co-lecture with him in his courses.

2.1.2 Childhood and early years

Blacking grew up in a music context where there was considerable overlap between listener, performer, and composer and a culture where there was probably a rising division of labour (Campbell 2000), which is probably why he believes
that, with shared experience, *Vhavenda* make music (Godwin 1974). But it seems that Blacking was trying to manage the rising social class structure in Britain, especially with its contribution to art (Keil 1976; Agawu 1997).

### 2.1.3 Music interests and theory

Blacking’s childhood practical musicmaking and culture, his anthropology studies (whose interest is in varieties of cultural behaviour), and his ethnomusicology (whose interest is in the varieties of music cultures) shaped his viewpoint on music (Blacking 1964). Thus, he aimed to analyse music as sound and music as social function, in which process he hoped to find the relationship between the cultural structure and the musical structure. It follows that musicmaking is a behaviour that people learn; researchers can best understand it within its cultural context and its historical background (Blacking 1964a; Agawu 1997).

### 2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.2.1 Migration and local development

The eighteenth century saw African cultural structures changing artificially and rapidly due to the establishment of state governments as a synthesis of the African social orders (Liesegang 1977). Some literature acknowledges the state of flux in the social order and asserts that it is now challenging to know the political structures as they were (163), while some authors assert that the previous African social orders still exist. Furthermore, there are two competing schools on *Vhavenda* origins; one asserts local development while the other asserts migration (Loubser 1988:55). Those who favour “migration” trace the origin of *Vhavenda* from outside South Africa. Those who favour “local development” infer that *Vhavenda* originated in South Africa. The concepts “local” and “migration” present socio-historical challenges. Thus “migration” is a reinterpreted western concept for the definition of these pre-South African cultural social orders (Blacking 1964b). As a result, “migration” and “local” are concepts that refer to progressive and changing cultural forms of habitus, which continuously vary each other as frames of reference.
2.2.2 Music style and musical abstract

Questions relating to human abstractions are challenging for researchers because words have referential meanings at a specific time and place (Storey 1976). Blacking asserts that it is challenging for analysts to provide compelling findings on abstractions such as experience, decisions, and emotions. They can be observed through cues: sound and dance or body movement patterns (Blacking 1970). Consequently, researchers currently understand music quantitatively rather than qualitatively in terms of music genres and styles (Blacking 1981). Furthermore, dance is important for human development (Blacking 1983). Researchers need to consider its ability as a symbolic language. Thus, it is the discourse on dance that speaks on dance’s behalf, because researchers develop understanding of the dance discourse rather than the dance itself. Hence, since dance communicates abstractions, a researcher can best use his body, participant-observation, to internalise and express it in a specific habitus and time. However, as adults, researchers’ cultural habitus experience may influence their internalisation process.

In studying music, the challenge is to identify abstractions, understood as cognitive or affective processes that make a specific type of music genre or style varied or different (Blacking 1971:91). Individuals each have their own identifiable conceptions of styles of music as products, and researchers need to clarify why that is the case. Hence, two people from the same village or society are each likely to differ even in a performance of one music style (Blacking 1964b). Furthermore, for Blacking, the visible and audible features of music are the surface structure (Blacking 1971:91). The deep structure is the abstractions such as decision-making and experiences that enable people to produce various music cultures or that contribute to music production. As a result, it is important to understand the nature and structure of the individual’s physiological, neurological, psychological, biographical and personal relationship and that of his community: how its people relate to one another in their music performances and culture, and how its people relate to their living space in order to bring a solution to the challenge of meaning in music (Blacking 1981).
2.2.3 Music and social texture

Cultural patterns in the social order interrelate and interweave to form a social texture or web (Blacking 1981; Downey 2002), hence the nature and mode of personal relationships at Tshianzwane are evident in the notes of their music. For example, when Netshifhefhe is singing or leading a song, the texture is rich and he elaborates more than when others are leading it because he has a relatively high degree of power and experience in Tshianzwane music culture. He thus attracts a large number of people into the performance space, which is a requirement for making Tshianzwane music rich. He elaborates when he leads songs, because he is an expert in Tshianzwane language, norms and values, which enables him to successfully address social issues. This is also evidence of Netshifhefhe’s activity in the social relations at Tshianzwane.

2.2.4 Music and social change

Even if one or more individuals in one or more cultures externalise musical patterns that are similar in outlook, they might be products of variable or different cultural or individual processes; hence, Blacking has a different opinion on the evolution theory which uses music to assess the progress of human civilisation (Godwin 1974). Furthermore, Vhavenda frame of reference allows individuals to collectively make music as one habitus (Blacking 1971). When Blacking saw this condition in Vhavenda-land, he remembered how he grew up as a musician and how division of labour afterwards affected western musicmaking processes, organising these into forms of habitus that consisted of listener, performer and composer (Blacking 1973). It follows that even though the west puts emphasis on the production of sound, listeners are also important because with them musicmaking is complete (Howard & Blacking 1991; Herndon 1975). Since the abstractions in a society are progressive, they are a reliable source of music production because they can adapt to changing socio-political and economic forces (Blacking 1971). Thus it is through the affective and cognitive processes that music in a society progresses or changes (Blacking 1962).
2.2.5 Music and trance

A music performance in Vhavenda culture can reach a level of trance nature, or state of possession, in which insiders relax their externalisation of norms and values (Blacking 1985). As a result, people freely express themselves in ways that are at variance with their cultural norms and values. It is this trance nature of music performance that forms part of Blacking’s concerns, because he regards the trance mood as a source of spiritual fulfilment. This is evident in his study of Vhavenda possession dance, in which he asserts that the more the music becomes musical or concentrated on the making of the sound and rhythm as bodily hexis, it demands a high degree of individuality or expression of “me” in the habitus. It is important to note that the idea that Vhavenda music becomes more musical and less cultural means that it gradually moves from music as culture or internalisation to music in culture or externalisation of the habitus (Blacking 1985). For this reason, the more people achieve individuality or “me” in the habitus, the more they realise themselves. Furthermore, cultural rituals and practices in various societies produce trance nature or mood, meaning that Vhavenda, through social interaction and music performance in their habitus in a specific time, condition their music to send people into a state of possession (Blacking 1985).

2.2.6 Musicmaking and material

The scalar and rhythmic structures of other music styles of Vhavenda are an extraction from the tshikona because the tshikona proves to be rich in pitches and rhythmic patterns (Blacking 1964b). Thus the tshikona is Vhavenda universe or total culture in musical form. Tshikona players each play one note at a time. Each man in the tshikona blows one pipe, which necessitates co-operation among the performers for the performance to be successful (Blacking 1962:56). The pipes of the tshikona are tuned to a heptatonic scale (Blacking 1964b). Researchers may see the pitch structure of the tshikona as representing the physical structures in Vhavenda habitus. Furthermore, they may see the dance aspect of the tshikona as reflecting the abstractions of the dancers, because it allows opportunities for individual expression.
More physical structures that are based on a free rhythm, “u renda” (praise), “u anetshele” (narrate) and “u tavha mukosi” (ululate), also characterise Vhavenda music (Blacking 1964b:5). *U renda* is a form of traditional poetry that performers use to, for example, appreciate and encourage a good performance, and this form of poetry overlaps with talking. However, importantly, *u renda* means “to praise” by means of poetry, and poetry is one of the means of talking to the people and to encourage externalisation of socially valued abstractions in a specific time and habitus. *U tavha mukosi* is a form of scream that performers use to appreciate a performance, or externalisation of socially valued abstractions in a specific time and habitus. Sometimes, performers use *mukosi* (scream) together with *renda* (praise). *U renda, u tavha mukosi* and *u imbela* are various forms of *u anetshela* (to tell, narrate or inform). These music structures characterise the *bepha* music culture, *bepha* being a collective noun referring to various *Vhavenda* music styles (Blacking 1962:66-67).

People in Vhavenda villages or frames of reference are also familiar with the music of the *domba, malende* or beer songs, the charismatic churches (Blacking 1962:69) and the children’s songs and games such as *Tshifasi* (Blacking 1962:71). *Tshifasi* is a children’s game for boys and girls and there are children’s games for boys and for girls. The pipes of the *tshikanganga* are tuned to a pentatonic scale (Blacking 1964b). Boys and girls used to bring along whistles to blow during the performances (Blacking 1962:56). The charismatic churches are a synthesis or web of European and Vhavenda spiritual cultures (1964). The web is characterised by Vhavenda traditional healing processes. One of Blacking’s readers and seemingly one of the academics he inspired supports his concern: “in Vhavenda oral tradition…there has… been a[n overlap] of genres” (*Milubi* 1997:1).

2.2.7 Music and shared experience

Blacking needed to understand world music and the music of his own culture better through studying world music cultures (Campbell 2000). Among others, he studied Vhavenda music in *Sibasa* and *Tshakhuma* regions. Since he discovered
that Vhavenda children’s music reflected evidence of pure Vhavenda music culture, he studied it in order to understand their culture. For him, Vhavenda children learn how to think and behave through Vhavenda music (Campbell 2000). Thus Vhavenda children’s games or dance and music are a means of affective and cognitive tuning or their habitus embodiment much as they are a product of affective and cognitive processes or externalisation of abstractions. Furthermore, even though the meaning can verbally vary from individual to individual, it is likely to be similar as embodied habitus. That is why Vhavenda regard children’s songs as their music even if, in the eyes of Blacking (1964), they initially seemed different. The reason for this is that the old people performed or participated in the children’s music when they were children (Campbell 2000), as a result of which they share experience.

2.2.8 Music and racial-ethnic web

Blacking had been a researcher in an era that was characterised by gradually overlapping forms of habitus, the 1950s-1960s (Joas & Knöbl 2009), and his research is a contribution to the identification and solution to the challenges of bodily hexis thereof. Researchers found that the bodily hexis challenges of the 1950s and 1960s were embodied in diverse frames of references. As a result, they collaborated to web the various frames of reference to achieve one grand social web, which was in essence a webbing of world cultures (Relly 2007; Blacking 1982). Since abstractions and concrete structures progress, even though it is with disadvantages and criticism, this process of synthesis of social orders is important for today and tomorrow (Joas & Knöbl 2009).

In understanding the abstractions in musicmaking, music researchers can achieve a music analysis theory that is applicable to other music abstractions (Blacking 1981; 1971). People are similar, they have similar embodied structures; they think and make decisions on similar lines (Stock 1995; Blacking 1971). A social order could, for example, redefine musical decision-making. Thus if people could re-order their social order, it could be more favourable for musical decision-making. Sometimes a social order can provide people with opportunities for other career
paths different from music; in which case it could be possible that the skill that people articulate in other career opportunities is in essence musical. Hence it is challenging to differentiate between musical and extra-musical abstractions.

Furthermore, some music external or physical structures appear diverse while their abstractions are the same; some music external or physical structures appear the same while their abstractions are diverse; some music external or physical structures appear diverse while their abstractions are diverse; and some music external or physical structures look the same while their abstractions are the same. As a result, researchers need to consider all these possibilities (Blacking 1973). Furthermore, Blacking asserts that studying world music as multicultural music is in essence maintenance of tribal and racial frames of reference, which researchers need to reconsider for the sake of humanity (Campbell 2000). He therefore sees value in the contribution of music to extend and vary frame of reference mappings and advises that researchers use it to web world music cultures (Rahkonen 1989; May 1973). He “prefer[s] an emphasis on music for music’s sake, rather than a ‘socialist music education policy’ that would emphasise musical education for the sake of fostering particular nation or cultural identities” (Campbell 2000:338). Thus Blacking used frames of reference in his lifetime effort to know world music, as well as his own music better (338).

2.3 BLACKING’S IDEAS ON MUSIC AND SOCIAL ORDER

2.3.1 Cultural capital and social roles

*Vhavenda* live in mountainous areas (Blacking 1964b). In their habitus, tribes each have their own chief, headmen, and petty headmen (Blacking 1962).

In the past…*[Vha]Venda* lived in villages close to their chiefs and headmen for reasons of security and since the arrival of the European administration they have [considered] opportunities of [relocation in places, some of which are a distance] from chiefly [homes]. (Stayt 1931:29)

*Vhavenda* society is divisible into traditional leaders and commoners (Blacking 1962:54; Levine 2005:184). They are a patriarchal frame of reference in which men are cultural leaders and decision makers (Kruger 1999:127; Jeannerat 1997).
Some traditional leaders belong to the same patrician class. Some belong to the Singo clan who conquered Vhavenda social order in the pre-colonial era, while some are descendants of those who led Vhavenda social order before the arrival of the Singo clan (Blacking 1962). Some traditional leaders were installed during the administration of Europeans in Vhavenda habitus (Blacking 1962).

Vhavenda identify themselves by the name of their king or district of residence (Blacking 1962:54). They consider their king rather than their district’s geographical mapping. They normally trace their family tree up to the third generation and are socially interpenetrated by their common descent and ancestor worship rituals (54). In Vhavenda frame of reference, “the chief was the symbol of the nation, associated with both the ancestral power…and the…powers of the land” (Nettleton 1985:87). The chief also facilitated initiation for socio-economic purposes (Nettleton 1985:89; Blacking 1959). In essence, previously the chief had a piece of land where he lived with his people. As a result, they were guided by the will of their ancestors with the chief as mediator.

The bepha, even though commoners also facilitated it, could go for an expedition under the guidance of the chief (Blacking 1962:56). Once guidance was granted, the bepha needed to take place, otherwise there had to be disciplinary processes for those who had asked for the guidance (73).

During their stay at Lufule, one of the neighbouring headmen brought thirty shillings to the manager of the chief's team, and asked him…to visit [others], as he [needed] oxen. The manager [had a different opinion about] this, [as per the guidance of] the chief to visit that headman, and he advised him …to be [present] when they came, as the chief might then appoint another headman. (Blacking 1962:74)

Vhavenda chiefs installed as headmen some of the influential doctors of musevhetho, a girls’ circumcision that was adopted from Bapedi habitus (Blacking 1962:57). Vatsonga also had positions in the traditional political and the bepha structure in Vhavenda social order (68).

Malugwane, who according to the preference of the chief needed to be a commoner, is one of the people who organised the dancers of the bepha and
needed to report [those who are present] to the chief (58). His role was also to keep order in the bepha and to allocate positions for the dancers in the performances (71). But when children encountered some challenges in the bepha, they normally informed their mothers who reported them to the chief (74). The bepha needed to inform the host or chief when they had to go home (72).

“Besides, we had some mukumbi beer made of murula fruit for you, and now that you [still need to express your] goodbye, we [keep it]” (72).

2.3.2 Music and social interpenetration

[T]he important network…between wife-[parents]…and wife-[parents-in-law]…also link them; but in their daily life the…relationships [among Vhavenda] are…those which depend on factors arising out of common residence - washing at, and drawing water from [the] same pool, herding, hoeing, weeding, and harvesting together, borrowing domestic utensils, attending local beer-parties and participating in activities which take place at the headquarters…of the district headman. (Blacking 1962:54)

“Songs and dances are [also] an important means whereby…rural people [weave] bonds of friendship and cooperation” (Kruger 2000:4). In music culture, bepha is a collective noun that refers to the various music styles such as tshigombela, a dance for pre-marriage stage females, and tshikona, a dance for men, that the chief facilitated. A chief could send a bepha to another chief for various social and economic reasons (Wessmann 1908:32.). In case the bepha was sent at night, it needed to be by moonlight (Blacking 1962:69). Even people working in the urban areas such as Johannesburg used to send bepha to their chiefs in Vhavenda habitus (64).

Tshikanganga originated from Bapedi social order. Tshigombela and tshikanganga, which are music cultures for pre-marriage stage girls and boys, overlap in their anticlockwise dancing around the drums and dance rhythms. People expected tshigombela dancers to dance as a united group (72). Furthermore, dance teams expected the hosting king to invite them if bepha was to take place in their area; otherwise they would be concerned (72). The mothers of the dancers, one way or the other, took part in the bepha (62). They could prepare food for their children or dance with them in their expeditions. When
people used to hear the sound of the drums, they used to go to the chief’s home, which was a sign that they respected their chief (62). On their way, for various reasons, bepha could dance to let people know that they were present in the area and when they arrived at their destination, they could also dance to announce their presence (69). However, during Blacking’s time at Vhavenda habitus, some areas knew and danced the tshigombela for the first time (64), while some people in a particular area were interested in making traditional music (72). Furthermore, Vhavenda reserved the bepha when there was a funeral ritual in their area, from the first day until further notice (64).

2.3.3 Musical change and social change

For Blacking, there is a need to know the social and economic history of Vhavenda rituals for the better understanding of their music (Blacking 1962:59). The bepha expeditions experienced cultural externalisation challenges (64). For example, a chief could have a different opinion from another chief about hosting a bepha due to economic reasons. It was in the bepha culture for the host king to prepare a beast for the visiting bepha. It was possible that some kings did not have beasts to slaughter for food during visiting bepha, a condition that affected its culture.

Interpenetrating with Vhavenda music, social interactions in the western schools and churches also served to internalise-externalise and maintain Vhavenda culture because, through various social spaces for interaction, the same norms and values guided social interactions. However, the challenge of this normative approach is that it implies that norms and values are products from foreign forms of habitus, a situation which implies that people create rather than embody cultural abstractions (Joas & Knöbl 2009). But, in an ancestor-guided society like Vhavenda this is understandable because they infer that ancestors, who are in essence abstractions, are creators and guides of their social order. If Vhavenda would infer that their cultural abstractions created their ancestors, they might need to find out who created their cultural abstractions. Thus, interpretations in normative societies are
correct if they comply with existing norms and values, which tends to imply that
cultural norms and values are fixed structures.

An interpretation is in essence how a person’s frame of reference presents him to
the outside world or something that he observes. It is an externalisation of an
internalised social meaning or bodily hexis in a specific time and habitus. Hence
the social theory that Blacking uses continually attempts to help this dialectic of
normative-interpretive approaches work for the researchers and people in a
specific time and social order. In the multi-habitus European social structures,
social change was reflected in the music as a product arising from habitus
internalisation-externalisation challenges (Blacking 1964b). Whether *Vhavenda*
and European cultures had been different is a subject of debate, because there is
evidence that they showed some degree of bodily hexis or cultural externalisation
overlap during the time of Blacking’s fieldwork (Blacking 1964b).

*Tshigombela* is a redefinition of the *masiavhogo Vhavenda* music style (Blacking
1962:56). It follows that music styles and other rituals in *Vhavenda* habitus
influence one another, which may be a reason for the changing, redefinition or
development of new music styles (73). Researchers need to triangulate physical
structures, that which is touchable, visible and verbally communicable, with other
means to qualify a musical behaviour as varied or different from other social
behaviours or bodily hexis (Blacking 1977b). It is thus challenging at a particular
moment to identify musical change because of the gap between the physical social
structures and the social abstractions (Blacking 1977b).

When *Vhavenda* internalised the music culture externalisations from their
neighbours, this was evidence that societies can easily reinterpret music cultures
from other cultures. However, there had probably been evidence of cultural
distinction when *Vhavenda* experienced challenges embodying western music
bodily hexis, which was probably a signal of musical embodiment-bodily hexis
change. Since western people developed their music in a distant performance
space, *Vhavenda* needed abstractions that could connect them with European
musical bodily hexis. As a result, there needed to be an internalisation of
European music culture in Vhavenda culture, which was a process of embedding European music culture into Vhavenda performance space. This might be evidence that abstraction structural change such as affective and cognitive change necessarily implement musical change. However, this inference gives rise to challenging questions because the social order at Vhavenda-land had been changing prior to the arrival of western music. In order to understand the musical abstractions as varied or different from the physical music structure, researchers need to thoroughly elicit and study that which the insiders regard as their culture, such as their norms and values, rather than structures that externalise them.

During Blacking’s fieldwork, even though there were cues for change in their social order due to the arrival of Europeans and Vhalemba, cultural abstractions connected Vhavenda together, with their headman as their symbol (Blacking 1962:71). Vhalemba clan came to Vhavenda habitus with Singo clans (Blacking 1964b). Beside the introduction of western schools and Christianity, the interpenetration among chief, headman, and petty headman was still strong. People still performed the bepha at their chief’s home because he was the owner of the drums or facilitator of their traditional music (Blacking 1962:62). Bepha were music groups that chiefs used to send to each other for various social and economic reasons. During Blacking’s fieldwork process at Vhavenda habitus, the bepha had just become part of Vhavenda culture (55). Vhavenda possession dance could also qualify as bepha (:64).

The clothing tradition of the bepha, by the time of Blacking’s fieldwork, had changed and the dancers dressed in European towels, scarves, beads and so on (Stayt 1941:323). Through these attire cultural changes, Vhavenda continued their culture wherein boys dressed like girls and vice versa (Blacking 1962:56). Since performers in tshigombela needed to look similar to each other, the attire of tshigombela is a uniform that webbed them visually (73). For economic interest, the local stores sold some of the tshigombela attire (64).

“The players from town were surprised to” one day “find three girls playing reed-pipes with the Shakadza team” since people expected girls “to dance the
“tshigombela” (76). Women played the drums in the tshikona and the tshikanganga and the men and the boys danced anticlockwise round the drums (56). Tshikanganga is a dance for pre-marriage stage boys, more common in Blacking’s day than nowadays. Domba is an initiation that both pre-marriage stage girls and boys attended (Blacking 1964b).

2.3.4 Mentorship and rite of passage

Vhavenda girls attend Vhusha, an initiation school their chief facilitates in his home, as soon as they see their first period or as soon as possible thereafter (Blacking 1959a). In the initiation, the seniors allocate guardians who are senior female graduates from the same ritual for the girls. As their title speaks for themselves, mothers, their duty is to take care of the initiates. Even though the seniors vary their externalisation of the rules governing the allocation of a mother to an initiate, they expect to embody the mothers as seniors to the initiates.

The girls of noble status attend their special initiation that is free from music performance. Girls of noble status can be mothers to commoner initiates. They could maintain this type of seniority hierarchy through to adulthood. Furthermore, a variation of this seniority culture was a normal practice in primary and secondary schools (Blacking 1959a). In the schools, the senior girl might choose a child for herself much as the junior girl might choose a mother for herself. The child or mother can include the real relatives of her mother or child and the relationship might extend to their descendents.

To maintain their social web, Vhavenda used bepha music culture (Blacking 1962:54). They had a variation of bepha, murula, which commoners privately owned (60). Murula is bepha that was exchanged amongst wife parents and parents-in-law to maintain their relationships. It is thus evident that beer forms an integral part of Vhavenda ceremonies. As a wife giver, a chief could send murula to the chief or chief’s family who married her daughter (63). But the commoners performed bepha even though the chief facilitated it (62). In the urban areas, Vhavenda also enjoyed beer when they were playing the tshikona (76).
In addition to the food, the host also gave them beer, which the children would bring from home and find at the host’s home, during their bepha expeditions (65). The host of the bepha had to prepare a beast or beasts for food and the bepha needed to bring home the hind leg or legs of the beast or beasts for their chief (Stayt 1941:323). However, the hosting king could also prepare a goat for food (Blacking 1962:68). A bepha needed to externalise particular cultural norms in order to be welcome at the host’s home.

When he accepted them, however, he found that Jameson [needed to have brought] the money, and so he made the acceptance provisional: this is why he [reserved] tshivhindi tsha vhakololo (lit. liver of the princes), the goat which needed to be [prepared for food] on the first day. (70)

2.3.5 Music and witchcraft

Performers used to share varied or different opinions about being malugwane, because they needed to be free from witchcraft. Since Vhavenda believed that they are strong against witchcraft, children of the ruling family normally took over. Late at night, the dancers used to gather around the fire and tell traditional stories, ngano (71).

This game is one of the diversions of tshigombela expeditions, but it is…one that they like to play [sometimes], as… [the bepha sometimes need to reserve the] game about witchcraft. In general, commoners tend to [reserve] the performance [for] 'princesses', whose senior rank [they thought] give[s] them better protection. (74)

Due to witchcraft, the dancers were also treated with traditional medicine to protect them, but Blacking was excluded from the ritual (68).

2.3.6 Music and bodily hexis

Since Blacking evaluates the musical abstractions through bodily hexis in Vhavenda culture, he asserts that the meaning of music is personal (Blacking 1985). But he also takes note of the fact that Vhavenda collectively named kinds of bepha after their social and economic function (Blacking 1962:58). Bepha la u imela was one of the bepha that a junior could send to his senior because it was for sympathy, while bepha la mukumbululo was one of the bepha that a senior could send to his junior because it was for collection of tax.
During Blacking’s fieldwork, the *domba* overlapped with *Zimbabwean, Vhavenda* neighbouring habitus, initiation culture (Tracey 1970). There was a variation of the *bepha* tradition in the *Balobedu*, who are also the neighbours of *Vhavenda* habitus (Krige & Krige 1943:64-65). A cultural change in the music as sound is often cued by the insider’s cognitive and affective response. Thus to infer that *Bapedi* musical abstraction, for example, is evident in *Vhavenda* musical abstraction while insiders have a varied or different opinion, is evidence for difficulties in the method of analysis. This could also be a signal for overlap between *Bapedi* and *Vhavenda* geographical and cultural abstraction mappings since to some degree *Bapedi* and *Vhavenda* share cultural externalisation similarities (Blacking 1964b).

The meaning of *bepha* varied in relation to the role and status of each individual in *Vhavenda* habitus (Blacking 1962:59). For example, for the young performers, it meant an opportunity to enrich their knowledge of their district since they sometimes needed to visit new areas, sometimes by bus or “lorry of the chief’s friends” (75). Furthermore, the listeners in *bepha* performances often passed judgments on the competition or competence of the performers (65).

[People generally assessed performances] on the basis of the number of dancers, the vigour of their movements, the volume of their singing, and the metronomic accuracy and variety of their drum rhythms [which is analysis of physical structures that express musical abstractions]. (66)

Blacking (1970:1) makes “an attempt…to discover…the rules of *Vhavenda* rhythmic and tonal organisation” to see if there are relationships between the structure of music and the lives of its creators and performers (Blacking 1969c:33). To elaborate with an example, *Vhavenda* stay in mountainous areas, where it is challenging to walk or run faster (Blacking 1964b). As a result, that conditioned them to walk steadily. This pace is also visible in their music as it has a steady tempo (Blacking 1964b). But some of the music at *Tshianzwane* is fast in tempo, probably because the performers are able to move faster on the flat surface. Thus the musical structures reflect some of the abstract structures in *Vhavenda* society which are fundamental to daily life (Blacking 1964b).
2.4 GENERALISATION ON ORAL MUSIC FRAMES OF REFERENCE EXPLORED IN THIS DISSERTATION

2.4.1 Ethnic frames of reference

- Ankole
- African dances of the Witwatersrand gold mines
- Arabic
- Arusha
- Ausmi
- Baca
- Bakwanga
- Bandiya
- Barombo
- Bemba
- Benge
- Birza
- Bira
- Bobwa
- Budu
- Buja
- Bukasa
- Chaga
- Chewa
- Chokwe
- Chonye
- Damara
- Dhola
- Duna
- East Africa
- From the roadside, 2, Zimbabwe & neighbours
- Gaika
- Ganda
- Garwe
- Gbleka
- Genya
- Giryama
- Gisu
- Gitonga
- Gogo
- Govera
- Gwamba
- Gwere
- Hangaza
- Haya
- Hlanganu
- Hehe
- Hembu
- Henga
- Hera
- Herero
- Hlengwe
- Hotentot
- Hurutse
- Huta
- Jita
- Kalebwe
- Kamba
- Kambo
- Kangira
- Kanyoka
- Kaaonde
- Karanga
- Kasai
- Kawangara
- Kere
- Kgotla
- Kena
- Kikuyu
- Kipsigis
- Konjo
- Kusu
- Kwambi
- Kwanjama
- Kvaya
- Kwena
- Lala
- Lambya
- Lenge
- Lelo
- Luba
- Luchazi
- Luhya
- Lu
- Luanda
- Lumbo
- Lunga
- Luo
- Luvalle
- Lwena
- Lay
- Mangbele
- Mang'anjua
- Masai
- Manyika
- Masai
- Mbunda
- Mbaiti
- Medje
- Meru
- Mpando
- Mpandomisi
- Nande
- Nandi
- Ndau
- Ndebele
- Ndembo
- Ndonga
- Ngloza
- Ngula
- Nqikika
- Nika
- Ngbandi
- Ngoni
- Ngwe
- Ngweketsa
- Njanja
- Nkole
- Nkonde
- Northern D.R. Congo.
- 2, Bantu languages
- Nsenga
- Nyamwezi
- Nyanja
- Nyoro
- Nyungwe
- Okvalathi
- Ongajera
- Osborn awards Parts 1, 2 and 3.
- Paluo
- Pedi
- Ragoli
- Rolong
- Ronga
- Royal Court Music from Uganda
- Rundi
- Rwanda
- Safwa
- Safwa\Nkonde
- Sanga
- Secular Music from Uganda
- Sena
- Shangaan
- Shankadi
- Shona
- Soga
- Songe
- Sotho
- Southern Sotho
- Subiya
- Sukuma
- Swahili
- Swati
- Ta Arab
- Tanganika
- Tanzania
- Teso
- Thembu
- Tilharo
- Tonga
- Toro
- Tsonga
- Tswana
- Tumbuka
- Uganda
- Valley Tonga
- Vambo
- Venda
- Wanga
- Xhosa
- Yao
- Nyakyusa
- Nyungwe
- Zaramo
- Zande
Through race and ethnic frames of reference progress, change and interpenetration, some of these tribes are currently available as multi- and inter-ethnic clans, surnames, praise names, names of places, people, buildings, etc. The Tharo, Ngwaketse, Lete and Kwena, for example, are currently collectively Batswana forms of habitus. There are some ethnic groups such as Bafokeng, Baroka and Bangwato who are embedded in or among some ethnic groups, namely the current Bapedi forms of habitus and Batswana forms of habitus as per the South African constitution. Thus Tracey and his co-researchers needed to have mentioned them. With my research experience so far, I can firmly conclude that ethnic group classification is subject for debate due to the various historical accounts of progressive webbing and change of habitus in specific times and places. Governments determine official ethnic and racial social orders seemingly in terms of language area mappings, which is one of the available means for ethnic and race classification.

2.4.2 Some of the music instruments

Music bows, (talking) drums, ocarina, hand clapping, human voice, mbira, lute, flute, pipes, horn, xylophone, harp, guitar, shakers, bells and accordion. Each of these instruments appears in various ethnic and racial groups with the same, a variation of the same or different names: murumba (Tshivenda for drum), moropa (Sesotho for drum); katara (Sesotho for guitar), isiginci (isiZulu and isiXhosa for guitar).

2.4.3 Some of the key practices and concepts

Chief, praises, ancestor spirits, beer, relationship challenges around seniority, love, marriage, food, drinks and poverty, dances, traditional health practitioners, animal, music ensemble, initiation, praise song and poetry, topical song, lullaby, resultant rhythms and harmonies, pulse, harvest, rain, river, bird, god. Negative Concepts such as rejected, fool, sunset, sadness, servants, die, witchcraft, forest and war. I think, as I observe from the recordings and my life experience, people
develop negative concept cultures because they live in contexts that include fixed seniority and other forms of social structures which embrace hereditary social capital, status and roles for the community members. Music thus reflects what is happening in human interaction but also helps develop and maintain or influence and change the cultural structures therein.

### 2.4.4 Informant-researcher relationship and post-fieldwork data

In Tracey’s CDs on African music, either Tracey or people who prepared their data for publication found it challenging to identify some of the languages that insiders used. They thus specifically wrote “language undetermined.” The insiders would provide compelling information on these internalisation-externalisation difficulties. The challenge at this moment would be to locate people who informed Tracey and Dargie because they might even have passed on.

### 2.5 CONCLUSION

In the fifty years since Blacking’s fieldwork, Vhavenda culture has progressed through interaction with other cultures. Furthermore, even though Blacking asserted that Vhavenda prefer to classify their music according to its social function, it is likely that this was true in the past because they probably often carried out their music in the observation of social rituals. Vhavenda social order at Tshianzwane has progressed and today some Vhavenda practise their culture differently. In this chapter, I have explained how Blacking deduces that

- questions relating to cultural abstractions are challenging (Storey 1976);
- music cultural analysts need to further develop theoretical frames for analysis of musical cultural abstractions;
- researchers analyse abstractions through physical structures that express them (Blacking 1970); and
- researchers currently understand music quantitatively rather than qualitatively in terms of music genres and styles (Blacking 1981).

In addition, Blacking saw the need for researchers to produce their research products in collaboration with their research informants to research musical
cultural abstractions (Grau 1993; Blacking 1965); and researchers need to understand music in its habitus before making cross-cultural comparisons of music styles and genres (Blacking 1971). He sees value in the role of music to extend and vary cultural mappings and advises that this be used to web world music cultures (Rahkonen 1989; May 1973).

Researchers use particular research methods to conduct research on cultures. In chapter three, I therefore define and discuss the research methods I used in my research process.
CHAPTER 3: Method and methodology

I have divided this chapter into two sections. First, I discuss the definition of the ethnographic method as evident in chapter two and throughout this project. In the second section of this chapter, I focus on how we used ethnographic methods in our fieldwork at Tshianzwane in 2008 from 18 to 25 August at HaMakuya in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.

3.1 METHOD

Researchers agree that research is in essence method but, in their research fields or processes, have various or overlapping opinions on method. My aim in this section is therefore to briefly define method and methodology.

Researchers in the social sciences, as in other disciplines, tend to put more emphasis on method than on the information that method aims ultimately to present (Brewer 2000:1). Methods are technical rules or norms with which researchers lay down the procedures for how they can obtain reliable and objective knowledge. With these procedural rules, researchers aim to inform and teach students and other researchers about what to do in order to achieve reliable and objective knowledge (2).

There are various methods of theory construction, research design, data collection, analysis, interpretation and “dissemination of research results” (5). Sometimes researchers use method interchangeably with methodology (Brewer 2000). In contrast to the time when method was believed to be free from data contamination in the research processes, research designs and processes are now diverse and can be objective and reliable as comprehensive in their methodical grounding. Methodology is therefore a philosophy on method while method is a theory. Method is hypothesis while methodology is varying or overlapping hypotheses.

In essence, a research method is an instrument researchers use to design, collect, interpret or communicate information, while research methodology is the assessment, confirmation and defence of what is a reliable research method. Thus,
even though researchers agree that method is important in research, they differ on what are reliable methods of design, data collection, analysis, interpretation, dissemination of findings or any or all of these. As a result, the research community is divisible into methodologies. Researchers sometimes refer to methodologies as paradigms (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:4).

3.1.1 Paradigm

In this section, I define the concept paradigm and mention its effect on the research process.

Researchers root their research methods in points of view they call paradigms (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:4). A paradigm is in essence a methodology (Brewer 2000). Paradigms are lenses researchers use through which to study their fields or cultures of interest. As a result, paradigms guide the researcher on what to research, how to collect data, and how to analyse and interpret it. The interpretation process of the field data is influenced by the paradigm’s conceptual content and frames of reference on research design (Nastasi 1999:38). Out of the various paradigms available in research, I rooted this project in an interpretive paradigm (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:48). Since I use ethnographic method in my research process, which I define in the following section, I therefore use interpretive ethnography.

3.1.2 Ethnography

In this section, I define ethnography, as well as mention and define its (sub-)genres.

Ethnographic method overlaps with qualitative method (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:4; Schensul et al. 1999; Hammersley 1990). Qualitative method focuses on the description of the nature of a research sample in a specific time and place. In addition, researchers can understand ethnography as qualitative research or a field within qualitative research (Brewer 2000:17-18; Pink 2009). Qualitative method is thus a collective concept that refers to a variety of research methods, including ethnography. Ethnographic qualitative method can also be used with ethnographic
quantitative methods if this can help clarify points of concern in the fieldwork (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:18; Johnson 1990). Quantitative research focuses on the amount of research variables in a specific time and place. Briefly, humans use words to describe quality and numbers to describe quantity. Since ethnographers tend to place emphasis on quality rather than numbers of variables, the usage of quantitative method techniques may be standardised (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:18). In essence, ethnographies contain both quantity and quality.

Ethnography can also refer to the research design, process or product (4). As a research product, ethnography presents a picture of a society’s culture as a narrative, interpretive or reconstructed account. “Ethnographers have three basic kinds of data: information about what the people [infer], what they do, and what they leave behind in the form of manufactured [artefacts] and documents” (1). Furthermore, “Ethnography includes some historical material and paints a picture of people going about their daily lives as they happen over a relatively representative period of time”, in this case, Blacking’s (1956-1958) and my time periods (18-25 August 2008). The content of an ethnographic account can address some or all of the following areas of interest:

- beliefs; attitudes; perceptions; emotions verbal and symbolic means of communication; social networks; [behaviours] of the groups of individuals with friends, family, associates, fellow workers, and colleagues; use of tools; technology and manufacture of materials and [artefacts]; and patterns of use of space and time. (4).

Ethnographers study cultural patterns (19). Cultural patterns also refer to the historical, political, economic and social aspects of a culture. For a method to qualify as ethnography, it needs to put emphasis on the concept of culture in its data collection, analysis and interpretation (21). “Humans…are defined by the fact that they make, transmit, share, select, change, and recreate cultural traits in groups” (21). Thus, with culture researchers put emphasis on sharing.

While in the past ethnographers could spend up to three years in the field, today this period is sometimes shorter (5). As a result, some ethnographic accounts address the society’s culture extensively, and today ethnographers tend to focus
primarily on a research challenge rather than attempt to present a culture in its totality (5). Ethnographers are interested in and aim to construct cultural theories as they are in specific time and place (8). Even though ethnographies may be replicable, their findings primarily aim to provide grounds for further research (8). Researchers can sometimes conduct exploratory ethnographic research for theory framing for semi-structured and structured research in culture (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte 1999). Structured research is preferably the quantitative and close-ended level of ethnographic research in the form of survey research design. A survey is a research method that researchers define as a closed-ended instrument of data collection, such as questions and observations (Brewer 2000).

It is important to note that ethnographers sometimes participate in the culture they are researching (Brewer 2000:11 & 59). In this regard, ethnographers emphasise how close the researcher is to what s/he is researching, or how s/he is located in the culture. Since participation means doing what the insider is doing, being in the culture as events unfold may be participatory (Brewer 2000). This is evidence that ethnography has two perspectives, namely that of both the insider and the outsider (Brewer 2000). The researcher can thus choose to research from the point of view of either of these elements or both. As an insider, the ethnographer aims to see and understand the culture from the insider’s point of view (Brewer 2000). As an outsider, the ethnographer sees and understands the insider’s culture from his or her point of view (Brewer 2000; also explored in sections 3.1.2.1, 3.1.2.3 and 3.1.2.5).

An ethnographic research method embraces flexibility (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:98). Furthermore, ethnography is a reconstruction of the cultural patterns of the researched, a challenging task to carry out (130). In ethnography, researchers are encouraged to triangulate the steps of the research process (Brewer 2000:75-76; LeCompte & Schensul 1999:xv-xvi & 2; Schensul, et al. 1999). Triangulation means multiplying or multi-layering of research methods or techniques. It is therefore a good idea if ethnographers document answers to questions in the field by using multiple collection devices or techniques because they can compare data
from one device or technique with data from other devices or techniques for accuracy checking. It is often fruitful for ethnographers to interview various informants on one research question and observe one cultural behaviour or pattern at various times because that allows space for cross-checking in order to evaluate the accuracy of the data, as well as to arrive at reasonably confirmed theories (Schensul et al. 1999:84-85).

Ethnographers can triangulate paradigms, data collection methods, field researchers’ findings, analysis and interpretation methods, and so on. The researchers’ purpose with triangulation is to maximise the validity and reliability of the research product. Particular research methods have particular advantages and disadvantages; triangulation is an attempt to maximise the advantages (Brewer 2000). Sometimes informants provide information that differs from the researcher’s observation on their culture. As a result, the researcher can use interview and observation methods to make sense of or further explore the informant’s culture (Hammersley 1990:2). Furthermore, various fields of speciality can collaborate to conduct ethnographic research (Schensul, Weeks & Singer 1999), which is then interdisciplinary research.

There are two types of ethnographic approaches: applied and basic ethnography (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:5-6). Applied ethnography is carried out primarily to provide a solution to human challenges, while basic ethnography is primarily carried out to answer a research question. Both approaches may provide solutions to human challenges. Since researchers write about insiders, it is ethical in both ethnographies for them to produce their research findings in collaboration with their informants (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:6; Brewer 2000:6).

3.1.2.1 Theory construction

In this sub-section, I explain how researchers construct theories.

Theory construction is necessarily a process of interpretation (Brewer 2000:148-155). The researcher produces inferential statements that particularly explain or reflect the culture from which s/he has collected data. The author may also
produce statements or inferences that apply generally, even though they are grounded in data collected from a specific culture. Thus, with their research products ethnographers may aim to produce theories that apply to the specific cultures they have researched, which is known as particularisation (Brewer 2000). Ethnographers may aim to produce theories that they can generalise, which is to universalise (Brewer 2000). I use the particularisation approach in this project.

Researchers may produce ethnographic findings inductively (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:1; Nastasi 1999:39), which means that the research questions and answers arise from the field data (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:15). In this process, the researcher continuously constructs and researches the theories he constructs on the insider’s culture until the insider’s knowledge on his culture is well explored. As a result, the researcher can be sure that he has successfully collected and understood the insider’s cultural patterns. Researchers call a theory they produce in this way grounded theory (15).

Even though it is a secondary concern, ethnographers work from their working theories to the field data when they explore more possibilities for finding new cultural patterns. This process of working from the theory to the data, which is at variance with an inductive process, is a deductive process (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:16). It is with this process that the researcher contributes to the outcome of the research because he actively explores his theories with those of the insiders. Sometimes he borrows his theories from other authors (16). The researcher’s field of speciality also contributes to his or her field work and final research product theories (17).

In the past, ethnographers emphasised the voice of the insider in their ethnographic products as “words, views, explanations and interpretations of the participants in the study” (12). Since the researcher is also a research instrument in the field process, today ethnographers present multiple voices in their ethnographies; the voices of the insider and the outsider, especially when s/he has co-produced the data with the informants (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:13; Pink 2009:8). Ethnographies are in essence a presentation of the insider’s culture based
on the researcher’s interpretation, which also gives the reader an opportunity for further interpretation (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:13). Since each cultural pattern may have varieties, ethnographers need to be aware of cultural stereotypes in their interpretations (24).

Ethnography is a cognitive process because it unfolds in three stages: item, pattern and constitutive or structural analysis (150). Researchers can think of the stages “as levels of abstraction in the process of cultural theory building” (150). Items, patterns and constitutive or structural elements are cultural patterns that the researcher extracts from field data as informed by his research question and objectives. Sometimes researchers go into the field in expectation of certain patterns, in which process they are sometimes successful. This is evidence that the research design also contributes to the final research product. The researcher compares, contrasts, and relates these patterns to reach his or her final cultural theories about the insider.

Theories vary in levels of abstraction and description (Brewer 2000). An abstract theory is in essence a reflection of the perception of the researcher about the culture he has researched. It often happens to be clearly an interpretation of what the informant inferred. For example, an ethnographer can see women abuse in the culture while the female insider is comfortable. For this reason, abstract theories are debatable because they are subjective. Descriptive theories are evident in the data collected from the culture and are more objective. Abstract theories are high-level theories while descriptive theories are low-level theories (Brewer 2000).

3.1.2.2 Sampling

To sample is to select the case or cases for the study from basic units where it is challenging for the researcher to work with every individual in his research site (Brewer 2000:79; Johnson 1990). With a case study, researchers put emphasis on either an individual, a community or anything that can serve as a research subject as located in a specific time and place (Brewer 2000:76). Thus, a case study is focused on a particular research subject rather than a type of method. Case studies in ethnographic research are important for the insiders’ knowledge about their
culture (81). Thus ethnographic researches are identifiable by their focus on a case (77).

The sample selection in an ethnographic research is challenging because it may arrive at a sample that partly represents the community the ethnographer aims to research (Schensul et al. 1999:231-234). There may be people in the community who might represent the culture competently or the researcher might omit some of the social classes or groupings. The researcher’s purpose with his or her ethnography is, after all, to confirm patterns, establish the existence of variability, and then map the range of variability within the group s/he studies. The researcher establishes the insider’s cultural patterns through exploration and experimentation (237). Variability in the cultural patterns calls for further and more systematic ethnographic exploration of the range of variation (237).

However, sampling challenges are sometimes a secondary or tertiary concern in exploratory studies because researchers are sometimes primarily looking for “informational saturation point” (262). Researchers reach a data saturation point when any further exploration produces cultural patterns they have already identified. Nevertheless, if the researcher aims to represent certain groups in the society, the ethnographer might then primarily concern him or herself with the challenges in sampling selection (264).

It is important to note that sampling implies ethical challenges. Some research is covert (Brewer 2000:83), where the researcher keeps his research process confidential. Overt research and covert research are distinguishable in theory (83-84). In overt research, the researcher informs his informants about his research process. A research process is likely to have features of covertness and overtness because the researcher often informs some of the community members in the research site about his project. People whom he informs about the research are necessarily the key gatekeepers, people who have authority in the culture being researched, and informants (83-84). Even though there are research processes in which researchers need to use primarily covert research methods (97-99), mine is primarily overt.
3.1.2.3 Entering the field

Here I aim to show that since the researcher is a research instrument, the way s/he introduces him or herself to the research field and informants contributes to the research process and data.

The ethnographer needs to ensure that s/he has permission to enter the field so that the gatekeepers will be comfortable with the project in their community (Schensul et al. 1999:80). However, whether it is easy to identify gatekeepers depends on the political and social structure of the informant’s society (82). Gatekeepers are people through whom the researcher can have access to what s/he needs in the target research site (81). Key informants, who are experts on their culture, and gatekeepers are knowledgeable about some of the things that the ethnographer needs to know or access due to their social roles and identities, such as gender, political position or age (Schensul et al. 1999:84; Brewer 2000:99-100).

Ethnographers need to introduce themselves to the community in the form of a story or narrative known as the cover story (LeCompte 1999:12-13). They need to tell the insiders who they are, what they are there for, and which roles they are going to play in their society. Cover stories may contribute to how the insiders accommodate the researcher in their community (16). As a result, the researcher needs to work on the cover story throughout the research process in order to facilitate how people relate to him or her. A combination of the roles of individuals and social institutions in the society produces a complex web of cultural patterns, which, if the researcher can unstructurally locate him or herself, can contribute to the field data. But ethnographers need to contrast cover stories with undercover stories, which normally imply ethical challenges (20).

It is a good idea for ethnographers to present their roles as learners who are willing to learn (21-22). Once the informants know that the ethnographer knows their culture competently, they might provide the insider’s information about their culture reservedly (22). Nonetheless, ethnographers who research cultures they know often find it a challenge to present themselves as learners (22-23). Another
aspect that contributes to the fieldwork process is the physical appearance or features of the researcher: clothing, gender and age (26-27).

3.1.2.4 Ethnicity and culture

It is important to discuss briefly the concepts of race and ethnicity, because researchers and informants use them to define cultures they research and inform on.

Ethnicity and race might overlap with culture (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:24). Race or ethnicity necessarily refers to people who identify themselves as belonging to one group whether they are scattered or gathered together. Thus ethnicity or race has more to do with a sense of belonging than with sharing a common practice or culture; researchers use it more in a census or for economic-political reasons (24). However, insiders or researchers can use or research ethnicity or race if it has a meaning for them.

3.1.2.5 Cultural frame of reference

In this section, I discuss the contribution of the researcher’s cultural frame of reference to the research process.

“Inscription is the act of making mental notes prior to writing things down” (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:13). While in the field, ethnographers write down words that would help them recall the important things they need to explore. This is a challenge, because the ethnographer needs to remember that s/he is researching a community in a culture where s/he is a novice. The inscription process needs to be guided by what the informants take to be important for their culture.

People, including…ethnographers, tend to notice first – and to write down – what they have already learned to notice. We have been trained – consciously and unconsciously – to attend to those items, domains, events, objects, animals, plants, people, and [behaviours] in our environment that our culture defines as worthy of notice and helpful to our survival. (14)

Thus the ethnographer is advised to adopt and adapt to the insider’s cultural frame of reference (14). Cultural frame of reference overlaps with cultural theory. Once
the ethnographer has pointed out the cultural frames of the insider, which he can adopt and adapt to in some measure, he produces descriptions of the cultural patterns in the form of field notes or data (17-18). This process of inscription, description and transcription shows that the researcher’s cultural frame of reference contributes to the field data since he is a primary tool or facilitator (Brewer 2000:104-105). The insider’s culture, for various reasons such as political, religious and language expertise, can absorb the ethnographer to some degree (Schensul et al. 1999:91-95). For example, the insider might exclude the ethnographer from certain activities and rituals because the ethnographer has challenges with his or her language.

3.1.2.6 Data collection and documentation

In this section, I define and discuss data collection and documentation methods: participation, observation, interviewing, audiovisual recording and field notes.

To accumulate primary data, the researcher in ethnographic research uses data collection methods: participation, observation, interviewing, audiovisual recording and “mapping the networks, times and places in which human interactions occur” (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:xiv; see also Nastasi 1999:1; Nastasi & Berg 1999; Brewer 2000).

The ethnographic methods in the research field are adapted to suit the nature of the insiders’ culture so that the researcher can collect reliable data (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:3). Thus, this form of data collection is reflective of the insiders’ culture and can help in the future research on the same culture or other cultures that are similar to it if researchers are using the same methods (3). In ethnographic research, “the researcher is the primary tool for collecting the primary data” (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:xiv, emphasis in original; see also Schensul et al. 1999:274). Thus the researcher’s socio-political and economic background, attitudes, research objectives, questions, aims and professional background, expertise, personality, quality and quantity of equipment, funding and time available to conduct the research also contribute to the accuracy of field data (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:134-135; 170-171). Even though ethnographic
research overlaps with approaches to life challenges we use in daily life, ethnographers need to design it to maximise data accuracy (164).

While ethnographers are advised to first introduce themselves and their research aims and objectives to the informants before they commence with the research data collection, analysis and interpretation process, the two activities overlap, because ethnographers begin their data collection immediately they enter the research field (Schensul et al. 1999:88-89). The ethnographer’s experiences in the field also serve as field data (92). Field researchers need to triangulate their memories because these often change with the passage of time (116). Ethnographers may also use secondary data (data that other researchers collected and stored in its raw format) to study cultures they need to research on (Schensul et al. 1999).

(a) Participation

Ethnography remains an important research method in terms of its validity and reliability (274). Validity refers to how the research product represents and is reflective of the reality of the researched culture, while reliability refers to the replicable nature of the research findings. Ethnography has a high level of accuracy because the ethnographers live with the informants and learn their culture competently (274). Nevertheless, sometimes researchers can understand or interpret variably or differently what the informants infer or what they observe (279).

There are typical ethnographic questions that an ethnographer needs to explore in the field (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:xv): What is happening in the field? Who is engaging in what kind of activities in the field? Why are the insiders in the field doing what they are doing? How do “social networks and patterns of social interactions” and “socio-geographic space[s] influence human [behaviour] and beliefs” (xvi)? Thus, an ethnographer’s aim in the field is to collect information about the social setting, social activities, cultural patterns and the meanings that the insiders attach to cultural forms of habitus (xv).
The ethnographer also learns about changes in the society as s/he works together with the insider in the field (xv). The researcher can ask about or express knowledge s/he has learnt from other sources but needs to ensure its validity with the insiders (3). The aim with this multipronged research method of data collection is for the ethnographer to ensure that there is reasonable accuracy and reliability in the final research product (1). However, the researcher’s interpretations in the field can triangulate either his or her personal experiences or academic norms and authors (2). Ethnographers sometimes design their research with their informants’ culture in mind, especially when they research cultures or fields they know (LeCompte & Schensul 1999). It is advisable for ethnographers to present themselves as people who are new to the culture they are researching; otherwise, the informants might assume that the researcher is their society’s member, which would mean that the field data is predetermined to be saturated (163). Furthermore, ethnographers need to see and behave according to the insiders’ cultural norms and be willing to allow some level of variation of information in the research process (163-164).

The fact that ethnographers need to be friends with their informants shapes their research roles as researchers (194), hence they may continually remind the informants of the purposes of their research. Sometimes researchers might be willing to identify themselves as of the same culture as the informant, especially if they have grown up in the same community (Schensul et al. 1999:71). For any form of relationship that a researcher might have with the informants, they both need to regard their cultures as overlapping. Since ethnography puts emphasis on shared cultural patterns or experience, it may be secondarily autobiographical (72). Ethnographers’ research fields are preferably new areas for exploration, which contributes to their cultural level of spontaneity or the reliability of their cultural frame of reference (73). Therefore, ethnographers need to be continually aware of their conscious selection of verbal and symbolic means of communication with the informants so that their contribution to the accuracy of the final product is well controlled. Since informants might know some things about their culture, their information sometimes may be reasonably reliable (86).
(b) Observation

Ethnographers in the field observe social interaction and events as they unfold naturally (LeComte & Schensul 1999:2; Hammersley 1990:1). As a result, ethnographic research field processes may have some degree of replicable elements but they are primarily inductive or explorative in a specific culture and time, especially since cultures change over time (LeComte & Schensul 1999:3). Furthermore, it is likely that informants behave in a way they think is acceptable when they are aware that the ethnographer is observing them (LeComte & Schensul 1999:2), while observing people with their consent is ethical (Cromley 1999).

Aspects of the culture that are subject to change as well as those that remain relatively stable concern ethnographers (Schensul et al. 1999:279). Human behaviour and human beliefs about their social space and social interaction overlap and can be comprehensive in their cultural context (LeComte & Schensul 1999:1). As an observer, the ethnographer is interested in what the insiders do, that which can be expressed through body or any other visual language, while as an interviewer, the ethnographer is interested in that which the insiders infer they do (22). Sometimes the verbal and the symbolic languages provide varying or different angles on the insiders’ culture; hence, considering both languages help in the construction of the final theories on the insider’s culture.

A cultural domain is a cultural pattern such as “animals” (Borgatti 1999:115), thus a domain refers to items that overlap. The human mind in a culture represents cultural domains, which determines the nature of the interaction with other humans in his or her culture and other cultures around him or her. Various cultures have various domain structures. The aim of ethnography is to identify the domains in a culture using elicitation techniques (115). This happens normally at the beginning of the research where the researcher strives to make visible the domains and their structure, a process that I can call domain mapping. Domain structures are at variance with one another and sometimes in a state of flux.
because various individuals have various perceptions about cultural domains (117). Thus, there is a partial state of flux in the cultural domain structures. However, sometimes researchers go to the field knowing about the domains. Researchers might need to list members of a domain using free listing techniques (120).

When ethnographers are studying a society, they also focus on the social space mapping (Cromley 1999). Social activities in the society take place in some of the areas in the social space. They take place at various social institutions such as homes and schools, which are activity areas. There are individual, functional and administrative spaces (Cromley 1999). Functional spaces are places where human interaction and exchange of information take place, while administrative spaces are the legal demarcations of a given social space. The individual space is the areas and paths that the individual uses and how that shapes his perception as locatable in the social space. Individuals are likely to spend their daily time at various interaction spaces such as schools. The activities of the individual in the social space also give him or her a sense of belonging and human attachment, as well as shaping his or her affective and cognitive structures (Cromley 1999). The way the researcher defines and maps his or her social space for study contributes to the kind of data s/he will produce.

Some spatial mappings of social interaction go across the demarcated mappings of the social space (Cromley 1999), which necessitates a social network ethnographic method (Trotter 1999). Social network refers to a group or community that shares culture or common goals. Socio-spatial maps are important in ethnographic research because they can explain some of the information that words and other devices are trying to explain (Cromley 1999:117). However, maps need interpretation skills because they are variable or diverse “models of the reality they represent” (117). Since maps are promotions of cultural or other forms of interests, there is probably sometimes a need for ethnographers to work free from cartographers to draft or experiment with their spatial mapping (117). Ethnographers need to be cautious with spatial information
for the sake of the community they are researching (117). This is because spatial maps are metaphors that can lead to spatial social challenges or cohesion (117). Sometimes social spatial challenges such as area demarcation are resolved through variation or adjustment of spatial maps.

(c) Interviewing

“In-depth, open-ended interviewing is…technically challenging and, at the same time…[an] innovative and exciting form of ethnographic interviewing” (Schensul et al. 1999:121). In-depth means that the ethnographer digs deep into the informant’s or interviewee’s memory to find detailed or exhaustive information about cultural patterns, a process that is exploratory in nature. Interviewing is open-ended when ethnographers allow the field process to encourage topics, questions and answers that provide information on the informant’s cultural patterns. The challenge with in-depth open-ended interviews is that the ethnographer needs to ensure that topics, questions and answers are fully addressed so that the field data is correctly accumulated as per the research aims and objectives.

With focus groups, an ethnographer has an opportunity to interview more informants at a time (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:xvi). Focus groups are structured interviews with close-ended questions, which means that informants choose from the possible answers on offer or respond true or false or yes or no to the questions. But the ethnographic research process has structured, semi-structured and more exploratory structures or states of flux in its stages and aspects until the final research product. The ethnographer in the field can use probes to encourage further explanations and clarity, as well as to show s/he is interested in the informant’s explanations (Schensul et al. 1999:126-127). Researchers may also use probes to keep the informant focused on their questions. “Thus an exploratory interview may be unstructured, but it is” planned (126).

Informal and formal group interviews comprise three or more people (Schensul 1999:51). Formal (structured) and informal (unstructured) individual interviews
take place between the researcher and one person, often for collecting biographical information (52). Group interviews, on the other hand, make the field data more representative of the culture the researcher is studying (53). Informal research settings are good when they provide data that the researcher is looking for (53), or else the researcher may organise formal settings to elicit the information s/he is looking for (54). It is important to note that, since ethnography puts emphasis on culture in a specific context and time, the researcher may root the formal settings in informally and semi-informally collected data (Schensul 1999; Schensul et al. 1999).

In unstructured interviews, it often happens that family members and friends who qualify to be part of the informing group attend the interviews, in which case the ethnographer may allow them to stay and participate (Schensul et al. 1999:126-127). It is also normal in unstructured interviews for the informants to raise topics of interest to them that they think are also relevant to the ethnographer’s research (135). Sometimes an interviewer and interviewee hold different opinions (141): the interviewer and the interviewee may contribute to or vary each other’s narratives; they may aim to correct each other; and they can also ask each other challenging questions or provide answers that need further elaboration. The interviewer needs to control judgmental statements and expressions of strong emotions because they may influence the field data (143). Thus “it is critically important for prospective researchers to learn ahead of time or discover early on, the mappings of acceptable behaviour and life style” in the culture they aim to research “to ensure high comfort levels for both researcher and study participants” (LeCompte 1999:2).

(d) Audiovisual recording

Ethnographers observe and record the cultural behaviours of the participants and their cultural symbols and context, as well as the conversations and informal interviews in the research process (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:128). While recording field data with electronic devices saves time, electronic devices can record information or encounter technical difficulties that might negatively
influence the recording process (Schensul et al. 1999:144-145). Nevertheless, audiovisual data, once properly recorded, provides an advantage for the researcher because s/he can replay and reinterpret it from various theoretical perspectives (Nastasi 1999:2) in the processes of analysis and interpretation (6). Audio data provides information on the symbolic language of the informants and the context, which facilitates analysis and understanding of the verbal language (7).

When transcribing recorded audio data, the researcher converts what is audible to what is visual, while with video data, the researcher may also describe the symbolic information (18). Transcribers extract from the data information required for their final research product (22). Sometimes it is necessary for the researcher to transcribe, since the data can also directly be analysed and interpreted from the audiovisual data (24). The ethnographer records cultural behaviours and interviews by means of his audiovisual devices, which has the advantage that s/he can repeatedly listen to and watch the field data in the process of transcription, analysis and interpretation towards the final research product. With the audiovisual data, the ethnographer can also establish how the insiders develop their cultural patterns.

(e) Field notes

The researcher can also collect data through writing field notes (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:128). Field notes are a good documentation technique because the researcher can be sure that the notes are captured on paper, even though this is time consuming and there are limits to the amount of information on the insider’s culture that can be written down (Schensul et al. 1999:144-145). However, the combination of videotape and the field notes is useful in collecting the same data so that if there are glitches with either of them when documenting or using the data, the researcher can still obtain the field data (Nastasi 1999:8-9).

The ethnographer, when transcribing the audiovisual data, adds information from his or her memory that supplements or complements the audiovisual recorder’s data, which is important for the validity and reliability of the final product.
(Nastasi 1999). Researchers may also produce more field notes from the transcription of the audiovisual data immediately after the day’s work (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:18-19). This data collection technique can capture aspects of the field site, which is why the researcher needs to use multiple collection techniques. The difficulty with using human memory to take notes is that subsequent or further unfolding impressions and events can modify the researcher’s initial impressions and pictures (32). Thus, it is advisable for fieldworkers to write down and record the field events as they unfold so that events and impressions supplement or complement each other.

(f) **Analysis and interpretation**

Analysis is a stage in the research process where the researcher produces a story or an account of the culture s/he has researched, whereas interpretation is a stage where the researcher explains what the story means from his or her point of view (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:2; Brewer 2000:105). Analysis is thus a summary of the data (Brewer 2000). Interpretation looks into what the data represents about the culture: its historical background, its cultural patterns, and what these represent about the future of the insider’s culture. The task of interpretation is to relate the analysis to or synthesise it with the reality in the insider’s culture.

“In the social sciences there is…interpretation”, for things speak for each other (Denzin 2008; Brewer 2000:122). Thus, analysis and interpretation are imaginative and creative processes, which is why some researchers differ about the use of computers in qualitative research analysis because they believe that computers influence the researchers’ findings (Brewer 2000). Since research analysis and interpretation processes are personal, meanings or interpretations differ from individual to individual.

Analysis refers to a process wherein the researcher decides how to interpret the research data in terms of the research question and objectives (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:147-148). In statistics, this process is a technical or mathematical procedure and the researcher uses computers to carry out the task, but researchers
also consider using computers for some ethnographic data analysis. While in some research designs researchers conduct data analysis when the data collection process is complete, in ethnography, analysis begins even in the pre-fieldwork process “in the mind of the researcher as a conceptual and cognitive process” (149). Researchers plan the research design in a pre-fieldwork process. Modern day researchers use computers or other forms of electronic devices in their qualitative, quantitative or other forms of research. For example, rather than write field notes, the researcher can record him or herself on the audiovisual device when inferring what s/he sees, hears and experiences. Individual interpretations can be challenged on the grounds of validity and reliability in the process of analysis (Brewer 2000:31). Thus, if the product of the analysis process is challenged in terms of being reflective of the insider’s culture, then the validity and reliability of the interpretation are consequently also challenged.

\( g \) Reciprocity

Ethnography presents the research process as it unfolds in its natural setting (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:3). Ethnographers interact intimately with their informants in their natural setting, and establish trust between them and the insiders in the interaction process (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:10; Brewer 2000:85). Trust can take time to develop amongst the researchers and the insiders, especially if there are observable variations and differences in terms of race, ethnicity and gender. Sometimes researchers might be aware that insiders do not trust them. This might be because of power relations wherein the informant excessively hesitates to play his or her role.

When the informant has problems of trust with the researcher, s/he might sometimes provide unreliable information or behave unnaturally, which contributes to the research product. The methods that ethnographers use therefore help consolidate intimacy and trust amongst researchers and informants. As the intimacy grows, informants and researchers might develop some level of reciprocity in the sense that they might expect help from one another in their daily lives, especially when the researchers and the informants live together in the
community (LeCompte & Schensul 1999:12). Another factor that necessitates reciprocity is that, since ethnographers continuously collect and analyse data in the field, they need to stabilise their friendship with the insiders to consolidate their trust and encourage honesty from them. However, since research informants usually expect some reward in exchange for their information, reciprocity might prove challenging to achieve (195-196). The informants might also think that the researcher wants to enrich him or herself (198).

Another way of thinking about ethnography is that it is a study of embedded contexts (LeCompte 1999:2).
Figure 1: After LeCompte (1999), adapted to the socio-spatial demarcation in South Africa

In a community, the individual is a member of a family, a family is a member or part of social institutions such as schools and churches. A community or village is a member of a municipality, which is a member of a province. A province is a member of a country, and so on. Each of these contexts has social roles that shape social expectations (LeCompte 1999:4). Because of the social roles, each context assumes an identity or identities “by the responsibilities and privileges, expectations and responsibilities defining that role”, which means that each
context has “functions and limitations” or social variations (5). An individual may vary his roles according to social contexts (5). For example, s/he knows when s/he is a parent and when s/he is a teacher. Thus s/he may tell his or her learners his or her family affairs much as s/he may tell his or her family his or her school affairs. But in that variation of roles there is some state of flux (5) because the individual can share some of his knowledge with both his family and learners. As member of the community s/he is researching, the ethnographer also assumes multiple roles (5-6). Otherwise, the community members might think differently about him or her because they often prefer ethnographers who interact with communities they are studying (12-13).

These embedded contexts continuously vary and shape one another in terms of their rules, regulations and cultures. When the researcher selects a research site, s/he focuses on few of the contexts, which contributes to the field data. However, the nature of the embedded contexts is evidence for why ethnographers or researchers strive to generalise or universalise their research findings. The reason behind generalisation of research findings is that some researchers believe that there are laws that inform human behaviour (Brewer 2000). Furthermore, researchers who have a different opinion about the idea that there are universal laws research specific cultures because they believe that cultures are different or diverse (Brewer 2000). Ethnographers who explore universal laws of human behaviour carry out research on specific cultures and explore patterns that are the same across the cultures, but sometimes an ethnographer can research one culture and generalise the findings.

3.1.3 Leaving the field I

Here I discuss the challenges a researcher faces when s/he leaves the field.

Once the fieldwork is completed, ethnographers often find ways to maintain the relationships and social roles they achieved in the research process (LeCompte 1999). This is reflected in how the researcher leaves the field. Sometimes researchers choose to permanently bid farewell to their informants (Brewer 2000:101). This process may be emotionally challenging to the informants since
they would have bonded with the researchers. As a result, the exit from the field needs to be planned and carried out gradually to help the researcher and informants manage and overcome their emotional difficulties (101).

3.1.4 Final research product

In this section, I discuss the ethical benefits and challenges the researchers may face in disseminating their findings.

Applied ethnographers prefer to share their final research products with their informants (LeCompte & Schensul 1999). Sometimes informants have opinions to share in relation to some of the information that research products communicate to the readers, which sometimes concerns ethics (195). Furthermore, some research products are valid because their informants agree with what they infer (Schensul et al. 1999:271). It is therefore a good idea for researchers to continuously share their field data with their informants so that they can produce a valid final product (Nastasi 1999:41-47). In this way, the informants can see how they can provide further information to enrich their data. Nevertheless, research processes need to observe the rules of research ethics (Brewer 2000:88).

Furthermore, ethnographers sometimes take care of the security and dignity of their informants when they produce and publish their final research products (102), but this is essentially in case the ethnographer chooses to produce and publish the final product independently, especially in covert research. However, the security and dignity of the informants may sometimes be compromised (102). Investigators from the media and legal departments can find out about the informants even when the researcher might mention them as anonymous in his research product.

Reflexivity is a process whereby the researcher considers the socio-political and economic factors that contribute to the final product’s legitimation and representation (Brewer 2000:127; Davies 1999; Davies 2008). Representation is the final product and legitimation is its “data’s status, standing and authority” (Brewer:127). The process of reflexivity gained popularity in the 1960s and with
it researchers believe that knowledge is constructed in a specific time and place (128). It was a response to the “[b]elief that there can be uncontaminated research” processes and products (128).

3.2 FIELDWORK

3.2.1 Fieldworkers

I undertook the fieldwork for this project in collaboration with Dr Susan Harrop-Allin (my lecturer), Joseph Morake and Ignatia Madalane (students).

3.2.2 Auto-ethnography

In this sub-section, I provide a brief account of my traditional music frame of reference and tribal identity.

I was born and nurtured in GaMoretsele village in the now greater Sekhukhune municipality of the Limpopo Province of South Africa. My paternal grandfather was a traditional health practitioner and at home we attend traditional rituals such as circumcision.

Figure 2: (a) the winter of 1995 graduation day of Bapedi circumcision ritual at my home. I am standing on the right wearing Bapedi traditional animal skin attire and my younger brother is standing on the left. The others are my sister and brother respectively, (b) an overview of my home village, GaMoretsele, in 1995, (c) my mother wearing a Bapedi traditional attire.

There are two headmen in GaMoretsele. With this habitus in place, I grew up listening to, participating in and surrounded by traditional music in the contexts of entertainment, circumcision, and malopo (ancestor worship ritual), and played children’s games and songs. In the habitus within which I grew up, music and children’s games are part of oral tradition. As I enrolled with the universities, I learnt that academics practise and study African music in a written tradition.
Figure 3: (a) my music teacher, *Moloko Lawrence Seabi*, at *Siloe School for the Blind in Polokwane, GaTshwene, Thogwaneng Village*, (b) I am participating in the *Siloe School for the Blind choir in the Northern [Limpopo] Province of South Africa*, (c) I am playing a piano at *Siloe School for the Blind’s 50th anniversary in 2000*, (d) I am playing a keyboard in the *Siloe School for the Blind music performance lessons*, (e) I am practicing piano at the Wits School of Arts.

In both practises, there is music style classification. I talk about my culture (labelled *Sepedi*) in relation to the *Tshianzwane* culture because its frames of reference overlap with mine. Hence, when I was explaining my cultural frame of reference to our informants during our fieldwork, they inferred that “I think we are same” (*Netshifhefhe*, Interview 2008). Furthermore, “it is African culture”, (*Ramashia*, Interview 2008).

My place of birth, *GaSekhukhune*, in the *Limpopo* province of South Africa, was part of the then *Lebowa* homeland, the region of the *Bapedi* habitus, and its culture was called *Sepedi*. However, I belong to *amaXhosa* tribe and there are tribes such as *amaNdebele* at my place of birth. Even though I could delve deep into my biography, this is enough information for the purpose of my dissertation.

### 3.2.3 Field site

In this sub-section, I state reasons for having chosen *Tshianzwane* as our field site.

The field site for my case study is *Tshianzwane* village in *HaMakuya*, in the *Limpopo* Province of South Africa. I use the information that I collected during our fieldwork in this village in 2008, from the 18th to the 25th of August, as my primary material (data). I use their music practices to explore the meaning the musicians’ and performers’ attach to their music. This research project is built on my 2008 and 2009 fourth-year research projects. I select song texts and extract information from the interviews I collected in 2008 to illustrate what the insider’s externalisation is on the *Tshianzwane* music.
3.2.4 Key informant

Our fieldwork research took place at the home of our key informant, Samson Netshifhefhe.

Figure 4: Netshifhefhe’s home at Tshianzwane

Netshifhefhe is a traditional expert in and performer of Vhavenda music. He is also a leader of tshigombela. Video 7 shows Netshifhefhe leading and facilitating a Tshigombela dance with a whistle while Slide 48 illustrates Netshifhefhe leading and dancing in a malende performance. Some percentage of our observation, participation and interview process took place at the Tshianzwane headman’s home. Netshifhefhe had been a key informant at the headman’s home as well.

3.2.5 Assisting informants

Paul Munyai and Obert Ramashia assisted Netshifhefhe in our fieldwork. Netshifhefhe and Munyai can express themselves in English but Ramashia needed the help of an interpreter. Munyai was our key interpreter. Ramashia’s role was to inform us about his music, as he is a solo musician. Slide 55 illustrates Ramashia leading a song in a malende performance. Furthermore, Ramashia is a traditional health practitioner and his knowledge about ancestor worship is important for our research.

3.2.6 Home stay

This subsection aims to mention our reasons for the home stay and its contribution to my project.

We stayed with Netshifhefhe’s family for six days. We aimed to adapt to their culture so that we could experience or embody it as performance or practise. However, it is likely that people we stayed with varied their cultural structures and
externalisations so that they could comfortably relate to us. A good example is that they had to cook their meals differently to accommodate us. Furthermore, there might be some embodied cultural structures that they reserved for that week because they felt they were going to present their culture differently or save time for us. As an example from my experience, we called Netshifhefhe “Mr”, but in Tshianzwane culture, we needed to have addressed him as VhoNetshifhefhe, with Vho as a symbol of respect. Nevertheless, they allowed us to do so because they understood that we were new to their culture (Munyai, Interview 2008). So the research process was a frame of reference interweaving enterprise among us and our informants.

### 3.2.7 Music styles

In this section, I introduce the Tshianzwane music styles I investigated.

Children’s songs, *malende* and *tshigombela* are some of the styles of Vhavenda music that people of Tshianzwane still practise today.

![Figure 5: (a) A malende performance at Tshianzwane, (b) Tshigombela dance at Tshianzwane, and (c) Children at Tshianzwane singing children’s songs.](image)

Furthermore, I learnt from my 2008 and 2009 projects that these music styles overlap in terms of their social function and music structure, which means that
they share characteristics in terms of their song texts, musical material and social meanings. For more analysis of the stylistic characteristics of the music styles, please refer to chapters 5 and 6.

### 3.2.8 Theory

In this sub-section, I discuss the contribution of our academic frame of reference to our fieldwork.

A challenge in our fieldwork, which we overcame to some degree, was to ensure that our academic frame of reference contributed positively to the research process (Slides 83, 84, 85 and 86). The difference was the forms of habitus from which we internalised our music concepts and structures and the forms of habitus in which our informants internalised their music concepts and structures. We used western music theory to interact with our informants who used *Tshianzwane* music theory (Videos 13 and 17 and 24).

### 3.2.9 Data collection and documentation

In this sub-section, I explain why we chose to conduct fieldwork rather than use literature to explore *Tshianzwane* music. Furthermore, I introduce the music instruments we used in our fieldwork, and discuss the contribution of the methods we used to collect our data.

#### 3.2.9.1 Reasons for conducting fieldwork

During the short fieldwork project, we needed to collect our own data about *Vhavenda* music at *Tshianzwane* so that we could produce our findings. We studied their culture in its habitus, emphasizing the insider’s frame of reference. As we learnt that music cultures are sometimes in a process of change, we assumed that the information in the historical *Vhavenda* music literature as applicable to *Tshianzwane* music needed to be triangulated. We documented *Tshianzwane* music as practised during the period 18 to 25 August 2008; hence, the questions in my dissertation arise from the available information that we collected from *Tshianzwane* because, in ethnographic research, the research questions arise from the research process and information. Thus, in ethnographic
research, research findings are diverse because research questions arise from different or diverse research processes. Therefore, this project is my interpretation of the music practices and meanings of the Tshianzwane music cultural frame of reference at a specific time and place.

3.2.9.2 Music instruments

We used three types of drums in our lessons; the little murumba and the big murumba and the ngoma (the bigger drum) (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

![Image of drums](image.png)

Figure 6: The drum in the middle is an Ngoma and those on other side are the little murumba and the big murumba. The stick between the small drum on the left and the ngoma is used to play the ngoma.

3.2.9.3 Participation

My reason for focusing on the music styles from Tshianzwane is that I had been participant-observer in some rehearsals and performances of this music. While we were doing our fieldwork, we also attended informal lessons based on these music styles. Videos 6, 23, and 24 show Netshifhefhe teaching Madalane how to dance Tshigombela. Slide 95 illustrates that I learnt the Ngoma or big drum drumming by doing. Our participation was informal or unstructured about what we needed to observe. What was important was that the field site was Tshianzwane music and culture setting. In this Tshianzwane music culture setting, we participated in the singing, dancing and the playing of instruments, whereby each one of us had a song that we internalised. I learned Teretere (Slide 61), Madalane learnt Nduni Yanga (Slide 58), and Morake learnt Vho I Vamba Ngwena (Slide 66). While Morake and Madalane also danced in their songs, I participated in the drumming (Slides 55, 95 and 96).
The reason for my participation in the drumming was that it was difficult for me to learn the dancing because I am visually challenged. Hence, I was excluded from the dance steps as Netshifhefhe taught them. It is important to note that at Tshianzwane, music is embodied through demonstration and imitation. In our lessons, I sang a malende song called Teretere (tractor). For the purposes of the lessons, this song was arranged in two lines, which were each repeated twice. The response was singing Teretere and the song was as follows: Call: *Li a gwa mutshini ndi teretere* (The machine that is digging is a tractor); Response: *Hee ndi teretere* (Yes, it is a tractor). We repeated this segment twice. Call: *A ri yeni ri ye hayani* (Let us go home). Response: *Hee ndi teretere* (Yes it is a tractor). This is another segment that we repeated twice. We sang these two segments one after the other until the end of the song.

However, it is important to note that the “call” in Tshianzwane music is a performer’s expression, externalisation or contribution to development of social meanings (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). Thus in my case, for the purpose of learning, the song text was arranged in two lines or sentences. As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, I found overlaps between the music at Tshianzwane and Bapedi traditional music. As a result, I played the three types of drums based on my own cultural frame of reference. Performers use the ngoma to keep the main beat of the song (2008). Vhavenda at Tshianzwane use the big murumba to play rhythmic patterns of the dancer (2008). In the tshigombela, according to my analysis and field experience, the little drum plays the two pulses in between the main beat. In the malende, the little drum basically improvises (2008). As I am visually challenged, I played the little drums (the little murumba and the big murumba) as an improviser. I was thus playing to the sound structures I was hearing based on my frame of reference.

3.2.9.4 Observation

As an observer, I relied on my ears. Furthermore, Netshifhefhe sang the sound rhythmic patterns of the big murumba while he was teaching the dance (Video
24). This is also helpful for me because I use the recorded data to get an idea of how the dance steps of the tshigombela are formed.

3.2.9.5 Interviews

In our fieldwork, interviewing was an active way of participation and observation. Hence, we could ask questions in the conversation process for clearer understanding. Furthermore, we could initiate conversations when there was something we needed to know. Interviews contributed to the natural research process because we continuously asked questions. Our interviewing was in the form of informal conversations. Hence, questions arose from the research process. We took the opportunity to ask questions about Tshianzwane music styles like malombo (ancestor music ritual), tshikona (pipe dance), malende, tshigombela, children’s songs, Ramashia’s music, and Vhavenda culture. We approached our conversations with the participants as valuable material for our research project.

In explaining the music to us, Netshifhefhe kept referring to the past to show how the music has changed (2008). For example, he compared and contrasted the periods before and after 1994. He infers that 1994 was the beginning of the redefinition of Vhavenda tradition because the government introduced the idea of “rights”. Thus Vhavenda, as he inferred, regard it as their right to choose to practise Vhavenda culture. For example, “you can assert that it is…my religion…because we have…various religions…because of rights” (Munyai, Interview 2008). We conducted our field interviews based on a variation of similar questions. Sometimes this produced different answers to the same questions. Sometimes questions had to be rephrased or withdrawn because of differences in cultural frames of reference. This was because the informants had studied music in their traditional institutions, which meant that there was a difference between their and our music cultural frames of reference. I acknowledge that it is highly probable that informants informed us about information they needed us to hear.
3.2.9.6 Audiovisual recording

In order to document the information, we used a photo camera, video camera, voice recorders and an audiotape recorder. As was the case with participation, observation and interviewing, our recording was also informal or unstructured. With the audiovisual recorders, we also recorded our lessons (Video 23) and the performances that took place at the headman’s home (Video 21). In addition, we recorded children’s songs and games (Videos 25 to 36). At the headman’s home, we recorded the performances of malende, tshigombela and children’s songs. We also used these recorders to document our informal interviews. We photographed our lessons, the performances at the headman’s home and the visual appearance of Tshianzwane (Video 1). Since I am visually challenged, I used the audiovisual data to produce field notes from our fieldwork. I also relied on interviews and recordings to collect field data.

3.2.10 Leaving the field II

At the end of our fieldwork, we organised a farewell ceremony at the headman’s home. Furthermore, we shared our research final products with our informants. In response, Netshifhefhe commented that his name is Samson rather than Simon. He also recommended that I consult him for more information on Tshianzwane music culture.

3.2.11 Transcription, analysis and interpretation

In this sub-section, I explain how I used our field data.

I have transcribed the interviews we had with our informants. With the transcriptions, I analyse and interpret my field data to produce the meanings and definitions of Tshianzwane music culture and styles that are the concern of this dissertation. I use the video material and photos to explain the visual performance culture and contexts of the music at Tshianzwane village.

3.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have
• defined the research method and methodology, the concepts of paradigm, ethnographic method, sampling, race and ethnicity, methods of data collection and documentation;
• introduced the fieldworkers;
• briefly provided an account of my traditional music background and tribal identity;
• stated the reason for having chosen Tshianzwane as our field site;
• introduced our informants;
• mentioned our reasons for our home stay and their contribution to my research process;
• introduced Tshianzwane music styles I researched;
• discussed the contribution of our academic background on our fieldwork;
• introduced the music instruments we used in our fieldwork;
• explained how I use our field data in my dissertation; and
• explained why we chose to conduct fieldwork rather than use Vhavenda music literature to research on Tshianzwane music.

Furthermore, I have discussed

• how researchers and informants elicit and develop music cultural frames of reference;
• the challenges a researcher faces when s/he leaves the field;
• the ethical benefits and challenges the researchers’ research findings may face; as well as
• focused on how we used ethnographic method in our fieldwork at Tshianzwane at HaMakuya in the Limpopo Province of South Africa in 2008.

Since ethnographers need to study and understand music in its habitus during a specific time frame, chapter 4 is a description of the Tshianzwane habitus.
CHAPTER 4: Tshianzwane Village, Hamakuya

In this chapter, I sketch the conditions and culture of Tshianzwane village because they are important for the understanding of Tshianzwane music culture.

Figure 7: A view of Tshianzwane.

4.1 CULTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Rather than use a drum or a horn to call each other, nowadays people use music performances because, when people at Tshianzwane hear a music performance, they go to the place where it is taking place. One night when we were in the hut during our home stay at Netshifhefhe’s home, we started a performance that attracted people. In a short while, the hut was full and the performance lively.

4.2 SENIORITY

“All that” was a favourite phrase of our informants during our fieldwork in 2008 when they were externalising their music and culture. This means that it is likely that, in Tshianzwane village, seniors are expected to know better relative to their juniors. Thus, the knowledge of a junior is guided by that of his or her seniors. I witnessed this form of power hierarchy during our fieldwork. One morning when we were gathered at Netshifhefhe’s home, Netshifhefhe commented that he prefers someone else to teach him music, probably because Ramashia is his junior.

From my frame of reference that I developed years before and during our fieldwork, both males and females in Vhavenda culture use Vho to observe seniority. Furthermore, males use khotsi, ndaa! and musanda to respect their elders, while females use ah to respect both male and female elders. Musanda refers to the headman’s home. But it is important to note that this is an idea of how these concepts are used.
4.3 POWER AND GENDER

*Tshianzwane* is a village of about seventeen homes (*Munyai*, Interview 2008). Their society is divided into a ruling family and commoners (*Netshifhefhe*, Interview 2008). Hence the following *malende* song asserts that: *Tshigombela ndi tsha mahosi* (*Tshigombela* belongs to the chief), with the response: *Musiwana u tshi wana gai* (Where can the commoner get it?). *Tshigombela ndi tsha mahosi, Musiwana u tshi wana gai* is a common statement in *Tshianzwane* musical text and means that *tshigombela* belongs to the chief. As a metaphor, I think this statement means that the king deserves honourable treatment from his juniors. They have a male headman who, relative to before, has fewer powers to govern his village (The Headman’s Speech, Slide 81) because “now…you inform people that the chief need[s] you, someone will tell you”; s/he has personal commitments (2008).

Hence, in *Tshianzwane* culture someone who needs to organise an activity in the village needs to ask for guidance from the headman. In the village, men are heads of their families; a man takes the final decisions about the affairs of his family. However, since 1994 when the new government was installed, the traditional structures have changed. People use the idea of “rights” to negotiate the needs and expectations of the headman and men (2008). “So, in *Vhavenda* culture, to respect, a woman” is expected to sit down before she talks “to a man” (2008). She might also either kneel or lie down. If she lies down, she lies on one side of her upper body, with her hands serving as a pillow.

![Figure 8: Madalane before the beginning of a Malende performance in which she was expected to lead a song, Nduni Yanga. Since the malende performance was taking place at the headman’s home, she had to perform this ritual (*lotsha*) to respect and admire the headman and the men that were present in the performance space.](image-url)
“You know; dancing with the women, their owners, their husbands, need to be supportive” (2008). “The owner of the women” reflects the marriage structure in Vhavenda culture wherein men are senior to women.

4.4 PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

According to my fieldwork experience, Tshianzwane is a developing area. They lack electricity, a cell phone network, tarred roads, schools (primary and secondary), shops and churches. For further information about Tshianzwane village, refer to Videos 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Their developing condition is expressed in this tshigombela song (Video 7): Tshianzwane Ri Humbela Mayhone (Tshianzwane, we are asking for electricity or lights); Tshianzwane ri do funga-vho lini? (Tshianzwane, when are we going to set the village alight?). People attend school and church at the nearest villages, especially Guyuni. Tshianzwane is also surrounded by mountains. Even though some houses in this village are built of cement, some homes are grass-thatched huts. Its developing condition is also evident in its headman’s mastery of one language, namely Tshivenda. Munyai translated his speech to English in the farewell ceremony at his home in the final day of our fieldwork (The Headman’s Speech, Slide 82).

Figure 9: Maps (www.google.com; www.gcis.gov.za) of (a) Africa, (b) South Africa, (c) and (d) South Africa’s road infrastructure to Venda-Vhembe region, (f) Venda-Vhembe region, (g) Mutale Municipality.

Figure 10: Decorations on the inner side of the hut wall we were sleeping in at Netshifhefhe’s home. We also held some of our interviews in this hut.

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4.5 SPIRITUALITY

There are various religions at Tshianzwane (2008). Some people believe in vhadzimu (ancestors), some are Christians, while some people practice both Christianity and ancestor worship. As Netshifhefhe inferred, this has resulted in Vhavenda ancestor worship and Christian religious beliefs as varying or diverse opinions (2008). Christians refer to people who practice Vhavenda culture as heathens, while Vhavenda who practice Vhavenda culture refer to Christians as mashuvhuru (people who abstain from circumcision). My fieldwork experience revealed that some of the churches in the neighbouring villages to Tshianzwane are ZCC and Apostolic churches. As an equivalent of traditional healers, there are prophets at these churches. Netshifhefhe attends an apostolic church while Ramashia, who is now a traditional health practitioner, was once a prophet at this church (Ramashia and Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

4.6 ECONOMIC STANDARD

At Tshianzwane the high number of musical performers is a symbol of prestige for the organiser of the music performance or the ritual ceremony in which the performance takes place, in exchange for which the organiser offers food and drink such as meat and traditional beer (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). Nevertheless, people may need to be motivated by more than food and drink in order to attend a music performance. They prefer payment in the form of money. This shows that the monetary economic practice has interpenetrated the economic social practice of bartering. Furthermore, people also prefer to participate in the music performances in their leisure time. I witnessed that Tshianzwane is an agricultural economy, but people in the village need jobs, maybe because even an agricultural economy needs to be financed to flourish, and receive government social grants or remittances from families working in urban areas. In order to provide for their families, some people work at Tshulu Trust.
Figure 11: A photo of the Tshulu Camp (a) dining, (b) bedding, and (c) bathroom facilities (www.tshulutrust.com).

Tshulu camp is located at Tshianzwane and accommodates visitors who research or visit the game reserve. There are also mines in HaMakuya where some of the people find employment, while some find jobs in places such as the Gauteng and North-west Provinces of South Africa (Netshifhefhe and Ramashia, Interview 2008).

4.7 CONCLUSION

I have briefly presented some elements of the conditions and culture of Tshianzwane village because they are important for the understanding of their music. In addition, I have stated that the Tshianzwane cultural frame of reference has progressed as a result of “rights” and other developments in their village. Finally, it has emerged that there is a culture in which seniority is observed at the developing Tshianzwane. In chapter 5, I focus on how the research participants elicit Tshianzwane music culture patterns, in which process they also redefine its frame of reference.
CHAPTER 5: Tshianzwane music: the relationship between physical structure and abstractions in cultural progress and change

Elicitation of music culture patterns and frame of reference I

This chapter presents my editing, analysis and interpretation of a transcription of the interviews and conversations my co-researchers and I conducted at Tshianzwane village in 2008. My co-researchers were Dr Susan Harrop-Allin, Ignatia Madalane and Joseph Morake. Our informants were Samson Netshifhefhe, Paul Munyai and Obert Ramashia. In addition, there was Musiwalo, who was selected through our fieldwork process. For the purposes of my interview, I use the capital letters of the surnames and names to identify the interviewers and the interviewees in the entire chapter. I am TM, Dr Susan Harrop-Allin is SH, Ignatia Madalane is IM, Joseph Morake is JM, Samson Netshifhefhe is SN, Paul Munyai is PM, Obert Ramashia is OR and Musiwalo is M. Furthermore, since the research participants sometimes responded to a question collectively, I use C to refer to them as a collective. In this chapter, I attempt to elicit the music culture frame of reference of Tshianzwane. Thus, I focus on Tshianzwane music from an extra-musical point of view. I look at the village, the elders, the researchers, and the children, and how these facets of their society inform the nature and function of their music. In this sense, I use Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the production of music are extra-musical.

5.1 SOCIAL ORDER AND PROGRESS

In this section, I discuss some of the reasons for the progress of a social order; Tshianzwane music expertise and teaching process; how both the researcher and the informant contribute to the fieldwork; and the overlap between academic and Tshianzwane music style classification. In addition, I explain how Tshianzwane music performers embody the outsiders’ cultures, a process that redefines the local culture; and how Vhavenda literature and Tshianzwane music frames of
reference overlap. Furthermore, I assess the overlap between Tshianzwane and academic or western frames of reference and point out the need for a single frame of reference in fieldwork. Finally, I evaluate the idea that a frame of reference is reliable and valid in a specific time and place, and provide a picture of polygamy as people practise it at Tshianzwane.

If a social order could be free from contact with other cultures, it could be said to remain culturally pure. Even if it progresses, the progress could be so smooth that it is fulfilling to its people as per their established culture. For example, even though the king-commoner relationship is inferred to be oppressive on the commoner, at least in the eyes of the outsider, people at Tshianzwane see it as a good mode of living. However, a social order internalises other social orders since it is embedded in or interpenetrates with them. Furthermore, people in a particular habitus interpenetrate through interaction. Thus people and social orders progress or change through interaction and interpenetration amongst themselves. For example, the entry of European missionaries in Vhavenda-land contributed to the concept of vhadzimu. As a result, Mudzimu (the singular form of vhadzimu) now also refers to the Christian God.

Even though Vhavenda at Tshianzwane differentiate between music experts and learners, they make music collectively. They teach and learn their music through demonstration and imitation. Here SN compares car driving with music learning, but he is doing this on the assumption that the participants in the field know an automatic car and how it functions: “I can change it now, just like an automatic car. You know when you are driving a car; you can hear that now it is on the uphill, it needs gear number three” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). As a result, each one in the field can imagine the car he is talking about and how it is comparable to the cultural learning and expertise of Tshianzwane music. Since imagination is personal, my field experience informs me that imitation-demonstration rather than verbal or concept-based formal teaching in the music performance at Tshianzwane is the best learning-teaching method. As SN works with academic researchers, he learns how they do research so that he can provide
them with comprehensive information. Consequently, he learns about music concepts through academic music research and this develops his knowledge about music discourse and culture. In our fieldwork, we use cultural patterns such as singing, dancing, phrases, and movement in our music lessons and SN teaches us how to use these to compose *Tshianzwane* music.

There are arguments as to whether music and dance represent one cultural pattern. Since SN works with researchers and competition dance groups, cultural patterns prove to be the best way for him to teach *Vhavenda* music. This has varied or changed *Tshianzwane* musical culture because now a concern for euphony, a pleasant mood resultant from the overall musicmaking, is one of the considerations for its musical performance; especially in traditional music competitions (Slide 75). In Slide 75, SN encourages the *tshigombela* dancers from *Guyuni*, a neighbouring village to *Tshianzwane*, to dance in uniform steps so that they look beautiful. A further example is SH’s emphasis on excellence in the fieldwork music lessons. Even though for *Vhavenda* music experts like SN, euphony is only one of the considerations for a performance to be good, for the *Guyuni* dance group, euphony is enough for the appreciation of *tshigombela*.

“SN, when you are teaching the *tshigombela* dance, may you sing the dance steps so that the students easily understand them because they need to improve. As I hold TM’s elbows, demonstrating what I am talking about, I infer that it is in the physical aspect. He may play with his elbows stretched out. You may teach him so that he can play the drum like M. Now he is 80 percent competent, and we need a hundred.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

“Yesterday, at *Guyuni*, people who were playing the drum were embellishing rather than changing with the *tshigombela* dance steps” (2008). Even though SN sings the dance steps when he is teaching the *tshigombela* dance, he asserts that it is actually the task of the big drum (*murumba*); “as long as the sound is consonant with the person who is dancing” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). *Guyuni* *tshigombela* dancers were changing with the *tshigombela* dance steps but the drums they were playing had the same pitch (2008). As a result, it was challenging to hear which of the drums was playing the dance steps. “This is the case even in the *tshikona*. You can hear there is a *tshikona* there if the drums have
different pitches” (Munyai, Interview 2008). It is logical that I talk about Guyuni music while my research site is Tshianzwane village, because SN informed us that Vhavenda music is Vhavenda music, regardless of where it is located or performed. SN then informed us that he performs Vhavenda music in some areas beyond the HaMakuya region. Furthermore, Guyuni and Tshianzwane people perform music together; this thus raises debates on what qualifies as Tshianzwane music because, in terms of the demands of research method, my research site is Tshianzwane.

Since what qualifies as Tshianzwane music is debatable, mentioning a specific dance group or dance group leader from Tshianzwane and specific songs may allow the listener to decide on the genre or style of the music. Various factors contribute to meaning or identities of genres and styles, with economic initiatives ranking first. SN informs researchers and runs dance groups for a wage (Netshifhefe, Interview 2008). When the researchers need to document music performances, for example, he either calls his dance groups or organises one for them. The performance of dance groups as research participants differs from that of dance groups in tshigombela organised for leisure as it happened in Guyuni (2008). The performers interweave the style of music performance learnt in the research processes with Tshianzwane music culture through embodiment and externalisation. There are, according to my frame of reference so far, abstractions that interweave various cultures to form one lively culture. Tshianzwane has religions such as Christianity and ancestor worship (2008). Christian churches that have members at Tshianzwane are Apostolic churches and the Zion Christian Church. Members of these factions are part of the Tshianzwane social order. Since they interact, their cultures have converged to form one culture. Music performances contribute to the transformation of the multiple cultures at Tshianzwane into one culture because people at Tshianzwane attend malende, tshigombela and children’s song performances.

Blacking infers that it takes a person to be Muvenda to make Vhavenda music, and this is sometimes true at Tshianzwane. SH, as she probably believes in
Blacking’s inference that a person needs to be *Muvena* in order to make *Vhavenda* music, finds it challenging to believe that OR can try to play the big drum in *tshigombela* performance. There is a difference between SH’s and SN’s teaching methods, but the essence of this difference is that we and SN learn that *Vhavenda* literature based on Blacking’s fieldwork and *Tshianzwane* music frame of reference in 2008 overlap. Furthermore, *Guyuni* drummers produce ringing tones in their performance. Thus far, I have noticed that SN’s interaction with academics redefines his confidence in himself as an expert in *Vhavenda* music culture, which affects his cultural frame of reference.

“TM may you wait! Please let OR do this one because it is difficult for you to see *tshigombela* dance steps. You also need to be *Muvena* to dance *Vhavenda* music; John Blacking is right. Let OR try, he is much more likely to be able to do it since he is *Muvena*. There is a difference between when you play flat with the palms of your hands on the drum and when you play lifting the palms of your hands up from the drum. TM, you keep your hands flat on the drum and M bounces them so that it rings more. That is the difference I hear.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

While OR can try to play the big drum, as SN asserts, he can competently play the *ngoma*. As SN further asserts, when he is teaching the *tshigombela* dance, he sings the dance steps, but he informs SH that they will continuously learn since he can try to play the drum but knows how to sing and dance in the *tshigombela* performance. What he learnt today, as he asserts, is that the tone on the drum varies with how people play.

As a result of working with academic researchers, SN uses a western theatre method of teaching, which encourages or values agency rather than collective externalisation. This is at variance with *Vhavenda* culture, which values collective externalisation. Agency puts emphasis on “I”, while collective cultural expression puts emphasis on “we”. Thus, agency encourages people to each think of themselves as part of a group of people while collective expression encourages people to each think of themselves as a group. SH and IM can agree that the *ngoma* is challenging, but differ on the reason for that because each interprets phenomena in terms of their own frame of reference. Maybe they need to have embodied the same habitus, which could help them to express a shared
experience. *Vhavenda* put emphasis on a collective cultural expression because, according to their culture, it is good for social action-reaction to be predictable.

“When you are dancing, your body needs to be loose. You feel like you are alone in the space. It is the two of us. Even *Vhavenda*, we need to teach that concept. But as I asserted, the *ngoma* is the foundation of *tshigombela* or anything we are playing. The *ngoma* determines the tempo of the performance. But IM needs some improvement in her competence in the *tshigombela* dance. If we add a song to the dance steps we are busy practicing, people will be trying to understand whether we are dancing a *tshigombela.*” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

SH, as she asserts when comparing *Vhavenda* music culture with western music culture, often thinks that the *ngoma* is the more challenging drum to play because its player is like a conductor. She infers that s/he needs to lead the orchestra and if s/he gets slower, the whole orchestra will also get slower. S/he needs a beat inside her or himself. IM agrees that the *ngoma* is difficult to play but provides a different reason from SH’s: “Yes, because you are playing the same thing” (Madalane, Interview 2008).

The reliability and validity of a frame of reference is grounded in a specific time and place. Once it is applied to an outsider’s culture, it is likely to need further research to monitor its reliability and validity. Another factor for a frame of reference to need further research to monitor its reliability is a progressing or changing culture. Since cultures are progressive, an individual’s frame of reference also needs to be progressive to remain in harmony with the culture that formulated it. SN belongs to a generation that is trying to manage the progress from the pre-1994 to the post-1994 *Vhavenda* cultures. Before 1994, *Vhavenda* were guided by their king, while in the post-1994 era with its emphasis on human rights, they each have rights to determine their survival (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). SN and the current generation have overlapping frames of reference on practices such as polygamy, for instance.

“My father had multiple wives, maybe about seven. Now these women are jealous; they need me to marry one woman. So she is in a *malende* dance, maybe drinking beer. She saw a woman who is going around with me her husband and start a song, *Nduni Yanga thi funi muthu*. Men we need so many women. What is a man? A man is a rolling stone” (2008). “Exactly” (Morake, Interview 2008). “Wherever I lay my head is my home.” (Madalane, Interview 2008)
5.2 MUSIC CULTURAL PATTERNS AND ABSTRACTION-PHYSICAL STRUCTURAL INTERPENETRATION

In this section, I

- evaluate the importance of prescribed attire in a music performance;
- explain that the researchers and their informants collectively make the field data;
- evaluate the idea that what we see and hear can to some degree explain what Tshianzwane music culture is;
- evaluate how Tshianzwane music culture embodies the outsider’s concepts;
- explain that, even in one habitus, there is diverse social meaning;
- evaluate the idea that sometimes the insider’s frame of reference internalises the outsiders’ cultures;
- point out the importance of competence in the insider’s language;
- evaluate the idea that, in the fieldwork; the participants use spoken language, which tends to overlap with the written one;
- evaluate the idea that the insider’s and the outsider’s frames of reference on how loud and soft instruments need to overlap;
- explain that some of the information that the research participants provide about the insider’s culture is historical;
- evaluate the idea that if some of the main gatekeepers in the research site need explanations about the fieldwork and its purpose, the research process is affected; and
- evaluate the idea that, even though it is clear that people at Tshianzwane perform traditional music for economic benefit, it seems that they prefer to present it differently.

Even though people needed to wear traditional attire in the music rehearsals to encourage collective cultural expression, today there is flexibility in the music culture (*Netshifhefhe*, Interview 2008). When IM was dancing, I was interested when SN inferred that people who dance *tshigombela* wear short skirts because
they need to concern themselves with dancing rather than lifting long skirts. I thought that that means it is important to wear short skirts in the *tshigombela*. The hands of the dancers, as SN asserts, need to be dancing, but he emphasises that it needs to be a fairly long skirt. He further asserts that even today he likes the way IM dresses herself. Even in the past, as he informs us, real women would cover their knees.

SH’s role as a supervisor in the fieldwork, as she also is aware, influences the music learning. SN apologises when his and SH’s opinions differ. SH carried out research on *Vhavenda* music before, which might be the reason for her thinking that IM long skirt will be fine. However, for us students, it is the first time we participate in fieldwork on *Vhavenda* music and it might be a good idea to witness what SN recommends, but sometimes SN presents his different opinion from SH’s directly. When IM informs SN that she has a short skirt, SH expresses her opinion:

“We are interfering in the field anyway. Please, may we save time? She will be fine. SN you are teaching. The students primarily need to learn how to actually sing, play and dance in one or two songs. So it is more important that they learn one song in a deep way rather than learn many songs. And the other thing they need to do is to write down the music in notation, western notation. What they will need to do is to bit by bit write down the words and their meanings. They can also use Tonic Sol-fa to transcribe the songs” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “Just look at her dress! But SH, I think it is fine because you are helping me to help these students to do what we need. But regarding the notation, they will do it.” (Netshifhefie, Interview 2008)

The difference in *Tshianzwane* music styles lies in cultural abstractions, rather than in physical musical structures. In terms of physical musical structures, *Tshianzwane* music also shares characteristics with other African music cultures. Nevertheless, it takes learning or embodiment rather than being an African to make African music. Thus JM is showing me a different rhythmic pattern from what he intended to as I can hear when he sings it, but it is clear that he is concerned with the type of tone SH needed to hear. As can be heard from the recordings, various people produce varying tones from performance to performance, even when they are playing the same drum. Furthermore, I use my cultural frame of reference to participate in and analyse *Tshianzwane* music.
‘Would you play the last note with your left hand? Let me help you TM. The notes are bouncing. I gave you the right rhythmic pattern, you are changing it now. Are you left-handed? The type of tone we hear is determined by how the drum player plays the drum. But, since you disagree with me, are you telling me that I misunderstand my teacher? I understand him’ (Morake, Interview 2008)

But SH infers that it could be the other way because I am right handed. She asks me to start with my right hand or put my hand on M’s hand so that I feel what she does when she is playing the drum. Maybe, as she asserts, I need to feel it. She then asks me whether I can hear that it is different. I respond that I just use my right hand to write. Furthermore, I infer that I am playing the ngoma satisfactorily but JM tries to play the small drum satisfactorily. He plays it differently. He needs some improvement to play the small drum much better. He is dividing the dotted crotchet beat into four semiquavers and beats on the last two. He needs to divide the beat in thirds so that he can play the last two. SN asks me to play the ngoma a bit faster. He advises me to pay attention to my role; other fieldwork participants are minding their roles too. I, as he asserts, need to maintain the style when I start a song and play a steady rhythm until we finish.

There is a variation in the interjections that SH and SN use to refer to the sound of the ngoma. SH uses bum bum bum while SN uses tu tu tu. SH’s interjection that refers to the sound of the ngoma influences SN’s. Furthermore, “left right left right” is likely to be a language that characterises some military physical training exercises. PM uses it to teach Vhavenda music.

“Joseph, you do the bum. Who is going to play the ngoma?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “Ngoma is tu tu tu” (Netshifhehe, Interview 2008). “You need to know that you sometimes hold with right when you are learning the tshigombela dance. That is like left right left right.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

Since cultures vary from one area to another even within one habitus, it is a good idea for the fieldworker to find out from the insider about his or her culture. Even though SH researched Vhavenda music at Vhurivhuri village, she still has more to learn about it since villages (various forms of habitus) each have varied or different music cultures; “There is a lead drum, you start” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)...“Which one, the ngoma? The ngoma starts playing before we dance the tshigombela” (Netshifhehe, Interview 2008). Even though SH is aware
that participation and imitation are learning methods at Tshianzwane, she is also aware that these methods are sometimes a solution to academic research questions. A “movement” is a western concept that JM uses in the field process and SN needs to know about it. But when he is faced with new concepts, SN often chooses to rely on his cultural frame of reference. In contrast, SN responds differently to the usage of outsiders’ concepts in Vhavenda culture when SH is present in the fieldwork lessons.

John Blacking infers that there is in essence something more to Vhavenda music culture than just to be Muvenda, because other tribes such as Bapedi and Vatsonga participate in Vhavenda music culture or Vhavenda music culture embodies their music cultures.

It is generally a culture amongst black people, which is also reflected in their song texts, to use metaphors to promote positive living or observation of seniority. A person might, rather than state that he is going to the toilet, be comfortable stating that he is going to fetch firewood. In our fieldwork, the “office of the government” is a metaphor we use to refer to the toilet. Instead of stating that I am going to the toilet, I would state that I need to see people at government offices.

SH asserts that she thinks it will also be a good idea if we see how Tshianzwane people practice their music. Therefore, we are interested in how they teach people, rather than witnessing a perfect performance. She asks whether, before we learn how to perform malende, we will have an opportunity to see and hear malende. Furthermore, she thinks that IM needs some sort of lightness in her body when she dances tshigombela.

“M, you have been dancing for a long time and there are only footprints on the ground. That means I am using part of my body differently when I am dancing. When I lift my body, I need to put my weight somewhere else. I need to know where the lightness goes because I am digging a hole on the ground when I dance. I also need to know how to explain this lightness. I know I am lighter than M. That is what John Blacking is inferring, that you need to be Muvenda for you to dance tshigombela. I also saw women dancing malende, they jump but there is some kind of lightness in their bodies. There are simple things like for example in physical theatre; they would teach that if you need to do a jump like this, your weight needs
to be like that. My question is; with the lifting of legs on the various parts like left right left right, how do I explain this?” (Madalane, Interview 2008)

JM asks whether we can wait for the movement to play or explain the lightness. He then suggests that the lightness can best be felt. PM asserts that the children are copying from us, which may be a reason for the importance of feeling in understanding Tshianzwane music. SN informs SH that we, the students, will see malende performance today. He further asserts that he has a different opinion about what Blacking infers, and asks how he can tell IM where the lightness is gone. He asserts that he needs IM to dig more. She only needs to dance with him in the correct tempo. SN informs and asks IM that when people are dancing, “you will see the one who twists their hips and so on. Do you need to be like them?” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). He then informs IM that when he teaches her how to dance she needs to co-operate, and tells her that SH only expresses her opinion, the heavy and light in the tshigombela dance. He asserts that since he started the tshigombela dance or malende it is for the first time he comes across this. He continues that IM can do it until the office of the government. “I am a man but can dance this step. Why can a man do that which is culturally for women? Tshigombela is for women. Now you need to be just like a real Muvenda tshigombela dancer” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

If the researcher needs to know the insider’s language, the insiders sometimes accommodate her in their conversations if they talk about things she may appreciate. What is interesting is that SH needs to be aware that PM, in Tshivenda, is talking about her with her idea of challenging the students to a 100 percent competence. PM is asserting that it is only theoretical to be 100 percent competent. Maybe she thinks we are laughing about the drum. Furthermore, “Tsrirrrrrrrrrrr” is an interjection that, for SN, refers to the sound of the whistle that the tshigombela facilitator blows when facilitating the tshigombela dance. My observation is that SN uses interjections when he runs out of English concepts. “When I express tsirrrrrrrrrrrrr, we sit down” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

Even though Vhavenda are comfortable if an instrument in a performance shows wear and tear, SH has a different point of view. In Vhavenda culture, music and

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music performance are a way of communicating with or calling people from villages. It is thus a good idea for music to be as loud as possible. While I am playing the ngoma, JM comments that I am going to break it, whereas IM says that I am very loud on the ngoma. SH suggests that I need to just keep it on the same tempo but stay softer, otherwise people are going to come running from the villages. SH uses the interjection phu to refer to the loud sound of the ngoma, which is different from SN’s tu. SN’s interjection tu refers to the sound of the ngoma rather than its softness and loudness.

“TM, I wish you could see what you have done to this ngoma, these things are disconfigured [i.e. show signs of wear and tear] because you were beating it so strong. You are calling people from the villages. They are going to come over the hills in large numbers coming to hear; who is this new drummer in Tshianzwane who is hitting the ngoma so loud it is echoing down like phu?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SH informs SN that they have their phones on in case we the students need to call them because they are leaving for the camp, but since there is a network problem, she suggests that they need to work out a drum for us to call them at the camp, and a big one. She suggests that she also needs to have a drum at the camp; then she calls back, tu tu tu. She suggests that instead of cellular phones, they need to have drums, which for her is like magic. She asks whether calling people with a drum is an old tradition or just a signal. She further asks whether the calling on the kudu horn is at variance with the calling on the drum or means something different. JM needs to know about the drum that the chief uses to call people.

“Now people are at their homes or other commitments. But if people go to the headman’s home now tu tu tu, people will come. The chief uses the Tsimbi to call people; or you mean at the ngomalungundu time? But he uses the horn” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “Anyway, in the olden days they used the kudu horn to call people. When they blew it away, people knew that there is something happening at the headman’s home.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

The headman is one of the pathways into his village. It is likely that people critically consider his word because, contrary to before, commoners now need to fend for themselves. Thus SN chooses to confer with SH for economic reasons. However, to observe research ethics, SH decides to send PM to explain to the headman what the video camera is for since he is concerned. Furthermore, SH
prefers to see the insider’s culture from an outsider’s point of view, which might be the reason why the headman is concerned. It might be that, in the headman’s culture, a headman approaches his juniors through culturally organised communication channels, maybe through the headman’s wife or assistants. But SH seems to know the cultural channels for communicating with the headman since she did research on Vhavenda music before. If she follows them, maybe the headman might respond favourably. IM informs us that SH wants us to record the children when they are playing because she is interested in what they are doing.

“The headman asserts that he needs explanations on why I film the children and I think he really needs to understand what I am trying to do; we asked for a permission to be here. Sometimes when people see a video camera, they think it is a television; it is just for my research. PM may you go and explain it to him. He also needs to appreciate that I contribute economically to people of Tshianzwane. He looks like a man who needs to improve his communication skills. I met him here last year and he needs to know about me because I have a camera; I am pointing it at the children. But I think he thinks that I am doing it for self enrichment. I am doing it for research. But we need to meet the headman’s wife.”
(Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SN informs SH that she needs to take it easy, even though it is a big issue. He informs her that she is doing something for the people of Tshianzwane. They, as he asserts, needed bread and vegetables here at his home but now they have them and the headman needs to appreciate that. SN further informs SH that they are staying with a different headman. Their headman, as SN explains, may need to be in touch with his people so that he knows what they expect from him; he needs to know why SH named that camp Tshulu Trust rather than Tshianzwane. SN asserts that on Thursday or Saturday their headman was here and he tried everything he could to be friendly with him. Furthermore, as SN further asserts, these drums need to be their headman’s property; he only stores them in his home when traditional music performers have other commitments. SN comments that if Vhavenda chief could come here, he would have a different opinion about their headman because of how he treats children, but promises that PM will address the issue with him. He informs us that the headman will respond violently, which means that PM needs to be strong.
Previously, people lived on agricultural products; today, they need money to afford their basic and luxury needs. The shift from the agricultural economy to the monetary economy penetrates Tshianzwane through Tshianzwane music culture. However, SN presents the idea that he benefits economically from the research process. SH asks whether SN is going to create another dance group here to teach people. She further asserts that she finds Tshianzwane music culture interesting. SH infers that tradition is now associated with money and asks whether Tshianzwane music culture is about selling their tradition. She infers that the whole idea of tradition is for an individual and his community; it is different from selling a product. There is something interesting going on for us music students, as SH asserts, when people’s culture becomes a commodity.

“What happened in Tshianzwane with people making music? Do people make music for money, or do they just sing, dance and play their drums for ritual reasons? What would happen if your headman blows this horn today; would anybody respond? What would happen if the chief blows a horn and informs people that they need to perform tshikona? Would they perform it if something such as a ceremony is happening? You can just do tshikona for fun and pride. It is the notion of tradition is work. Then how does Tshianzwane music play between these things? I mean how do the tshigombela at the competitions, the tshigombela here at Tshianzwane and the tshigombela twenty years ago differ from each other? For example, how does malende sound and look different here at Tshianzwane, in a school and in OR’s music? Is it the same or does it change, do the words, melody, rhythmic and dance structure change?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SH further needs to know whether Tshianzwane music culture is about the relationship between the music and a space or social space. Why would people, she asks, ask for money from SN and why are they economically dependent? Does SN, SH further asks, perform Tshianzwane music for free because he feels it is important to perform it? It is, as she speculates, about the visibility, it is important to be known; it may be a gain for the performers to travel by bus, getting a uniform or a teacher. She asserts that she finds Tshianzwane music culture amazing. For SH, musicmaking is about the personal gain in learning a song. She also asserts that people generate income through stokvels and needs to know whether they have stokvels here at Tshianzwane. IM states that now performing tshigombela is associated with work; she asserts that the difference is that with stokvels people save, the money comes back to them; they gain. The
challenge with doing what SN suggests, IM explains, is that people need to donate their money, but people need something they prefer, something that they can see – a beast or money. She further needs to know whether there is a Tshianzwane music cultural group representing Tshianzwane village at the traditional music competitions at Thohoyandou.

“I informed Prof. Lara Allen that I can teach Tshianzwane music for free. If you call me to the camp to teach these people I will come because I would be so happy if they tell people that I taught them and they know what I taught them. That is my trophy. But these people, when you ask them to do something, even if it is so affordable, they need money. Otherwise the king needs to promise a beast for meat if he wants people to perform traditional music. Before, people used to perform traditional music for free. Now the first thing they would need is transport. Few people here can afford money for transport. For people to dance tshigombela they need to be about 32 in number, which makes the economic challenge unbearable for us” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “Even those who are competing at Thohoyandou will get some money.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

5.3 GEOGRAPHICAL AND MUSIC CULTURAL MAPPING OF HABITUS

In what follows I aim to

- evaluate the idea that tshigombela overlaps with Vatsonga shibelana;
- consider the idea that the pulse, even though Tshianzwane music culture shares it with other music cultures (Kubik 1994), proves to be the physical structure that expresses abstractions;
- explain that when a music style becomes variable, the new ones inherit its culture;
- explain that Tshianzwane traditional music is now one of the forms of entertainment and recreation;
- explain that the need to maintain sound in the society is also a custodian of Tshianzwane music culture;
- evaluate the idea that the rainmaking ritual contributes to the preservation of Tshianzwane music culture;
- explain that the accounts on the origin and identity of Tshianzwane music styles are speculative;
• evaluate the idea that music cultures progress because their custodians progress;
• consider the idea that a school is an area of social interaction where diverse cultures converge to form another culture;
• point out that music competitions have long been an established tradition in Vhavenda culture;
• explain that music style amounts to a shared cultural abstraction. Thus a variation or change in music style instrument structure amounts to a variation or change in a shared music abstraction and vice versa;
• explain that through music, the idea of “rights” penetrates Tshianzwane but as reinterpreted and that, since Tshianzwane music is one of the means for recreation and entertainment, its social function has thus progressed.

Here, SN compares the tshigombela with shibelana rather than just focus on tshigombela. The essence of SN’s comparison of the tshigombela and the shibelana is that some of the Vatsonga and Vhavenda share the same social space. As a result, there is a dialogue between Vatsonga and Vhavenda music cultures. However, even though IM is Mutsonga, as she informs us, she grew up in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. She thus lives far away from Vhavenda because her home is relatively far from Vhavenda region. Furthermore, as IM explains, she had only watched the shibelana in her life. I think the reason for this is that Vatsonga in the Mpumalanga province had their space embedded within the Bapedi and amaSwazi homelands to promote their culture over the years. Their culture was promoted in what was then their homeland, Gazankulu, a neighbour of Vhavenda homeland. Furthermore, when outsiders’ words are internalised by Tshianzwane culture, they often adopt new meanings, hence SN uses “leader” and “referee” to refer to that which researchers would preferably call an organiser and facilitator. Even though SH is more concerned about the tshigombela as a fixed form of dance, she also needs to consider what SN asserts about the shibelana. The two dances have fixed steps but differ because they are located in different music cultures.
“Tshigombela has fixed dance steps. It is beautiful but challenging because what you are dancing is at variance with what you are singing and also at variance with the drums” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “Exactly” (Munyai, Interview 2008). “Tshigombela needs a leader. We call him or her a referee like in soccer. We call him or her malugwane. He is the one who cues changes in the dance steps. The performers need to do what the malugwane is doing. IM as a Shangana, do you know shibelana? Have you ever seen them? Tshigombela overlaps with shibelana. What the drum is doing is what the malugwane is doing. You need to listen to it carefully. The small drum player can look anywhere when we are performing the tshigombela, but the one who is changing needs to look at me the malugwane. She needs to play what I do with my legs” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “I have only watched the shibelana dance in my lifetime.” (Madalane, Interview 2008).

Even though the performance patterns might appear at variance with each other as cultural bodily hexis or externalisation, there may be a pulse structure that holds them together as one embodied habitus. Furthermore, it is also likely that informants answer “yes” when SH asks about the pulse because they need to please her. Pulse is certainly new to them. I can talk about abstractions successfully if I can first elicit them, which is difficult or impossible. “It is the pulse. Do you play it sitting here?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008) “Yes, it is the pulse” (Collective, Interview 2008). “Ngoma is tu tu tu. But you can play the murumba the way you like” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

Even though the bepha is in essence historical, its challenges are still visible in the new music setting of traditional music competitions. Thus the challenges of the traditional music competition culture have changed the Tshianzwane music culture. SN informs us that he has been here since the year 2000. When he was up there, as he asserts, he had a competent traditional music team, Tshigombela and malende, and they used to earn first position at the traditional music competitions. However, the women felt that they needed men behind the women because they helped the women to achieve first positions (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). Thus, SN asserts, the other groups are jealous. They suggest that at the competitions, people give themselves first positions even before they dance; after they have danced, they achieve the last position (2008). “Then the following year when you call them they assert that the judges would rather be fair” (2008). SH infer that the women needed SN as a follower, which for her is political. JM infer that the women were jealous because the better coach happened to be a man. Furthermore,
I can infer that traditional music was used for recreation in the past. Since now people have other means of entertainment and recreation, they can choose to go to a soccer game, to watch TV and so on instead of attending the traditional music performances. “You are right” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

According to Vhavenda culture, a moment of silence is observable when there is news such as death in the village, but today this tradition has a new meaning because people have rights (2008). It is then logical that SN found people at Tshianzwane comfortable with silence at any time. Furthermore, SN contributed to the redefinition of Tshianzwane music culture by introducing Vhavenda music culture he had learnt from where he had stayed before:

“I can infer that, when I came here, OR can be my witness, I introduced traditional music; tshigombela and malende. Maybe there was malende, OR? But I asserted to the headman, this village is too quiet. I prefer a village different from this one.” (2008)

Through music, people of Tshianzwane believe they can receive rain (2008). They use music to pray for rain from their ancestors. Furthermore, today Vhavenda are aware that there are many other cultures in the world that are at variance with or different from theirs (2008). They are aware that some of these cultures believe in the power of ancestors over nature. Hence to declare that “We believe so” (Netshifhefhe and Munyai, Interview 2008) is evidence that Vhavenda have progressed from seeing themselves and their social order as a whole to seeing themselves and their social order as divisible into individuals, religions, and so on. Thus, Mvenda interpretively believes in the power of ancestors, which is at variance with what used to happen before. Furthermore, Mvenda believes that ancestors have power if a person believes they do, which is an implication of the teachings of the interpretive approach. PM informs us that when there is a need for food and water, the chief or the headman can convene a tshikona to come and play. If they play it the whole night, as PM informs us, it will rain the following day. He also informs us that they sing songs such as Ho Vhua Lianya when they pray for rain from ancestors in times of drought because they can plough when there is rain.
“Remember last year? I mean it was heritage day at Mutale. There was a beautiful tshigombela, but I heard some tshikona, I heard tshikona at Vhurivhuri and Mutale. It was very hot. The tshikona played and it rained the whole of the following week. I infer that the tshikona really works” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “We believe so.” (Netshifhefhe and Munyai, Interview 2008)

Sometimes it is a good idea for the researcher to do prior research on the community in his research site. Even though malende could have started at the murula drinking contexts (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008), this needs more exploration because beer forms an integral part of Vhavenda ritual ceremonies; hence, people drink and sing in other ritual spaces too. Furthermore, that malende is a beer song may be historically correct since people can now dance it even if they are enjoying any other food and drink (Munyai, Interview 2008). Nevertheless, it is compelling to infer that malende has its name because it is associated with beer rather than that its origin is a beer-drinking context. Thus through passage of time, meanings interpenetrate while memory is blurred or lapses.

“You mean people were dancing malende even when drinking the marula beer? Then they sing the beer song. Malende is the same as a beer song” (Horrop-Allin, Interview 2008)? “The marula beer during February time. Now malende started there. Malende is a beer song” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “Malende is performed when people enjoy beer. But now we can perform it even when we are enjoying any other food and drink or for leisure time.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

While in the past caution for discipline from the king was the custodian of Tshianzwane music culture, music competitions and research are currently other custodians of Tshianzwane music culture (2008). SH asserts that, since we may need to come in February, on Thursday we will pretend that it is February. SN, in response, informs us that they have already started brewing the sorghum traditional beer, but he emphasizes that a long time ago, the chief facilitated tradition. He would only facilitate some of the music styles here in his home but Tshigombela is for the chief or the headman (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “Today, because tshigombela dancers are like a team of soccer, they perform for money” (2008). “It is competitions such as those that I am informing you that they are happening now at Thohoyandou that tshigombela and tshikona still exist.” (2008)
“Before, the headman used to ask the juniors or vhakoma, may you go and blow these, I need men, and then they go around pu pu pu and people come. Those who have some commitments need to inform him. Otherwise, they might need to offer a beast as per the headman’s disciplinary processes. He then informs them that tomorrow he needs men and boys to play tshikona, he is going for Thohoyandou. The tshikona of that time, before this one of competitions, was so nice and beautiful” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “A fine was a disciplinary process for encouraging good social behaviour.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

A school is a place where people from various villages share cultures. It therefore is a site where various cultures converge and where cultures interpenetrate:

“Children play and sing as part of what they are in the world rather than for any other reason; they do it to communicate with each other. The children in the townships still do this, they do the clapping. But they are, as a resultant benefit, learning at the same time.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

In my experience, there are other children’s games where children make a circle and go around it. A person goes around the circle searching for a competitor. He chooses the one with whom he feels he can compete successfully. Once a person is chosen, he leaves a space in the circle. He then needs to compete for that place with the person who chose him. They go around the circle in opposite directions. He who arrives second will find the space occupied. He then needs to choose a competitor and keep competing for a space in the circle. “That one was one of the athletics of Vhavenda. But we are singing to make the game interesting” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). The transformed culture of Tshifasi is embedded in the malende and now adults can also perform this Tshifasi (2008). Since a beast is a favourite source of food in Vhavenda culture, it is logical that children in the Tshifasi sing about it. Thus Vhavenda prefer to sing about their embodied experiences.

“I informed you about Tshifasi” (2008). “This song, Ndi Ndothe, is related to Tshifasi. Ndi Ndothe means that the song leader has seen a beast in the bush while she was alone. She now has negative memories about the beast and would rather explore other places” (Munyai, Interview 2008). “But it is culturally boys and girls who perform Tshifasi.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

Cultural frames of reference sometimes embody new concepts as synonyms or antonyms of their local ones. Here, “rights” serves as “a synonym for disrespect of a king by his juniors”.

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“Since people affiliate with a variety of religions and belief systems because of democracy, now a person can use his religious right to defend his interests. Since people have rights, they do things that they like” (Munyai, Interview 2008). “Since you say that long time ago people had no rights, I need to know how long ago” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “Let me assert that before 1994” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “You see this is an interesting interpretation of rights because human rights mean the right to be reasonable. Now there is an interesting relationship between human rights, the understanding of human rights and freedom, tradition and money. It has more than just to need money. Thus a right means that people in the country have an equal opportunity to go and work, to have a house, access to water or education. It means more than to give me money in exchange for tradition. The word tradition is being used to change tribal traditional structures. So it is reinterpreted.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SN is 62 years old but can still dance like a young energetic person. Since he had been an athlete, it would be a good idea to explore the reason for his physical strength before inferring that the traditional dance made him strong. It is for now compelling to infer that his athletic training and Tshianzwane cultural dance experience account for his physical strength.

“I used to participate in the South African Comrades Marathon and won silver medal six times. I also participated in traditional games. We were so strong because these children’s games were competitions whose function was to promote Vhavenda pride” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “OR, your job is to teach the children of Tshianzwane the frog song. Can you imagine how strong your children would be if they do that daily?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

5.4 OBERT RAMASHIA’S BIOGRAPHY

Since it is important to understand the music maker as an individual, in this section, I provide an account of Obert Ramashia’s (henceforth OR) background and use it to elicit Vhavenda culture of collective expression. OR spent a large part of his life in Vhavenda villages and their culture of collective expression is clearly visible in him, both as an individual and a musician. He has a strong passion for other people and expectations of reciprocity. He thinks of himself as “we” in the world and spends his life focused on maintaining harmonious relationships in the community. His musical and personal life expresses some Vhavenda norms and values: learning through imitation and demonstration; women as juniors to men; marriage and family; ancestors and Mwali (God). The “we” in the world of OR is characterized by negative elements: negative texts in his music; the adoption of musics from other cultures and challenges of
authenticity to local culture; social change and the fall of euphony, a condition which keeps people crying for the social order they are comfortable with; the fall of collective culture and the rise of individualistic culture; norms and disgrace; fear of witchcraft; premarital sex, child bearing and shame as a consequence of social stigma.

OR’s other name is Ntshaveni, which means “be afraid of me” (Ramashia, Interview 2008). Maybe it has to do with the idea that, as he asserts, his father needed his mother to fear him; which is reflective of a culture where women are inferior to men. He was born and nurtured here at Tshianzwane, is married and has “five, four children; two boys and two girls” (2008). He was “born in 71, 1971 March 2nd. In 1984 I was 15, 14 years old” (2008). He and his wife have their own home where they live together with their children (2008). OR’s lapses of memory of historical events are evidence that some rural people observe time flexibly. For them, euphony in social events is more important than timelines:

“OR, you also know malende well. What is interesting is that you use malende in your music because I can hear it. That is our question; it is what we need to find out. You can teach one of the students one of your songs; you may play the guitar and they sing. Maybe one of the students will come and interview you on how your music and Tshianzwane music culture interpenetrate.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

Ramashia began his music career in 1984 playing Vhavenda traditional music, malende, children’s songs, Tshifasi, church songs and his own music ideas (Ramashia, Interview 2008). He was inspired by Albert Mundalamo wa ha Tshikundamalema from Khuvhi, who played Vhavenda traditional songs (2008). OR lived at Hamutele village at his grandmother’s place where he also attended school (2008). One day, OR asserts, he found Albert Mundalamo wa ha Tshikundamalema at a beer gathering playing his guitar. OR, he further asserts, heard him singing that some people are headmen, others are given cars, but he Albert Mundalamo wa ha Tshikundamalema was given musicianship and censorship roles. This is reflective of a culture of battle for seniority. That was the time of President Mphephu (2008). OR saw what Albert Mundalamo wa ha Tshikundamalema was doing and asked to hold his guitar and observed how he
was holding it (2008). Even after Albert Mundalamo wa ha Tshikundamalema and his guitar had left the village, OR continued doing what he had learnt from him (2008).

“I was playing a self-made Castrol container guitar with wire strings until Professor Lara Allen bought me a guitar as a present this year, February 2008. I was performing here at home. Now I perform at Thohoyandou, at the shops; Golden Meat and Spar. In my music I sing about anything that is happening on earth and infer that challenges need negotiations; maybe similar to what happened when Mandela was facing disciplinary processes in 1988. I think it was August or July.” (2008)

OR has a debut CD that was released in July last year “on 24 June, 24 December” (2008). He goes around selling CDs at PM’s home village, since he and they know each other (2008). They also, OR asserts, inform him about people or customers who need cassettes or CDs. Before he recorded his music, he needed money to record at his cousin Ishmael’s affordable recording studio (2008). Ishmael recorded OR at a reasonable payment (2008). While he was at school, “from 84 to 89, 1990”, OR went to Tshaulu where he started using an electric keyboard and a guitar that belonged to the brothers of his other cousin, Rosina, (2008). He, OR asserts, borrowed them when he needed to go and record and returned them afterwards.

In research, we are encouraged to ask questions that allow the informant to elaborate rather than answer yes or no. For example, “as someone who uses malende in your music, what is it that is in the malende that you use, is it the melody or the rhythm” (Morake, Interview 2008)?

“So as a malende dancer, how do you identify with this? That is if we are going back to issues of reflection and society. Remember you inferred that the minute you bring in instruments like guitar and piano, these are western, when you listen to OR’s music, do you listen to it, do you appreciate it as your traditional music, or is there a difference? You think it is as good or you think it is authentic, authentic meaning real, original?” (2008)

SN, as he asserts that he understands JM’s question, informs us that when he listens to the guitar players and infers that what they are playing is malende, it is because of the song he knows. He is, as he asserts, able to do that because he is a malende and tshigombela dancer. With some of them, especially the lead guitar,
he hears it because it often sings exactly what malende performers sing (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). He can hear from the rhythm of the guitar whether a particular song is malende or tshigombela (2008). SN asserts that they still appreciate Vhavenda guitar music and still hear it as traditional even though the guitar musicians are using western instruments. He asserts that their music is at variance with original Vhavenda music culture since it is played on the guitar.

“Do you know what is original? Original is something which is real. Original is like, my name is Netshifhefhe, but I have ancestors who were called Netshifhefhe. Therefore, the original one is the first person who was named Netshifhefhe. The original Malende are played on traditional instruments” (2008). “OR, I understand that you are a traditional health practitioner. Do you think you can use your recorded music as music to heal? Your practice of vadzimu as a traditional health practitioner is at variance with your music.” (Morake, Interview 2008) “Let me translate JM’s question for you in Xitsonga” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “I can just incorporate one traditional song in my music, but I am considerate of the vhadzimu.” (Ramashia, Interview 2008)

IM informs us that in the interview she had with OR when we were coming back from Guyuni, she asked him about the content of his music. He asserted that he speaks about issues: social issues, something from around the world to his society, as well as what is happening in his society (Madalane, Interview 2008). On how he incorporates malende into his music, OR gave IM an example: leaders today are involved in social challenges (2008). OR, IM asserts, develops this kind of an idea into a malende song and that is how he incorporates malende into his music.

“OR, why do you sing, do you sing to entertain or do you sing to make money? Who do you look up to for the progress or change of tradition here at Tshianzwane because at Guyuni and other villages they still dance traditional music?” (2008)

In response, OR replies that there is need for respect; a person has his rights and choice to practice tradition. “Today I am under the rights of South African government” (Ramashia, Interview 2008). OR asserts that he has discovered that rights have redefined and reinterpreted Vhavenda tradition. “If they inform us that they are calling us at the chief’s home and I have a different opinion, they need to understand because I have a right. But before, when they announce that tomorrow we come to the chief, I had to go” (2008).
OR holds the South African government responsible for the lack of jobs. Before, as he asserts, people could be employed to maintain the roads for a wage. Today, if government officials retire they are replaced, but if educators retire, their posts tend to be frozen (2008). OR became a traditional health practitioner in 2005, before which he was a Christian, an Apostolic Church member and a prophet at Zion African Apostolic Church from 1998 to 2004 (2008). The church is at Guyuni at the home of his cousin’s father (2008). “I went to these traditional practitioners who infer, do this and they sprinkle the snuff on the floor, and they gave me herbs and inferred, you will be fine and I became healed” (2008). OR informs IM that he sees his herbs with which he helps his patients and how he needs to use them in his dreams. He further informs IM that he had health problems before becoming a traditional health practitioner.

“I went to prophets and traditional health practitioners and they informed me about the same thing…I was dreaming about grand women having herbs and showing me how they function. When you have a health challenge and you tell me, they come to me when I am asleep and prescribe the medication for your illness for me” (2008). “How did you initiate your traditional healing job…did people come to you…can you also help me with your bones” (Madalane, Interview 2008)? “Some knew me from when I was a prophet and discovered that I am now a traditional health practitioner. I can help you with my bones but here is medicine for your sore gums.” (Ramashia, Interview 2008)

The songs on OR’s debut CD are some from his repetoire that where easy to practice for the studio recording (2008). The others, as he asserts, he reserved because they were challenging to sing. He sang all the vocals, including the chorus, on his CD (2008). “I asked the ladies to sing the chorus and they seemed to have other commitments” (2008). The following three paragraphs are an account of what OR asserts about some of his songs on his debut CD.

Papa Mwali: In this song, OR talks about what is happening, inviting Mwali or God to help. Mafhala Tombo: It is a disciplinary means. The disciplinary means comes from the chief. In the previous years, there were cows, goats and herd boys. So if one of the cows or goats escapes to the fields and eat crops, the owner of the field comes and fetch the herd boy and inserts stones in between his fingers and hold them tied until there is blood coming out, singing this song. Yesterday they
were at the mountain, but today they are eating our crops. *Dabadaba:* The song means that the chief asserts that if OR needs to marry his daughter he needs to have money; he needs to have a triple C. Triple C stands for car, cash and cellular phone. Then when the chief comes to OR’s home and he gives him a *bankstoel* to sit on, he needs a sofa. OR has financial challenges. If his chief needs to smoke and OR gives him a BB *Best Blend* tobacco he needs a cigarette. But OR needs money to buy a cigarette. So he infers that it seems that the chief needs to be fair. The chief needs OR to grow sofas on his body, he needs OR to pick cigarettes from his body. The chief needs OR to grow triple C, where can he get it?

*Zangandabela:* This is a girl who needs to improve her social behaviour as per *Vhavenda milayo* (norms). These are words to describe a girl who needs to learn *milayo*. When she goes to school, she needs to follow the rules of the school. When others are learning, she is sleeping because the previous night she was in the tavern with males. When others are writing a test, her test is that at the tavern, her exam is pregnancy, her certificate is a child. And at the end of the year when she needs to repeat her grade, her parents go to a *sangoma*. They recommend that he finds out about what their challenge is, someone is bewitching their child. They forget that witches are the tavern. *Ingwe Ya Mabala:* This is one of the *Shangana* songs of the *madlozi*. People ask the *sangoma* to help them but the *sangoma* needs money first. They give him money, then he infers that there is a woman at their home, she has a lightning and a magic. They ask who gives it to her. He infers that it is a grand woman. OR advises that people who go to a *sangoma* need to stay in harmony when they are informed about what the *sangoma* sees:

“*Ramashia:* I am proud of my father; I assert that my father gave birth to four boys and one girl. We are four and the girl is a last-born. I thank my father for taking care of us with traditional herbs when we had health challenges. My brother is a prophet. But he also gives herbs. I also tell my younger brother that he impregnated a woman but when they accompany her to him, he asserts something different. He infers that maybe it is someone else. It is his friends who persuade him to do that. Moreover, I go and talk to the impregnated female and discover that she left her man because of her friends. After that when she went back home, she fell in love with other men’s wives. I go to Rosina, the mother to my brother; I discover that she is the one who informs him to have a different opinion about the impregnated female. I also have more of the children’s songs such as *Mutshavhona* on my CD.” (*Ramashia*, Interview 2008)
OR started school at Musunda village at Matshikiri Primary School and went as far as standard 9 (form 4) at Makuya Secondary School (2008). He started working here at Venda as a security officer and in 1995 he worked at a platinum mine, RPM Amanda Belt, in Rustenburg (2008). “96 August, I had the Venda Street ID. You know that the Shangaans had their IDs, which were passports. Now we need a South African ID. Pack and go, then I came home. I took a new ID” (2008). When OR went back to work, he asserts, they informed him that they had employed others. He, OR further asserts, then went for Thembisa and found a job at Edenville, working as a spanner boy, giving a white man spanner, bout [i.e. bolts], and what he needed. He also helped to fix cars (2008). The white man OR worked for was from Zimbabwe (2008). In January of 1996, after OR had just gone to work, he experienced health problems and was admitted to hospital for two months (2008). When he recovered, OR asserts, he went back to his employer who informed him that he had employed two men in his place.

5.5 Physical-abstraction structure and state of flux

In this section, I aim to

- evaluate the idea that the informant prefers to be different from the researchers;
- explain that embodied habitus as lapse of memory is sometimes a conversion of a foreign culture into a local culture;
- explain that embodied information intended for maintenance of memory sometimes necessitates further research;
- point out the idea that as culture in a habitus progresses or changes, the preceding cultures may be devalued. We took along with us some Vhavenda music literature to Tshianzwane and gave it to SN to read, which may have influenced his insider’s understanding of our research field.

I also aim to
• explain that frames of reference from different social orders are gradually transformed into a new frame of reference through social interaction at an unconscious level rather than intentionally;
• examine the idea that there is a difference between music structure and music production space;
• evaluate the idea that when music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, it is difficult to see their difference even when insiders assert that it exists. Maybe the difference is in the musical abstractions and physical structure; and
• evaluate the idea that when music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, their classification remains a subject for debate or personal choice.

Some of the Vhavenda children’s songs are about birds. Furthermore, malende is also characterised by hand clapping and informal conversations, but SH necessarily evaluates the things that academics search for in traditional music, which is a contribution from the classical music tradition.

“I am particularly interested in the children’s songs because before, children used to sing songs regularly. I know two children’s songs because Gladys and her colleague at the Tshulu Trust camp are teaching me. It will be fine to do that with the children. I know Mutshavhona. What I am trying to establish is what are you going to teach my students? Perhaps you OR could be the teacher of our children’s songs and malende. Malende is also three things; it is the singing, the drumming and the dance. What is interesting is that children’s songs seem to be about birds, am I correct? One of the readings we have, talks about the narrative songs. We need to perform them this week when the children are back from school. We have that Thoho Mahada song in English.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

IM remembers when she was a child; late at night by the fire, children would gather around and someone would tell a story about the lion and the hare. SN asserts that these traditional songs and narrative stories such as Thoho Mahada are from lungano:

“Lungano is something like an old story. An old person could teach children’s songs to her or his grandchildren when they are gathered around the fire at night. But SH, your Thoho Mahada is different from ours. What does the lion and the hare story teach us? It teaches us that we each are clever.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)
Some of Vhavenda children’s games and songs originate from western culture. They were translated to Tshivenda and taught at school. Children brought them into Vhavenda music culture (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). Through Vhavenda music culture, these songs and games gradually became regarded as Vhavenda songs. Thoho Mahada is one such song adopted from western songs. Through the passage of time and the opportunity for learning the history of children’s songs, SN now has a challengeable frame of reference. Furthermore, ngoma lungundu was brought to Vhavenda by Vhalemba in the pre-17th century (Blacking 1964b). As a result, SN’s account needs further research.

“We are doing malende; the hand clapping and drumming produce a musical sound. Long time ago, before we had this drums, we were only clapping hands in the malende. Once we clap hands, I can kick the soil. I can be like a tractor. These drums are from makhua (whites); people who designed these drums took the idea from white people. PM, when I assert something which you can add on, you need to come in. That big drum we call ngoma is a replica of ngomalungundu. Ngomalungundu is in Pretoria, or maybe brought back. It is a magic.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “The Ngomalungundu is in a museum.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

SH infers that stories are important for us, especially for children, because that is how they learn. She thinks we could just tell stories or if she could speak the language, she could start telling a story, but she needs OR to think of some children’s songs for us. OR informs us that he knows many children’s songs:

“At school, they need to teach children’s songs to children. But they assert that children’s songs need to first be meaningful for the children. The song we are singing, Ndo Vha Ndi Ngei Thavhani, we learnt it at school in the 1950s. We used to learn it for marks. It is from a village but it was included in the school curriculum” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “When I come and work in the schools, the first school I am going to work at is this one here. My speciality is to teach arts and culture teachers. I will teach them how to use a curriculum because what the current curriculum prescribes is that one of the important things is to start with a song that children will do in their indigenous language.” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SH suggests that the children participate and sing with us because it is about research rather than learning. She further asserts that the song Ndo Vha Ndi Ngei Thavhani is amazing because it changes into a malende song. Children’s songs, as she asserts, are good for children’s voices; “maybe these other three children can help them learn the words so that we have more children here who know the
song” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “Because of the new curriculum, children still need to learn children’s songs from school” (Munyai, Interview 2008). Furthermore, since research is academic method, SN has tried to reinterpret the literature we gave him in terms of their content since he is only an expert in Tshianzwane music culture. He has probably understood the literature in terms of his frame of reference rather than in its methodological frames of reference. As a result, what we learn from SN is his theory on Tshianzwane music:

“I need to see if the children’s songs are the same as John Blacking’s” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “What I asserted outside here is that I now know what you need after I have read some of the papers you brought along to the research site. Now, what I need from you is to ask me some questions. Since I started talking to you, I have noticed that you have read about tshigombela, malende and tshikona. But now you are here to find out from the horse’s mouth, to find out if I can confer with the literature that you have read. I am here. I am Vhavenda music performer; I can even start another song.” (Netshifhei, Interview 2008)

In terms of sound structure, Glen Louis has recorded this song, Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba. The difference is that he produced it in the recording studio using modern recording technology such as computers. “[I]n other words, that is how malende changes in that context” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008).

Even though malende is asserted to be for adults, this is at variance with my field experience. However, I think there is something more to this statement. It is fair to infer that, considerate of children’s participation, malende is for the adults. Furthermore, considerate of adults’ participation, children’s songs are for the children. The essence of this is that there is a convergence of western and Vhavenda forms of music classification.

According to my fieldwork experience, Vhavenda look at their music from an academic point of view, but since they need to be academically trained, their perspective remains something between a Vhavenda music frame of reference and the academic music frame of reference. Thus many of the malende and children’s songs and song texts as physical structure overlap. Furthermore, in practice, Tshianzwane traditional songs can be started and ended anywhere. Now SH and SN understand “children” as a frame of reference differently. SH also uses
“daradara” to refer to the song because she needs to learn to pronounce the text in Tshivenda. She also needs to notice SN’s comparison of Vhavenda songs to Psalms. She holds onto what she knows children’s songs are. In essence, SN asserts that Ndi Linde was sung by the adults for the children. He thus defines it based on its function rather than on its composer and performer, but there is another song, Azangandabela, with a variation of this message. People perform it in the children’s songs and malende:

“I am interested in what is the difference between children’s songs and malende. Is there any link? Musically, are their tunes, rhythms and so on similar? One of the sources we studied infers that children’s songs are special for children because they contribute to their lives and the way they experience the world. It will be wonderful if we can involve the children because it is during school week and here they are. If they are here on Thursday, they can sing the song that starts as a children’s song and ends as a malende song, Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba. What does dadaradara mean?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

Maybe, as SH speculates on the origin and meaning of the song Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba, it was composed by a young child who was looking after goats. Children’s songs seem to have challenging meanings to point out; sometimes they sound confusing while they sometimes are just like lalala, “I am talking about children’s songs I know from the townships” (2008). With a malende song, you can immediately tell what it means while with children’s songs “you go eish,” which means that the meaning is in something else rather than the words, maybe inside the music (2008).

SH needs to know if children feel like they are performing for us. There is, as she further asserts, still a lot of movement in their games, for example, when they are carrying each other. “I would love to do Riri [Lili] and Ndi Linde” (2008). Meaning in children’s songs, as SN responds to SH, depends where they are played and what they are doing while malende is malende. Children’s songs are played away from adults and malende dance is for adults. “We have one children’s song, Ndo Vha Ndi Ngei Thavhani, which we perform as malende song” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008).

“Tomorrow there is a trip, which is why the children are here. Furthermore, the Dzi a Phiritana phrase in Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba means mixed. Vhalemba goats
are running all over. *Vhalemba* is a nation. The song asserts that I had a dish of meat. He asks about who I am going to eat it with. I tell him that I will eat it with *Sese*. We need to know who *Sese* is. He asks about where *Sese* comes from. I tell him that he comes from *Twanamba*. *Twanamba* is the name of maybe a place or a community. He asks about what those other people eat until this goat goes like this and then they were going to *Hamulima*. This song works like a parable or metaphor like *Psalm*, in the Bible. *Psalm* is a song by David who was looking after sheep and normally alone. He had to do something. So what he sometimes did was singing but differently. This song talks about a mountain.” (2008)

*Lili Nwana Nwananga*, according to SN, is for the adults because it is they who were looking after children. However, he acknowledges that it is challenging to find someone who composed the song *Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba*. In *Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba Dzia Fhiritana*, as the performers at *Tshianzwane* perform in the *malende*, they dance in the second part while they sing in the first part. Children’s songs are teaching materials and traditional school, “but with some of the words in the children’s songs, we can just frame the meanings” (*Munyai*, Interview 2008). *Ndilinde*, as PM asserts, means that a girl needs to socialise cautiously with boys because they can impregnate her.

SH can pronounce *malende* in terms of her frame of reference, but she pronounces it as *marende* and that varies its meaning and spelling. Thus in terms of the pronunciation and spelling, the classification needs to be explored further. However, she is aware that it is challenging to pronounce the text from the insider’s point of view. She further infers that there are five types of *malende* at *Tshianzwane*. As a result, *malende* as a free style performance is now culture-specific. Each of the five *malende* has standards that affect the insider’s culture of *malende* as a free style. Some *malende* songs are also played on the accordion while others imitate sounds of birds. If classified in terms of its instrumentation, a *malende* song played on an accordion would be called an accordion *malende*.

“The person who can sing that best is Gladys. It sounds like a bird. This one would be called bird *malende* because it begins with a high pitch that is at variance with that of a bird’s. I call it baby *marende*. But it is challenging to make the song text the way OR does. We have four or five kinds of *malende* that are at variance with each other” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “You are playing this song, *Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba* on an accordion, too fast.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)
5.6 CULTURAL PHYSICAL STRUCTURES AND RESULTANT CULTURAL STRUCTURES

Here my aim is to

- evaluate the idea that when music instruments in the same performance share or vary the same rhythmic structures or patterns, it is difficult for the observer to differentiate between them;
- explain that a habitus embodies physical musical structures rather than musical abstractions from other forms of habitus;
- evaluate the idea that Tshianzwane music is a speculative source of historical facts;
- consider the idea that Tshianzwane music abstractions guide people but people keep searching for them. In case they prefer other music cultural abstractions, people at Tshianzwane may need to alter their physical musical structures.

Scientifically, we use the ear and the eye to observe. If it is challenging to observe, as SH needs to do, the performance needs to be structured to a texture where it is observation friendly. However, this is different from how the insiders perform their music. Furthermore, in Tshianzwane music culture, one individual is normally a performer, composer and listener:

“The rhythm she is playing is similar to what they are dancing” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “Am I allowed asking a question? Can you show us how this woman is following you? I need to hear it. Can you the player of the big drum do it with just her and the dancer so that we can hear it, is it possible? How does she know when you change?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008) “She is also a dancer, she knows what we are doing and she can do it. She sees me. She looks at me. That is why she can play my dance steps.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

Traditional drums have their tuning system. To tune them, people put them in the heat of the sun, which stretches the animal skin they are made of. When the drums need to be heated, the animal skin relaxes and the pitch drops. Since the size of the two small drums is nearly the same, their pitch sounds the same when they are resolved. It takes time for the heat of the sun to affect the animal skin on the drums. So, SN and company are rather checking whether the drums are tuned.
When the drums are well tuned, it is easy to identify a particular music style that the performers are playing, especially when the listener is out of sight (2008).

It is debatable to infer that a person can identify a music style by its drum rhythmic patterns and tone difference when s/he is out of sight because, since malende is a free style, malende drummers might play what sounds like tshigombela drumming. However, it is important to note that SN sees overlap between “tone” and “pitch.” SH is trying to understand SN. Since she knows the difference between tone and pitch, she thinks of what SN infers in terms of “tone” rather than “pitch”. Tone is the colour of the sound or timbre while pitch is the frequency level of the sound. SH thinks that SN infers that he identifies the tshigombela in terms of how the drum tone varies with the variation in the playing technique, but SN means that he identifies the tshigombela in terms of the difference of the frequency levels of the small murumba and the big murumba. Since SN probably learnt these concepts through participation, it is logical that he has reinterpreted them. But the problem is that he looks like a person who understands them, especially since he uses the terms confidently:

“They are trying to tune the drums” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “We are trying to tune these two drums; they have the same pitch or tone. So if there is someone standing that other side of the mountain and he tries to identify the type of music style that we are playing, he might find it challenging. The murumba we change with needs to be higher in pitch” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “They need to have different tones? I mean pitch?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

If IM had a shibelana dance experience, she was going to find the tshigombela dance slow by comparison, because the shibelana dance is faster than the tshigombela dance. “These tshigombela dancers are dancing so fast. I need to know where to turn around” (Madalane, Interview 2008). I use my academic and cultural frames of reference to analyse and interpret Vhavenda music performance. They overlap in terms of the pulse structure, but I think the performance culture challenges IM because of her own cultural frame of reference. “Can you hear it? Relax; you will be fine when we do malende because it is freestyle. The tshigombela has fixed steps. In the malende you can do whatever you like” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). I wish I could see when they
are dancing. I think what is important about this music is the pulse: it remains steady in tempo; the music is based on the pulse as I am clapping it. It overlaps with Bapedi ancestor worship music.

Malokwane is probably a Sepedi version of malugwane and as frames of reference they are at variance with each other. Malokwane refers to a soccer referee. Furthermore, it originates from the Polokwane area, maybe since it is close to Vhavenda region. Furthermore, SN’s explanation that tshigombela needs to be a V shape to look beautiful needs more exploration. What if the taller performers are also challenged with competence? What if there are only short performers; how is he going to achieve a V shape? It needs to be clear whether the concern is about what the tshigombela needs to look like or how performers can manage to dance. The tshigombela performs around the drums. As a result, considerate of where each performer is located, she is going to be visible anyway. With “cope”, I think PM means that the less capable performers may be visible as competent, in case of which someone can appreciate the performance. Since SN is a leader of competition groups, he expects more uniform dance steps from his performers, which is at variance with what the audience expects. As a result, his frame of reference overlaps with that of the audience. That is why he would be the one who could tell who is competent. This is evidence that culture progresses or changes.

“Who decides on the criteria for choosing people who can dance tshigombela? I have also seen that at Guyuni the lead singer was sometimes in the middle and sometimes on the queue with the dancers. Here at Tshianzwane the singer is just standing there. Is there a fixed procedure that the singer can follow? Can she do both the singing and the dancing or either of them?” (Madalane, Interview 2008)

“Rather than choose performers, we let people know that we are going to dance tshigombela in a particular place” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). People dance tshigombela normally in the chief’s home (2008). If the chief needs the tshigombela, SN asserts, he sends a person called mukoma to call people. The chief, in case he needs to visit another chief, can send anyone to go and inform the tshigombela leader, malugwane, to organise the tshigombela dancers to rehearse for the expedition (2008). When someone is informed about the call from the chief, SN further asserts, s/he will decide whether to come. The facilitator, the
person who is teaching the people, needs to arrange the layout and positions of the dancers before they dance (2008). It is just like a team of soccer: a coach will know where to position TM, where to position JM, and where to position PM (2008). The dancers, SN asserts, are positioned according to their competence, thus those who are less competent are placed so that their visibility presents them as competent. In essence, SN further asserts, the arrangement of the dancers needs to look like a V shape wherein the taller ones are on the sides and the shorter ones are in the middle. The shorter ones need to be clearly visible (2008).

“That is how I decorate my tshigombela dancers. And if you need to have a good tshigombela dance, you rather position the less competent ones in the middle so that it is challenging to identify them. I can identify them because we dance together.” (2008)

“But, since the traditional music judges are also audience, I allow them to comment on our rehearsals” (2008). The spectators, SN asserts, are the ones who give traditional music groups positions or prizes in the traditional music competitions. Furthermore, “I sometimes stand from a distance and at various angles while the tshigombela is rehearsing so that I can decide whether they are competent” (2008). SN works with each of the dancers until they are competent (2008). In case a dancer proves to be less capable, SN further asserts, he includes her in the group as a singer. In the typical tshigombela dance, when they sing they sit down (2008). The song leader, as SN asserts, and the responder need to sit down. Thus, since in Vhavenda culture tshigombela is performed in the chief’s home, women need to sit down in order to honour the chief and the men (2008). The dancers can stand on their feet, SN asserts. “But when I started Vhavenda traditional music, when I was at work, sometimes people would stand on their feet and sometimes they would sit down” (2008). Sometimes when people sing and dance nowadays they use a microphone mounted on a stand, so the singer needs to stand at the microphone stand to sing (2008).

I think that, even though SN learnt that uniform steps are important in tshigombela, he needs to understand the reason for that. He seemingly appreciates the culture of uniform dance steps as a requirement for the success in traditional
music competitions. However, through interaction with academics, he gradually learns this western culture. It is also new to his culture to ask searching questions. Thus far, it is clear that the dance cultural patterns in Tshianzwane music are music materials. Each pattern can be used in any song. Furthermore, dance is organised in rhythmic patterns and the dance patterns at Tshianzwane are founded on pulse structure.

“Do you need to jump when you are doing the frog song?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008) This is about the scorpion that bites your leg, which is why you need to jump very high (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). In other words, the meaning of this song determines the dance steps (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008).

“Even if it bites people, it is another case with me. I will survive. Yo — continue again answering your questions tomorrow!” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). A tractor is a machine that digs, SN asserts. The woman or man who is dancing this malende, as SN further asserts, is like a tractor. “Just now, if I start dancing, you will see the dust” (2008).

“If I dance tshikoloti or teretere, you will see my legs will be varying the dance steps. But you can dance lia gwa mutshini, in your style. Maybe you need another style; you can even dance tshikoloti with the style you have used in lia gwa mutshini. I think on Thursday we need to fix the performance. We need to be a bit cleverer than SH. You need to keep it confidential. Once you know how to start a song, you will know how to dance it. That is why I start with you, teaching you how to start. You can jump anytime. Be free JM. Be lively” (2008). “A tractor is like a bulldozer. They compare the dance style of the dancer with the mode of operation and work rate of a bulldozer.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

Even though Vhavenda songs are characterised by accounts of history, they speculatively serve as sources of reference because there is a need for further research on their historical accounts, which tend to take varying meanings from performance to performance or in different versions of the same song. Thus, while in the academic scene historical facts are recorded for the sake of historical accuracy, in Vhavenda music culture, historical facts are seemingly recorded for the pride of the family and society. As a result, the reliability of Vhavenda song texts as historical accounts needs more exploration because people prefer to express favourable narratives about themselves and other people for the sake of
their survival. Thus, SN praises his wife and her son rather than tell us how best his song can reflect on the floods of year 2000. Perhaps the comment on the floods serves as an embellishment, rather than just to acknowledge that they know it happened. This proves that Vhavenda at Tshianzwane like to sing about matters that are normal in their social order. Since floods are an observation from the media in their social order, they are trying to elaborate on what they were like because they have not actually experienced them. Nevertheless, it is interesting that this song is actually about the biography of SN rather than a call on the people to follow him. The response in the song is primarily to assure the caller that he has been understood. The call, since Tshianzwane music is a way of interacting with or informing people, speaks his mind. As a result, even though the call and the response might have varying texts, the response is supportive because the important text is primarily in the call:

“How do you remember year 2000? I need to try and sing a song for you; dumbu masikule. It is about the floods that people experienced in the year 2000. My wife, when she sings this song, she sings about the woman who born a baby on a tree. It was in Zimbabwe, Mozambique. Just like her son, she can sing all that. This song, Ndi nga Vha Tevhelela, is a direction. I tell people about my biography from Phipidi, the place I stayed at before I came here at Tshianzwane. I tell them about the places I stayed at before I arrived here at Tshianzwane.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

Vhavenda music at Tshianzwane is an oral tradition; hence, they are guided by an abstract frame of reference. SH is thinking from the point of view of written tradition when she observes it. In academic terms, improvisation, variation, cover version, original composition, arrangement, orchestrations and so on exist in the form of physical structures such as music scores or recordings. In Vhavenda music, a composition is necessarily the equivalent of an improvisation on an abstract frame of reference. The songs that we collected from Tshianzwane are also the same songs that Blacking, for example, collected about half a century ago. I think a composition in Vhavenda music is the purpose, as an expression of an idea or emotion, an individual has when he sings a song, bearing in mind that Vhavenda music is a way of talking to the people (2008). As a result, one song varies in meaning in various performances because the music is metaphorical by nature (2008). The songs are in essence instruments through which people express
themselves, but through *Tshianzwane* music, people of *Tshianzwane* learn about the importance of notation in music.

*Vhavenda* music can also be comprehensive as a craftsmanship exercise. The music culture is a pool of music material – text, sound and rhythm material – from which performers cut, paste and delete to make their music performances. In the performance, the collective craftsmanship is organisable on pulse structure. Thus the pulse is like a hanging line or backbone. It provides shape to the music. However, some pulse structural hanging lines prove to be recent in *Tshianzwane* music culture. Some songs at *Tshianzwane* are based on triple rhythms, while others are based on quadruple rhythms. Some are a convergence of the triple and quadruple pulse structures. SN can dance to the triple rhythm songs, which might serve as evidence that the quadruple rhythmic songs are recent or new to *Tshianzwane* music. Furthermore, I have witnessed two quadruple rhythm songs in *Tshianzwane*, *Vho I Vamba Ngwena* and *Zimbabwe Sibasa*, where SN comes from, is one of the areas whose music culture Blacking researched.

“Improvise” is a new or recent concept in *Tshianzwane* culture, but through interaction with academic researchers, people at *Tshianzwane* embody it. This is evidence that *Vhavenda* think of their music as one unit. Since they are concerned with euphony, they appreciate their music performance as a whole. Thus a performance as a whole needs to be culturally correct. That is why a song is approached spontaneously, because those who participate in it, have grown up within *Vhavenda* culture and are familiar with the music. The challenge is to elicit and clearly represent this spontaneity. This spontaneity provides valid and reliable answers to questions about their music since it is *Tshianzwane* cultural frame of reference, but their music has an abstract frame of reference. It locates and guides people but people keep searching for it. In this music, performers improvise rather than adhere to the same pattern. The leader expresses his concerns and the followers respond the same way.

“This is an interesting story? Do you write this whole thing down? Is it a story about yourself? Are you the composer? Are the backing vocals the response? Is it about your origin, where you are coming from?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)
“How did the performers know this song? Do you teach them to sing it? Can you maybe give us the words of the leader and one will lead the song?” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “Can you sing and then I follow you so that I can see where you come in? I can hear when I need to be right. Give it a bit of space then I start” (Morake, Interview 2008). “I think he can repeat the rhythmic pattern twice.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

Even though SN needs to learn to dance for this Vho I Vamba Ngwena song that we are singing, he can sing it. He informs us that he has the song Ndi nga Vha Tevhelela at home in writing and when he thinks about singing it, he writes the text down. “I am from Phiphidi village at Thohoyandou, I am telling the people at Phiphidi, and those who need to follow me, that I came to Hamakuya from Phiphidi, Ngovhela, and Sibasa” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). The work of the backing vocals is to sing Ndi nga Vha Tevhelela, I can follow you; I will follow you, SN asserts. He also advises that we need to repeat and repeat when we are learning and then we can add our own words afterwards. “You need to be a bit faster because if you are slow, the song will be slow, and consequently the dancers and the other performers would also sometimes search for the tempo; but you can start the song anywhere” (2008). JM suggests that there is a breath between the call and the response:

“When I start a song, the response just looks at my legs and listens to the sound. They may only struggle when I start my song, but they will spontaneously perform it with me. Malende is at variance with tshigombela because we change a lot in the tshigombela.” (2008)

5.7 FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEARNING AND EMBODIMENT

With this section, I paint the picture of informal learning through natural embodiment at Tshianzwane and its difference from intended embodiment. Natural embodiment is an unstructured or unplanned internalisation, while intended embodiment is a planned internalisation such as formal education. I also explain the disadvantage of the conscious externalisation of unconsciously embodied cultural patterns in a formal embodiment process such as research fieldwork; and point out that externalisation of cultural patterns or a habitus is consonant with its internalised habitus.
An individual’s internal cultural patterns are his or her physical habitus in an abstract format. If s/he migrates to a new habitus, s/he needs new internal cultural patterns to manage. Thus, we needed to internalise Tshianzwane habitus first to manage in our fieldwork rather than rely on our internal academic habitus. Since cultural patterns in a habitus interpenetrate, they tend to reflect each other; yet, even though cultural patterns in a habitus reflect each other, they each have unique qualities. There is thus a difference between a call and a response in Tshianzwane music culture. I wish to explore how the malombo, tshigombela and tshikona differ from each other.

Malende is a free style if it is comprehensive abstraction according to people of Tshianzwane, which means that it is in essence a culture-specific style. However, through music, “free style” has attained a new meaning at Tshianzwane. Hence, with the idea that malende is a free style, the informant means that malende performers intentionally interact and interpenetrate with cultures that they know are new to Tshianzwane culture. There are therefore two types of cultural embodiment-externalisation; natural or unconscious, and planned, conscious or intended. Natural embodiment is the internalisation of cultural patterns that co-exist with the cultural pattern or patterns that a person intends to embody. “Training” is a new concept to Vhavenda culture. Even though PM is correct in terms of the English meaning of the concept, I need to be convinced that he is correct in terms of the embodiment of Tshianzwane music culture. People can dance malende at Tshianzwane if they are trained, but this shows that Vhavenda embody their music culture unconsciously, which means they embody their music culture through participation and imitation or daily social interaction rather than conscious formal habitus such as a music school.

Thus Tshianzwane is one habitus in which their cultural patterns and events interpenetrate naturally rather than forms of habitus for intended or formal music training; music performance, music composition, etc. Vhavenda music is, among others, a way to talk to people. Their songs work more like tunes through which singers express their abstractions, and each village in their region has its variation
of Vhavenda songs. Vatsonga (Shangana tribe) music culture, among others, penetrates the Tshianzwane social order through malende performance. Furthermore, according to my field experience, the music of Tshianzwane needs to concentrate on expression of positive abstractions as experienced by leaders of songs in their music performances. At Tshianzwane, it is normal for people to use metaphors when they express their concerns because it is seemingly easy to negotiate calls for responsibilities arising from metaphoric expressions because metaphors have multiple faces. Even though SN accepts that he holds the tshigombela dance responsible for keeping people of Tshianzwane away from ploughing, he infers that SH is doing a good thing. Furthermore, Malende is in essence a collective performance:

“Who compose these songs? What fascinates me is that I can initiate a song now. When do I find time to teach it to the people? Do they just feel the music or just learn it once? Let us get the spelling right. I need to know the direct translation of liagwa mutsini ndi teretere. Is it right to assume that this song is a comment on machines replacing people?” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “Last year September, when I was with PM and the students from last year, they learnt this song; Vho I Vamba Ngwena but with a different text. Vhurivhuri ladies also taught them a much more structured rhythm on the drum. But was it the same tune and words PM? The basic melody is the same but each person makes or spice their own words and story? The English word for ‘spice’ is ‘improvise’. To improvise means you are making it up on the spot. I wish I could remember what the words were so that we could compare them, I have it in their essays of last year. The drum rhythm was different also. Were you singing about what is happening in that version and am I responsible for it?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

People at Tshianzwane, Munyai aserts, perform tshigombela in pairs and need to be more than five, while malende is a free style and a dancer can perform it alone. There is no training for malende (Munyai, Interview 2008). The meaning of the song, Vho I Vamba, Munyai further aserts, is that somebody who needs social behaviour rehabilitation is identified. Different villages such as Vhurivhuri sing this song differently because of the culture of spicing in Vhavenda music (2008). “Let us add spices so that we can show her what we are asserting” (2008). Performers at Vhurivhuri were “spicing” (2008). They were praising their chief (2008). “Vha i vambile is like a Sizulu” (Ramashia, Interview 2008). With a malende song, people can talk about a person in his presence:
“During Christmas time, people go home from Johannesburg. When they arrive at home, they are called magaraba. If a man spent a long time in Johannesburg, in his presence, his wife can sing about him in a beer drinking context. Through song, she may ask him whether he is coming for her, notifying him that she is not going to wash his clothes because he expended his money with other women in Johannesburg. She may further let him know that he needs to find another woman to wash his clothes, in which sense the singer might also be asserting herself to the other magaraba.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

When a performer begins a song, people need to know what song he is going to sing (2008). Once the song is in process, SN asserts, the performer can then add spices. Vhavenda already know their song (2008). If a performer, irrespective of how far he has come, needs to sing his song, he only needs to start the song and people will wait a bit to hear the response phrase (2008). “Then I tell them that when I sing tshikoloti (call), you sing dinga vha dvelela (response)” (2008). “The person who will do a lot of talking is the leader [caller] (2008). A performer can sing Li a Gwa Mutshini, the machine or bulldozer is digging, SN asserts. “A bulldozer prepares roads rather than shift people out of way” (2008). “When people construct a road, and then we call a bulldozer, a teretere, my way home is smooth. That is why I assert that let us go home because the tractor has constructed the road. The road is travel friendly” (2008).

There are different ways to interpret this song (2008). The song they are singing, Vho I Vamba, is a simple song, SN asserts. But SN, even though he can sing it, as he asserts, needs to learn to dance to it also. Furthermore, SN is trying to think about a song that Brenda Fassie sings but which other people sing differently. Sometimes the song versions may overlap in characteristics such as song titles, like what OR was singing about Mandela (2008). There are many people who have a song about Mandela but which asserts something at variance with or different from what OR asserts (2008). “You fall down now here, I can make a song out of the incident” (2008). However, this song asserts that there is a person with problematic social behaviour, SN asserts. People who are drinking beer, SN further asserts, are happy to see him arrested and entering a police vehicle:

“I heard this Shangana song, Vho I Vamba, from Shangana, took it to Venda and fitted it in Vhavenda music culture. But the tone [its physical or audible song structure] overlaps with the Shangana one. In the other version I assert that this
year we still need to plough because of the *tshigombela* dance. SH calls us for *tshigombela* when we are ploughing and we still need to plough because of her. You voice out the person’s name if you are praising her or him. But what I am asserting is good because I am asserting that you SH have established the camp for us.” (2008)

*Vho I Vamba* is characterised by *Sesotho*, *Xitsonga*, and *amaNguni* languages. The texts of these *malende* songs, just like the *tshigombela* songs, stay relatively fixed from performance to performance, which is likely because *Vhavenda* find it challenging to sing them since they need to learn outsiders’ languages and cultures. Therefore, they can use the vocabulary contained in the songs, which could possibly mean that they are even trying to understand their meaning or pronounce them properly:

“When when we start this song; we start like this – *tsotsi masinkiritana. vho I vamba vhamba tsotsi*, he is going into the vehicle and people are happy” (2008). “It is *Shangana* and means naughty. They have identified a boy with a social behaviour challenge. *Damba* is a concept that can mean play or bath” (Munyai, Interview 2008). “Masinkita is like *mohlolo* [miracle] or what is it? It has two meanings. It can mean naughty or *matisa mpilo*. But we need to get the spellings and the more correct. I think let us transcribe the lyrics first. So are you going to write it for us?” (Madalane, Interview 2008) “You can document and you may correct the spellings afterwards since we are recording” (Morake, Interview 2008). “You are composing now JM? You have started the song differently. Where are my lyrics? Where did I write my lyrics? Remind me the key, the tune? I needed to know that this song has an owner. That one is my dancing song because I still need to learn to sing and dance at the same time” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “You will do the singing. Can we start the song, do the basic dance and when you dance the challenging musical patterns, you can dance, we will continue singing? Are you sure I am composing?” (Morake, Interview 2008)

Singing and talking at *Tshianzwane* reflect each other. I can infer that for a person to sing or lead these songs, he needs to be able to tell a story in his own way through *Tshivenda* (language). PM recommends that JM needs to accelerate a bit when he is singing because, at *Tshianzwane*, they talk a bit faster, an accelerated tempo that is also evident in their dance. “You are talking, you need to sing. People will think that you are drunk” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “Would you accelerate a bit?” (Munyai, Interview 2008).

SN means that the pitches of the call need to be higher than that of the response. It is easy for an academically trained person who needs to conduct research at
Tshianzwane to (mis)understand him as talking about the difference between loud and soft. As a reflection of the idioms of Vhavenda culture, the relationship of the leader or call and the backers or response is a senior-junior relationship wherein the leader is an elder to the backers. For people of junior status in the social order, leading songs is a powerful tool to boost their self-esteem and to maintain affective and cognitive health. It is also important to note, though, that sometimes leaders start songs and their juniors remain silent or focus on other commitments:

“You are backing JM; you need to lead. Your tone needs to be higher. Otherwise you are backing and we are backing. When people start a song; they do it like they are calling someone who is from a distance. Your tone and our tone as backers need to be different. When you start a song, you can remember anyone such as Rebecca Malope when she is singing, she is up and the backers are supporting or soft. When you start Vho I Vamba, you need to be up. You are singing at our tone now and you can spice it” (Netshiufhefe, Interview 2008). “Can I sing it with my voice? I feel like I sing like a man. I need to get my voice at a better range” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “You may start at your tone, and then we will fix it.” (Munyai, Interview 2008)

I needed to know that the preferred definition for African traditional doctor is currently traditional health practitioner to account for changes in terminology. Furthermore, Tshianzwane music manages to attract to their music performance people who believe in various belief systems or religions. I need to know how malombo, malende and tshigombela differ from each other. As per my field experience so far, people can play the same song in tshigombela, malombo and malende. My main focus is the variations among tshigombela, malende and tshikona is maybe different because of its pipes, but we can also compare it in terms of the drumming. I need to know how these three, maybe and malombo, differ from each other. Since their drumming sounds the same, I need to know how people tell that this one is malende, this one is tshigombela and this one is tshikona. If a person is new to Tshianzwane music culture, he is likely to continuously search for their difference because of the drums. I also need to know the music people here at Tshianzwane use to worship vhadzimu?

“Jesus was our brother, how can you assert that he is your Lord? But tshikona is a symbol of power” (Morake, Interview 2008). “If you go to Israel, as a South African, and ask people to worship Jesus Christ your Lord, the Israelites might ask of how Jesus Christ is your God because you are different from Jews. They might
tell you to go and worship your god. Vhavenda worship Mwali while amaZulu worship Shembe” (Ramashia, Interview 2008). “Malombo is performed by a group of people. But what I can infer is that malombo overlaps with a church service. There are people who believe in malombo and those who believe in God. Who inferred that Jesus is the son of God? Malombo are performed by a witch doctor in order to heal people. I mean traditional health practitioner. The traditional health practitioner diagnoses malombo patients using bones. The patient can either be informed to go home and perform a specific ritual to heal the malombo or the traditional health practitioner can see it fit to help the patient recover from the malombo. That is the difference between tshigombela and malombo because people play tshigombela at the chief’s home. Some of them dance, others sing while others play the drums.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

It depends on the performance context; but, since SN has started Vhavenda traditional music, he only knows one song, Vhahangwane, which people sing in the malombo ritual while they are dancing especially malende (2008). The song is more popular in the malombo ritual (2008). It is, as SN asserts, an easy song to sing. In the tshikona, performers blow the nanga (pipe) (2008). Even though men normally play the tshikona, today it is variable and there are also tshikona groups of mixed genders (2008). The drums in the Tshikona are small murumba and big murumba, dumbula, ngoma and the big ngoma (2008). They are four in number. But in malombo you find mutungwa, dumbula and the big ngoma (2008).

People play tshigombela when they approach the summer season, when it is time to plough (2008). Maybe they are praying for rain, but they also play malombo for healing people from malombo because people who need help from malombo need to dance malombo, maybe once a year (2008). Even though malombo is suitable for a traditional health practitioner as a last resort when the medications available to him have proven to need complements or improvement, people can dance malombo even when they are healthy:

“We play tshigombela when we are happy, when our chief calls us to play. Today, we play tshigombela for money or competition. We dance malende when we have a ceremony, when we are drinking beer and when we have a work party. People organise work parties when they need more labour for tasks such as ploughing, harvesting, and so on.” (2008)

“The music styles sound different” (2008). When a person is behind the mountain, he can tell the difference between the music them (2008). There are the small murumba and the big murumba and one ngoma in the tshigombela “and that
ngoma just tututa” (2008). Sometimes people just play malende clapping hands, SN asserts. And today, they also play ngoma and the small murumba and the big murumba for malende, but “I can still tell the difference through that small murumba and big murumba because I know the music styles” (2008).

People, as SN asserts, need to be familiar with the music styles before they can know them. Even the attire of malende, SN further asserts, is different from the attire of tshigombela. In the malende, people wear minwenda, but the tshigombela wear a long t-shirt with a half coat, and a white or blue towel (2008). Before, tshigombela dancers used to wear white towels because they were used by people who dance malombo (2008). It was easy to find a white towel to use in a tshigombela because there were many people dancing malombo (2008).

“Let me be honest with you; I personally have a varied or different belief system from that of vhadzimu. You may need to be understanding if a person who believes in vhadzimu has a different opinion from mine. My mother and my grandmother believed in vhadzimu. But I am different because I needed to have searched deeply and taken care of them. Vhadzimu, to those who believe in them, may need you to appease them as the witch doctor prescribed before they bless you with a job. I mean traditional healer, traditional health practitioner.” (2008)

After the traditional health practitioners have thrown the bones, they inform their patients that they need good luck because they still need to perform the ritual that their grandmothers are asking for, SN asserts. A patient needs to go and buy what his grandmother is asking for and bring it to the traditional health practitioner, who will, with the help of the patient’s father’s sister, inform the patient’s grandmother that he has bought what she asked for (2008). They will ask her to wash away the challenges so that the patient finds a job (2008).

A belief in vhadzimu is similar to people who worship God for luck (2008). Even though they worship Him, they are yet to see Him (2008). It is, SN asserts, about belief. If a person believes in vhadzimu and he finds a job, SN further asserts, he will infer that his vhadzimu are powerful. “The man OR is talking about is my friend Nevhutalo; I attended the same class with him” (2008). He asserted that if a person goes to another country and mentions Jesus as his leader to God, people might have varying or different opinions. They might even show him Jesus’s
grave. There are Muslims and Christians and they know Allah and so on (2008). Some people worship people they have seen, such as their grandmothers, as TM asserts:

“We can also use the khobi, majugwa and tshikona to worship vhadzimu. We can play tshikona at our chief’s funeral ritual, when we are installing a new traditional leader, when we are going to settle political challenges and just for entertainment.” (2008)

5.8 EMBEDDED PHYSICAL MUSIC CULTURAL STRUCTURES AND DEBATE ON SOCIAL MEANING

In this section, I paint a picture of the overlaps and variations of the informant’s and the researcher’s physical music cultural structures. In addition, I explain the challenges a researcher faces when he researches on a culture that overlaps with his in terms of physical music cultural structures. Furthermore, I paint a picture of the challenges a researcher faces when he is developing research skills.

Sometimes research participants take time to note that they need to be interested in all the accessible cultural patterns in their fieldwork. Furthermore, when the cultures of the informant and the researcher overlap, the researcher’s and the informant’s interests face challenges because they tend to assume that their cultures are the same. It is a good idea for the researcher to realise that cultures are or appear similar rather than that they are the same. I also needed SN to talk about Vhavenda malombo music culture. In my own tradition, there are many ways to worship vadzimu [badimo]. We use mabele beer; we pour it on the home entrance. We make an arc or half a circle facing the home entrance, with a clay pot or calabash filled with beer in front of us. Coupled with the clay pot or calabash is sego. Sego is a utensil that we use to drink traditional beer; in this ritual, however, we use sega to pour the beer at the home entrance. We call the ancestors’ names and tell them what we are asking for or what we would like them to know, in which process we pour and drink the beer. We believe that our ancestors also drink the beer we pour on the home entrance. In addition, some people use snuff. I need to know whether people here at Tshianzwane do that also.
There is *inyanga* [ngaka] also. This morning SN inferred that when a person has *malombo* [malopo], his ancestors need something from him. In my own culture, when a person has *malombo* [malopo], the healing ritual is held in a grass-thatched hut. People gather in a hut in a circle and the *malombo* [malopo] patient dances in the middle. Performers use two drums that are of a similar design as people use here at *Tshianzwane*. People who play the drums sit in the circle. When the patient has reached maybe an unconscious level, which is a requirement for the healing process, someone asks her or him what s/he needs. When the patient has fallen unconscious, as per *malopo* culture, the ancestor who needs ritual performances has visited him or her. As a result, the unconscious patient is in essence the ancestor s/he needs to perform rituals for. The answers that people get from the unconscious patient are in essence answers from her or his ancestor.

But sometimes we carry out the ritual in the open space in the home or alongside the home. Is my culture the same as SN’s in this regard? Another way is to go to the *inyanga* [ngaka] but address the *malombo* [malopo] differently. The *inyanga* [ngaka] throws down his bones and informs his patient about what s/he needs to do. Once s/he buys what the *inyanga* [ngaka] has prescribed and the whole ritual process is complete, the patient sometimes heals, which is evidence that some of the prescriptions of the *inyanga* [ngaka] are an exploration for a solution. While I am interviewing SN, IM plays music on a laptop. I in response inform her that I need to continue our interview because I need it for myself; as well as inform her that maybe she might need it too. The *inyanga* [ngaka], by looking at his bones, tells his patient what he needs to buy and so on. I need to know if my culture is also the same as SN’s in this regard. Furthermore, I need to know whether *malombo* patients in SN’s culture make hair logs as part of the ritual; *malopo* patients in my own culture make them. I think, for further research on the *malombo*, I will go with PM and explore it further with the senior ladies around here.

“You TM, you needed to ask me about some of *vhadzimu* rituals. You need to ask me because I was waiting for that question” (*Netshifhefhe*, Interview 2008). In
some of vhazimu rituals, as SN asserts, some people use animals such as goats and chickens to heal a person from malombo. Once the traditional health practitioner has healed him or her, as SN further asserts, the animal that s/he used is slaughtered. SN informs us that, based on my explanation, my malopo culture and his malombo culture are the same. “What does the patient need” (2008)? SN also thought we had finished the interview. He, as he asserts, even looked to the other side. He informs us that he has seen that the things I am asserting are the same with what people do here at Tshianzwane. The difference might, he asserts, be that people might dance on their knees, sit down or jump. But for everything, he further asserts, people need that malombo. “A malombo patient needs to be unconscious as you TM have asserted” (2008). Here at Tshianzwane, people go and ask the patient what he needs and they buy them (2008). People can have hair logs even in other processes (2008). As he seemingly longed for it, SN thanks me for finishing asking questions. JM emphasizes that our cultures are the same. “Can I borrow somebody’s torch so that I can go to the toilet? It is the same everything” (Morake, Interview 2008)?

“It is African culture” (Ramashia, Interview 2008). “I thought we finished the interview. That is why I am playing Obert’s music on the laptop. I thought you were just talking casually. Sorry. Thank you so much. You can edit some of the less relevant stuff here.” (Madalane, Interview 2008)

Surely SN needs an elaboration of the question that JM asked about the relationship between music and social structure. Music, as is now generally accepted in academia, reflects the cultures of people who practise it. It is a good idea to replace “cease” with “autonomous” when a person suggests that music does not reflect social structure anymore, which means that even though music is a human product, it can communicate messages on its own. This is more like a baby who grows until s/he is independent. To modify and to cease overlaps. When something is modified, it still exists, while when it ceases, it dies. I used “imitate” to help SN understand what it means to infer that music reflects its community because to state that “music reflects structure” is too challenging for someone who only has Tshianzwane music cultural training. Furthermore, in response to SN’s concern that Phalaphala FM alters the traditional structure of the tshigombela, I
think the layout of the traditional *tshigombela* was designed for or in the traditional setting, which is why *Phalaphala* FM needed to rethink it for their own studio recording purposes.

JM’s explanation is a questionable interpretation of Blacking’s frame of reference on music. Blacking is concerned with abstractions while JM infers that Blacking is concerned with physical music structures. Furthermore, JM insists that music has ceased to reflect its society. His interpretation contributes to the formulation of the research theories in the fieldwork. He also leads SN to infer that music ceased to reflect its society. Because JM needs to have designed a theoretical framework founded on Blacking’s or needs to have understood Blacking’s theory, he is searching for an answer too. I think SN has so far provided him with enough data to arrive at an answer. But JM seems to shift his interpretation responsibility to SN. Since interpretation is personal, JM needs to interpret for himself. Music reflects rather than pretends. To reflect and to represent may overlap. “Reflect” means that the society is visible in its music. In *Tshianzwane* music, the call reflects the king while the response reflects the commoners. Culturally, the king’s word is a social frame of guidance. Thus the role of the response in the performance is to appease the king, which reflects the king-junior relationship in *Tshianzwane* culture. To represent means to stand for. Any music can represent any culture through conditioning. A *tshigombela* from *Sibasa* can represent the society of *Tshianzwane*. However, for JM, these concepts have the same meaning.

Now SN is interpreting for JM. An interpretation is in essence how the observer’s frame of reference shapes the observed. Since people have a frame of reference, they interpret anyway. Furthermore, interpretation is personal because each person has his or her own frame of reference. A person is right if s/he interprets in terms of her or his frame of reference, but s/he can sometimes be right if s/he interprets in terms of another person’s frame of reference. If a person uses someone’s theory, as in JM’s case, he first needs to understand it. Thus IM needs to clarify which frame of reference she uses to judge the author they are referring to. JM’s fixation on what he thinks is true about *Tshianzwane* music contributes to how he
understands SN. Even though SN puts emphasis on interpretation, JM persists in his emphasis that music has ceased to reflect its society. In this sense, he understands SN differently. Even though SN has interpreted for JM, his interpretation is founded on his own cultural frame of reference because he still needs to study Blacking’s theoretical frame on music. As a result, he needs to rethink his answers to the questions about Blacking’s theoretical frame in relation to Tshianzwane music. Thus it would be a good idea to ask informants about theories they have studied because the interview or conversation is founded on a frame of reference. Once the frame of reference building process is guided by a specified frame of reference, its outcome is likely to be meaningful. Thus, for SN to infer that interpretation varies from person to person is general and common to mention because academia is founded on analysis and interpretation anyway.

“The music reflects structure. You asserted that in Vhavenda culture, a woman sits down before she talks to a man and that is the case with the music. Traditionally, a woman is expected to sit in the middle and sing while those who are dancing just dance. I need to know whether there is another social structure that is reflected in the tshigombela. For example, the women and the drums in the middle, these are some things I asked PM earlier; do the women and drums represent things in the community, like ancestors or spirituality? And PM asserted that initially old women used to play the drums in the middle because Vhavenda believed they are closer to the ancestors and the drums have some kind of ancestral meaning. I need to find out if the structure of the performance itself reflects any social structure. I also need to know if you understand my question.” (Madalane, Interview 2008)

Things, as IM concludes, happen around the drums as they are in the centre. She needs to know why Tshianzwane performers choose this type of layout of the tshigombela performance. She wants to know what the traditional placement of the drums means, what they symbolise. Performers dance here in front; the drums are at the back (2008). “Let me put it like this, some of the songs you where singing yesterday, for example, Ndi Linde, are the actual words but there is a deeper meaning behind the words” (2008). As PM asserted, Ndi Linde means that girls need to socialise cautiously with boys because they may be pregnant. The sources that we read, as IM asserts, infer that even though when a person looks at the tshigombela and sees people dancing around the drums, the setting also means something else. It also means that, IM further asserts, the community is together; there is a chief, as there is a big drum and there are people around the chief. SN
also needs to know about the \textit{makhadzi} and so on next to the chief and people who are dancing; he needs to know whether they are people of the community greeting ancestors. IM informs us that the sources we studied infer that the dance itself represents what the community looks like and that this is what JM was trying to find out; whether today \textit{tshigombela} still represents the society.

For IM, what is interesting about what SN asserted yesterday is that words of a song determine the dance steps, the dance movement. She further asserts that it is also interesting that sometimes \textit{Tshianzwane} music performers sing about things that happen in the society and that what they are singing consequently refers to the dance or movement. Thus, as IM infers, things are interrelated, things are joined together; societies, the words of the music and the dance are connected. “It is like a picture” (Munyai, Interview 2008). While IM is trying to make her question on the relationship between music and social structure clear, I assert that I am interested in it but I will put it in my own words. I then explain that when children play, they sometimes imitate what is happening around them. Sometimes even dramas on television and radio, as I further explain, take what is happening in the society and put it in a specific space and time but actually show it in there. I need to know from our informants whether \textit{tshigombela} shows things that are happening in the society but in a specific space and time. What I explain may be like the way SN puts it. This morning he was asserting that \textit{tshigombela} imitates a flower; performers open as a flower opens. I also need to know whether a flower is the only thing that \textit{tshigombela} performers imitate.

“SN, taking you back to what you have inferred about having to stand on the microphone, would you infer that to certain extent music has ceased to reflect the society as far as showing respect of a woman to a man is concerned by introducing these new ways of singing; for example, the microphone rather than like it needs to be done traditionally? Would you infer that in that way music has ceased to reflect its society? Take note of the word ‘modifies’. In a way, that form of respect has made way for other norms and values? SN, in your own perspective, how does the \textit{tshigombela} still reflect the society today? Let me restructure my question because I think you can provide a different answer. One of the writers has stated that within \textit{tshigombela}, there are deeper structures, meaning that there are things that you can understand by doing some things more than just listening, especially if you are an outsider. He goes on to infer that those deeper structures are in the society as well. This means that the relations of the music, the drums, the sounds of the women as they sing the melodies, the dance, coming together, in that kind
of communal way, reflects relations in the society in a deeper way. Given some of the things you have asserted, I need to now ask a question and need further elaboration than to infer that it is different. I need to ask how does tshigombela reflects the society today.” (Morake, Interview 2008)

JM needs to know whether tshigombela still reflects the society today since the music has progressed; whether the social relations are still the same and reflected in the music. “Are you inferring that it is the society, it is the progress of structures in the society that determines the progress of structures in the music?” (2008).

“It is different because today people perform the traditional music for money or reward. They are trying to modify it. I need to know if I am right. They are trying to take this tradition to the west. They stand and sing while they need to sit down when they sing. The music normally can tell about what is happening in the society through singing but you need to be clever. Otherwise you also will dance and clap hands while they are talking about you.” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008)

When performers start a tshigombela, they go in and make a circle (2008). Then, after making a circle, they contract to make the shape of a flower and open as a flower does (2008). “A sunflower is a good example; that is the thing we imitate” (2008). People who are playing the drums, SN informs us, are playing for the people who are dancing around. M, who plays the drum that follows the dance steps, needs to see the malugwane; her eyes need to turn with the malugwane (2008). The malugwane also needs to ensure that M sees him during a performance (2008). Otherwise, the dancers will change before M and people will infer that the performers need more rehearsals. But today, SN further informs us, the malugwane may change in front of the drum that follows the dancers’ dance steps, especially in the traditional music competitions. They change the traditional positioning of the drums in the performance and that affects the layout of the traditional tshigombela (2008). That needs further experimentation because the malugwane and the drum that follows the dancer’s dance steps need to see each other, SN asserts. “But we are varying it because now we are playing for money” (2008). Phalaphala FM are the first ones who changed the layout of the traditional tshigombela (2008). They infer that the drums are sometimes loud and, as a result, the singers need to also be loud. Phalaphala FM asserts that their
recordings need some improvement for transmission if the *tshigombela* is recorded in its traditional layout (2008).

“I need to know if I understand your question. Otherwise you may repeat it maybe in simple English” (2008). If JM infers on “relate”, as SN attempts to respond to JM’s question, it has a lot to do with how people relate to each other in the society; the social relations have changed. Today, if a person prepares a goat for food here; different from before, it is rare to share some of the meat with his or her neighbour (2008). “My father had many cattle and goats, and used to send me to call someone to help him when he wants to slaughter a beast or goat. Do you think that many women will come and play the *tshigombela* because we are friendly?” (2008). *Tshigombela, malende* and *tshikona*, SN asserts, can show whether people are integrated in a specific village; but now the music presents only a pretence of social relationships. He asserts that he infers so because the relationships, like the people, have changed. Previously, old people were so friendly (2008). They liked their chief and frequently went to his home (2008). But now, SN informs us, if someone informs people that the chief is calling them, some of them will assert that they have other commitments. “That is why I infer that today we pretend, we need to be friendly” (2008).

“If you read in the Bible, you will find that a person who has a field whose crops are ready to be harvested calls people to come and help him harvest and take the harvest home. But that is a metaphor. It is an interpretation and various people interpret the Bible differently. Now, that man who has written that the big *ngoma* is as a chief, and then the other maybe *mukoma*, the other *makhadzi*, is entitled to his interpretation. Some of the *tshigombela* groups have drums that are of varying and different sizes as these ones we use here at Tshianzwane. How is that author going to interpret that? According to my knowledge, I use that *ngoma* or small *murumba* and big *murumba* for performance. What I know is that when we perform the *tshigombela*, there need to be a big *ngoma*; we call it *tumbula* because there is a bigger *ngoma*. When we play the *malombo*, we have *murumba mutuku* [small *murumba*], *tumbula* and the big *ngoma*. If a person infers that this *dumbula* is a chief, what about this big *ngoma* because it is still in the chief’s home? And when we play *tshikona*, the drums I have mentioned will be there; that is why I infer that it is about interpretation. Somebody can look at you and see something different from or at variance with what I can see. But the sources that you have read may be right because it might be the case that they learnt what they express from people that are from a generation that is older than mine. Furthermore, things need to be connected. How would you sing something
disconnected from what others are playing, I will choose to attend some of my commitments, because that would be something from somewhere.” (2008)

5.9 SAMSON NETSHIFHEFHE’S BIOGRAPHY

Since it is important to understand the individual as well as the music maker, this section provides an account of SN’s biography. SN needs to remember exactly when he started to learn Vhavenda traditional music; his biography reflects the typical life of a boy child and aged person in a traditional black community: to work for his parents and his family, tolerate hardship, believe that old people are gods and know everything relative to their juniors. SN spent a large percentage of his life in urban environments and, as a result, developed as a strong “I” in the world. He also changed jobs at a fairly regular rate, which is likely to be reflective of him as a highly ambitious person. He prefers to have some degree of power wherever he works or stays and this can also be witnessed in his songs and music performances. He presents himself as the loved one, at the top of the social hierarchy of power, and the most prosperous person in the society. Furthermore, he can risk anything to achieve his target goals.

I would like to explain the following: due to their cultural interpenetration with other cultures, Tshianzwane is gradually developing forms of habitus. Furthermore, women at Tshianzwane are juniors to men and Vhavenda prefer collective cultural expression. In addition, an introduction of new instruments in a culture degrades the old ones. Thus, I aim to speculate on why people of Tshianzwane use different musical instruments rather than their traditional music instrument, mbila. I also wish to explain that the songs that are adapted from other cultures at Tshianzwane are grammatically and metaphorically Tshivenda. Tshianzwane music culture thus adopts physical music structures from other cultures and uses them to express Tshianzwane cultural abstractions.

“Manje ni pselelina lana, ngwee music lona mifundise imani? Ba impelela as you where growing up? Mikulele kwini? Sorry, I am now privatising the conversation” (Madalane, Interview 2008). “Thohoyandou. Kona a kaya la. But to make it easier for them, she is asking about where I grew up, where did I learn this music, how do I perform and sing it like this. So I inform her that I grew up here in Venda, I heard people singing, and then I learnt it” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). “You
need to express yourself in English because we also need to understand.” (Morake, Interview 2008)

SN was born and nurtured here in Venda (Netshifhefe, Interview 2008). His father and mother were Vhavenda who stayed in Venda for the rest of their lives (2008). He went to Johannesburg for a job in “1972, 1971” (2008). He put on hold his schooling career in 1968 and went to work for the government where he earned R15 per month (2008). With that wage or salary, SN asserts, he could buy bread, mukayo and everything. He worked as a helper, a dak boy, but rethought the job because of the wage he was earning (2008). He afterwards went to Johannesburg, Vereneging, where he worked as a person who plants grass on golf courses, as well as builds swimming pools (2008). “When I came back to Venda, what happened? Where were you? Where you born by that time? I came back in 1960s, I went there 1971? In June 1971, I came back” (2008). SN emphasises that he is a senior everywhere he goes, which expresses the value of seniority in Vhavenda culture (2008). He was staying in a back room in a hostel (2008). The windows faced the bush. When he was sleeping, he needed to hang his clothes a distance from the windows because there were many bad people. They would break the windows, trying to take what was inside. On a rainy Saturday when he came from skrop [work] and he was wet, he hung his trousers on the window and took a rest on his bed. At about 9-10 o’clock in the evening while he was sleeping, people with deviant social behaviour took his trousers, ID and passport through the window.

By that time, if a person was here by the fence, even if he was inside here and they saw him, they would get in and ask whether he was registered, where he was from and where he worked (2008). If he did not have what they were looking for, he would be enrolled in a correctional service institution (2008). On the following day, Sunday, SN decided to go home (2008). He took his blanket, which he had brought from home to Johannesburg and Vereniging, put it in a box and tied it up (2008). He had money for transport from Johannesburg, Vereniging to Louis Trichardt, Makhado (2008). He needed money for transport from Louis Trichardt to Sibasa but decided he would walk because he had to go home anyway (2008).
When it was time to leave Johannesburg for home, he took a train to Germiston (2008). In Germiston, at the top of the platform, he met his friend and told him that he was going home. His friend gave him R2 to buy some apples on the way, which was enough to pay for transport from Louis Trichardt to Sibasa. Then he bought two tickets, the one for the trip from Germiston to Louis Trichardt and the other one from Louis Trichardt to Sibasa. It was a distance of about 6km from Sibasa to where he was staying, specifically Phiphidi village near the big tea plantation where he spent some time (2008).

SN came home here in the late 1980s, 1981 and returned to Pretoria where he worked for a road and house construction company, Murray & Roberts, maybe for six months (2008). He knows Afrikaans well, having learnt it in Vereneging and Pretoria (2008). Workers’ industrial action is something from years ago and when he was working at Murray & Roberts; his friends initiated it (2008). They needed a wage increment since they were earning R7 per week. When the employer needed to know who could speak Afrikaans, he asserted that “ek kan maar probeer” (2008). He climbed on top of the vehicle and the employer asked him, “Samy, vra hulle, wat soek julle?” He asked them and they informed him that they needed money. He then informed the employer, “hulle se ek soek die geld.” The employer asked; “waar is die geld, ek soek die geld?” The employer asked whether he needed to have compensated them with more wages the previous Friday because they signed a contract at Sibasa, agreeing to earn R7. The employees continually initiated industrial actions afterwards (2008). They asserted that the employer was innocent, but they needed a wage increment (2008). SN went to tell the employer who agreed to increase the wage with R3, which they appreciated (2008).

Because SN saw that the employer needed him to continue working, he started to think that “these Masotho [Basotho] were going to be concerned” since he was now an employer’s favourite (2008). He had money from someone and took a train back to Venda. It was towards the end of 1972 because in 1973 he started working in Johannesburg, Randburg (2008). He worked there until 1981, came
back home and joined Sapico, the tea estate (2008). “In my lifetime, wherever I worked I was a supervisor” (2008). Before SN came back here in 1981, he was employed as a panelbeater in Johannesburg (2008). His employer asked him whether he was married because he took a long time in Johannesburg (2008). SN’s employer, as he maybe knew that employed African men that have families go home regularly, then decided that SN needed to go home, Venda, on Tuesday. He retired from Tshivase Tea Estate in 1988 and went to work with his brother who is a lawyer at Sibasa; his company is called Madikisela Netshifhefhe & Partner at Thohoyandou (2008). He worked with him for five months as a manager. “Self-employment is challenging because I used to work from 6 o’clock in the morning to 11 o’clock in the evening” (2008).

SN was involved in traditional music with Sapico employees (2008). They performed during ceremonies in the estate. “My working hours began at 9 o’clock in the morning to 7 o’clock in the evening” (2008). Now SN’s employer decided that SN needed to be at the main gate on a daily basis (2008). SN just had to stay at the gate; but there was a man whose job was to open and close the gate (2008). When more employees were needed elsewhere in the company, his employer would call SN. SN and his co-workers were structured into three or four groups (2008). Some were in town, Pretoria, Marabastad and Wonderboom. This is where SN learnt to drive.

“One day the man who drives the machine that turns at the back had some job-related commitments. I decided to drive the machine. George, one of my colleagues, inferred that what I was doing was going to concern the employer. I inferred that well, the wheels are easily visible, and I will see them. There was a big heap of soil on the side. Then I got into that machine. It insistently moves that thing; it is like a motor bike or a forklift. I looked at the wheels at the back and the machine climbed a big heap. It was going up until it needed to fall back. Its driver called out loud from a distance, ‘may you stop’. He came running until he rescued me and reversed it.” (2008)

SN’s employer liked him very much, SN stayed at the gate and when his employer comes; “jy het ’n moeilikheid gedoen. Wat het jy gedoen? Hy drive die stanpa. Samson, hoe kom het jy so gedoen” (2008)? SN responded “nee man; the person who drives that machine had some commitments” (2008). SN, as he
asserts, needed to continue working. Their employer asked the driver of the machine to teach SN how to drive it (2008). Once the machine driver had taught him how to drive, he replaced him (2008). He had to watch SN driving the machine (2008). Their employer also asked the truck driver to teach SN how to drive the truck (2008). SN thus learnt driving before he obtained a driver’s license (2008). When the employees initiated another industrial action, their employer asked those who were willing, except SN, to voluntarily resign (2008). By that time, it took a train about 12 hours from Johannesburg to Louis Trichardt (2008). The day SN needed to return to Johannesburg, his brother was driving a long truck, delivering mealie meal at the tea estate (2008). He met SN on his way and asked him where he was going (2008). SN informed his bother that he is on his way for Johannesburg because he needs a job. SN’s brother then advised SN to go with him to the tea estate.

When SN arrived at the tea estate, jokingly, he asked about where the office was (2008). They asked him about what he needed and he informed them that he needed the head office (2008). They pointed it out and he went there. He found a Shangana man and informed him that he needed the employer (2008). That Shangana man informed SN that the employer was having breakfast and asked SN about what he needed. SN informed him that only the employer could know about what he needed (2008). The Shangana man responded that maybe he could help. SN informed him that he needs a job (2008). When the Shangana man learnt that he was a driver, he asked SN to wait because the employer needed a tractor driver. “Honestly, I still needed to learn to drive a tractor” (2008). The employer called SN into the office. When the employer learnt that he was a driver with a driver’s licence, he replied that he needed someone like him (2008).

“He asked me whether I can speak and write English and I informed him that I can. He asked me whether I can speak it well and I thought now he needed to start assessing me. I informed him that I can read it well. Then he gave me a newspaper. I quickly read it before he could show me where to read.” (2008)

In the office, it was SN, the employer, Maluleke and the other white assistant (2008). They then started assessing SN’s mathematical competence (2008). They
started with 2 times 2 and went higher and higher until he found it challenging to manage. They employed SN and informed him that he was going to work wherever he needed to (2008). “They informed me that they needed me to learn about the tea in the factory. At the tea estate, I was so excellent; I am telling you, I know tea” (2008). At Tshivase Tea Estate, SN was appointed as an entertainment supervisor (2008). There he started to learn the traditional dance, tshigombela, malende and tshikona. But he worked for a while because his employer needed him at the factory, Tshivase Tea Estate (2008). “I returned and became a big man” (2008). In 1988, when SN left Sapico, they suggested that one day he would need to return (2008). When he returned he was placed at a coffee estate in another area (2008). “I was an entertainment supervisor; as a supervisor, my job was to recruit and facilitate traditional music dancers, football players and athletes. I taught them and they taught me until I became a leader” (2008).

“When you arrived here and you started teaching the traditional music, was there traditional dance? Furthermore, where did you buy the music instruments and attire, did somebody give them to you? When you arrived here, did you continue doing tshikona and malende with the people? Did you have a challenge starting?” (Madalane, Interview 2008)

“PM is from HaMakuya, OR is from Herere. I introduced the traditional music here. All these drums are mine. The drums they were playing at the headman’s home are mine. I earned them from the tea estate because I like them” (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). While SN was at the Damane Tea Estate, as he asserts, white people promoted traditional music. SN and company used to hire the drums from outside (2008). He informed his employers that they needed their own instruments for competitions (2008). SN’s employers offered him money to go and buy the instruments (2008). When the tea estate was liquidated, the employer offered SN the entertainment property as a present (2008).

“My employers knew that I am a dancer because I am popular here. People know me because wherever I find people dancing malende, I join them. We used to achieve position one at the traditional dance competitions. I know Rebecca Malope from a distance but if I see her in Thohoyandou I will know her. I am popular like her” (2008)
Here SN informed the people at the headman’s home that he knew tshigombela; he had the attire they needed (2008). They went to the competitions twice (2008). SN informed them that they needed to dance for pride but when they started the traditional music group, their aim was to participate in the traditional music competitions because they were going to earn some reward (2008).

“‘You will encounter challenges when you start traditional music groups. You need to have a vision and believe that you are going to do it. I am a man and the people that dance tshigombela are women. Dancing with the women, their husbands are jealous.”’ (2008)

There are differences among listener, composer and performer as experts in Tshianzwane music culture. The emphasis on “expert” is evidence that musicmaking shifted from the traditional performance space to institutions such as dominant people in the society and academia. Hence, in the presence of the academics, SN feels he needs to be more of an expert. Traditionally, people assume that an adult knows everything relative to his or her juniors. It is common in African culture that people become godly with aging. By virtue of that, an older person is a god to his juniors. This kind of power structure, top-down in flow, includes the ancestors also.

“We need to learn the drum to accumulate more expertise. As I informed you, if you are dancing, people who play the drums with expertise will follow your steps and if someone is behind the mountain, he would tell when dancers make way for others because of the drums” (2008). “Can you tell when someone is dancing when you are behind the mountain?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008)

SN uses minwenda to qualify Muvenda identity (Netshifhefhe, Interview 2008). This raises a question as to whether a person is Muvenda when she or he wears minwenda. SN asserts that since IM can now dance the malende, she needs Vhavenda attire, minwenda. “On Thursday; you will be Muvenda, rather than Mshangana because you will be wearing minwenda. You must obey our command because we are men” (2008). “IM has to agree” (Ramashia, Interview 2008).

“Does anybody in Guyuni or Tshianzwane or anywhere still play an mbila? Can we invite him?” (Harrop-Allin, Interview 2008). “There is one here in Guyuni”
The mbila player is somewhere from our fieldwork process. I think the reason for this is that the mbila needs to produce a loud sound, which means that it needs to be amplified. We needed technology to amplify it. Accordions and guitars replace it because they can produce a loud sound. The challenge that instruments with soft sounds such as mbila face in the performance is that they are muted by the loud instruments.

“We need to go and see the crocodile” (Madalane, Interview 2008). A crocodile in Tshivenda is called ngwena. Thus the song Vho (Tshivenda prefix that symbolises respect or observation for seniority) I Vhamba (a word that is adopted from Nguni languages) Ngwena compares the person who is arrested with a crocodile. Thus as people in the society socialise with a person with problematic social behaviour, they compare him or her with the bravery of a crocodile. Even though this song contains vocabulary from other languages, it is grammatically and metaphorically Tshivenda, probably because a crocodile for some of Vhavenda is a totem. Furthermore, a crocodile is part of their habitus, which means that the cultural patterns at Tshianzwane interpenetrate with it.

5.10 CONCLUSION
This chapter has presented my editing, analysis and interpretation of a transcription of the interviews and conversations my co-researchers and I conducted at Tshianzwane village in 2008. In an attempt to elicit the music culture frame of reference of Tshianzwane, I have focused on Tshianzwane music from an extra-musical point of view by observing the village, the elders, the researchers and the children, and how these facets of their society inform the nature and function of their music. In this sense, I used Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the production of music are extra-musical.

My discussion has taken account of some of the reasons for the progress of a social order; Tshianzwane music expertise and teaching process; how both the researcher and the informant contribute to the fieldwork; the overlap between academic and Tshianzwane music style classification; how Tshianzwane music performers embody the outsiders’ cultures, a process that redefines the local
culture; and how Vhavenda literature and Tshianzwane music frames of reference overlap. Furthermore, I have assessed the overlap between Tshianzwane and academic or western frames of reference and pointed out the need for a single frame of reference in fieldwork. I have evaluated the idea that a frame of reference is reliable and valid in a specific time and place and provided a picture of polygamy as people practise it at Tshianzwane.

Other elements of my investigation have included the importance of prescribed attire in a music performance; that the researchers and their informants collectively make the field data; that what we see and hear can partially explain what Tshianzwane music culture is. In addition, I have shown how Tshianzwane music culture embodies the outsider’s concepts; explained that, even in one habitus, there is diversity of social meaning; and considered that sometimes the insider’s frame of reference internalises the outsiders’ cultures. I have also pointed out the importance of competence in the insider’s language; and shown that, in the fieldwork the participants use spoken language, which tends to overlap with the written one. The discussion has shown that the insider’s and the outsider’s frames of reference on how loud and soft instruments need to be overlap; explained that some of the information that the research participants provide about the insider’s culture is historical; evaluated the idea that if some of the main gatekeepers in the research site need explanations about the fieldwork and its purpose, the research process is affected; and considered the idea that, even though it is clear that people at Tshianzwane perform traditional music for economic benefit, it seems that they prefer to present it differently.

I have also explored the idea that tshigombela overlaps with Vatsonga shibelana; and that the pulse, even though Tshianzwane music culture shares it with other music cultures, proves to be the physical structure that expresses abstractions. I have further explained that when a music style becomes variable, the new ones inherit its culture; Tshianzwane traditional music is now one of the forms of entertainment and recreation. The need to maintain sound in the society is also a custodian of Tshianzwane music culture, and the rainmaking ritual contributes to
the preservation of Tshianzwane music culture. Furthermore, the accounts of the origin and identity of Tshianzwane music styles are speculative, music cultures progress because their custodians progress, a school is a social interaction area where diverse cultures converge to form another culture and music competitions have long been an established tradition in Vhavenda culture. In addition, I have explained that music style amounts to a shared cultural abstraction. Thus a variation or change in music style instrument structure amounts to a variation or change in a shared music abstraction and vice versa. I have explained that through music, the idea of “rights” penetrates Tshianzwane but is reinterpreted. Since Tshianzwane music is one of the means for recreation and entertainment, its social function has thus progressed.

Since it is important to understand the individual as the music maker, I have provided an account of OR’s background and used it to illustrate Vhavenda culture of collective expression. OR spent a large portion of his life in Vhavenda villages and their culture of collective expression is clearly visible in him, both as the individual and the musician. He has a strong passion for other people and expectation for reciprocity. He thinks of himself as “we” in the world and spends his life focused on maintenance of the “we” that he is. His musical and personal life expresses some of Vhavenda’s norms and values: learning through imitation and demonstration; women as juniors to men; marriage and family; ancestors and Mwali (God). The “we” in the world of OR is characterized by negative elements: negative texts in the music; the adoption of music from other cultures and challenges of authenticity in the local culture; social change and the fall of euphony, a condition which keeps people crying for the social order they are comfortable with; the fall of collectivist culture and the rise of individuality culture; norms and disgrace, fear for witchcraft; pre-marital sex, child bearing and disgrace.

I have shown that the informant prefers to be different from the researchers; that embodied habitus as lapse of memory is sometimes a conversion of a foreign culture into a local culture; that embodied information intended for maintenance
of memory sometimes necessitates further research. In addition, I have pointed out that as culture in a habitus progresses or changes, the preceding cultures may be regarded as of low value. I have also explained that frames of reference from different social orders are gradually transformed into a new frame of reference through social interaction at an unconscious level rather than intentionally. My discussion has also examined the idea that there is a difference between music structure and music production space; evaluated the idea that when music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, it is difficult to see their difference even when insiders infer that there are any. Maybe the difference is in the musical abstractions. When music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, their classification remains a subject for debate or subjectivity.

The discussion has shown that when music instruments in the same performance share or vary the same rhythmic structures or patterns, it is difficult for the observer to differentiate them; that a habitus embodies physical musical structures rather than musical abstractions from other forms of habitus; that Tshianzwane music is a speculative source of historical facts; that Tshianzwane music abstractions guide people but people keep searching for them. In case they prefer other music cultural abstractions, people at Tshianzwane may need to alter their physical musical structures. I have painted the picture of the natural embodiment at Tshianzwane and its difference from intended embodiment. Natural embodiment is an unstructured or unplanned internalization while intended embodiment is a planned internalization such as formal education. I have also explained the disadvantage of the conscious externalisation of unconsciously embodied cultural patterns in a formal embodiment process such as research fieldwork; and pointed out that externalisation of cultural patterns or a habitus is consonant with its internalised habitus. An individual’s internal cultural patterns are his or her physical habitus in an abstract format. If s/he migrates to a new habitus, s/he needs new internal cultural patterns to manage. Thus we needed to internalise Tshianzwane habitus first to manage in our fieldwork rather than rely on our internal academic habitus. I have further shown that, since cultural patterns in a habitus interpenetrate, they tend to reflect each other; and explained that even
though cultural patterns in a habitus reflect each other, they each have unique qualities. Thus, there is a difference between a call and a response in Tshianzwane music culture. My discussion has also explored how the *malombo*, *tshigombela* and *tshikona* differ from each other.

I painted a picture of the overlaps and variations of the informant’s and the researcher’s physical music cultural structures; explained the challenges a researcher faces when he researches on a culture that overlaps with his in terms of physical music cultural structures, as well as painted a picture of the challenges a researcher faces when he has developing research skills. Since it is important to understand both the individual and the music maker, I have provided an account of SN’s biography. SN cannot remember exactly when he started to learn *Vhavenda* traditional music; his biography reflects the typical life of a boy child and aged person in a traditional black community: to work for his parents and his family, that a man tolerates hardship, old people are gods and know everything relative to their juniors. SN spent a large percentage of his life in urban environments and, as a result, developed as a strong “I” in the world. He also changed jobs at a fairly high rate, which is likely to be reflective of him as a highly ambitious person. He prefers to have some amount of power wherever he works or stays and this can also be witnessed in his songs and the music performances. He presents himself as the loved one, the top on the social hierarchy of power, and the most prosperous person in the society. Furthermore, he can risk anything to achieve his target goals. I have explained that, due to their cultural interpenetration with other cultures, *Tshianzwane* is gradually developing forms of habitus; explained the idea that women at *Tshianzwane* are juniors to men; inferred that *Vhavenda* prefer collective cultural expression; explained that an introduction of new instruments in a culture degrades the old ones. Thus I speculated on why people of *Tshianzwane* use other music instruments rather than their traditional music instrument, *mbila* and explained the idea that the songs that are adapted from other cultures at *Tshianzwane* are grammatically and metaphorically *Tshivenda*. Thus *Tshianzwane* music culture adopts physical
music structures from other cultures and use them to express *Tshianzwane* cultural abstractions.

In chapter 6, I analyse the *Tshianzwane* music song text and sound structure from my academic frame of reference. Thus chapter 6 presents my point of view on *Tshianzwane* music.
CHAPTER 6: Elicitation of music culture patterns and frame of reference II

The aim of this chapter is to look at Tshianzwane music from a musical point of view. I look at the village, the elders, the children, the Tshulu trust camp and how the nature and function of Vhavenda music culture at Tshianzwane informs the progressive nature of these facets of their habitus. In this sense, I use Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the progressive nature of the social order are musical. Hence, Tshianzwane music culture frame of reference interweaves their music with its performance space. This chapter is my analysis of Tshianzwane music using western or academic music concepts.

6.1 SONG TEXT

In this section, I define and evaluate the function of song text in Tshianzwane music culture. Furthermore, I find out why and how song titles are allocated to songs.

According to my analysis, “song text” in Tshianzwane music refers to verbal expression, primarily in Tshivenda (Vhavenda language). Hence Tshianzwane cultural norms and values express themselves through Tshianzwane music song texts. The primary function of song text in Tshianzwane music is to comment on their embodied social experience in their social order (Nduni Yanga, Slide 58): *Nduni Yanga thi funi muthu* (I need only myself in my house). Through song, the singer addresses her marriage challenges. If her husband and secret lover are present in the *malende* performance, they might also respond to her through song or disappear from the performance. Thus, even though love affairs are extra-musical, Tshianzwane frame of reference interweaves them with the *malende* performance. Song text in Tshianzwane music culture varies from performance to performance (Maranga, Slide 53; Maranga, Slide 54; Vho Djea Munna Sa Thelevhishini, Slide 64; Vho Djea Munna Sa Thelevhishini, Slide 65). For further examples, the informants infer that (Ndo Lunwa Nga Phame, Slide 73) and (Yo Vhulahwa Yone, Slide 75) are two songs, perhaps because they are two
performances, but their song texts overlap. As a result, this raises concern about how researchers and the insiders classify *Tshianzwane* music styles. Researchers, because of the demands of clarity in their writings, need to identify cultural patterns by names. For the sake of competent scholarship, they sometimes develop names for the insider’s cultural patterns. Insiders at *Tshianzwane* have debatable names for their cultural patterns since they embody their music through imitation rather than formal concept-based training.

6.2 **SONG AND METAPHOR**

With this section, I aim to discuss the nature and function of the metaphors in *Tshianzwane* music.

6.2.1 **Li A Gwa Mutshini**

*Li a gwa mutshini ndi teretere* (that machine that is digging is a tractor) is a comment on the work rate of machinery that workers use in road construction. *Vhavenda* in the rural areas seemingly saw this machinery preparing roads and were fascinated by its work rate. As a result the song literally states “that let us go home because the road construction machinery is doing the job”. This may be a reference to job losses as a result of industrialisation and modern technology.

6.2.2 **Polina [Pauline] U Na Nwana**

In the song *Polina U Na Nwana* (Pauline has a child) (Slide 14), the children sing about a child whose illness can be healed by God only. Hence: *Nwana u khou lwala* (The child is sick); *Vha mu isa tshipadala, zwa pala* (They took him to the hospital, the hospital tried to heal him); *Vha mu isa sathaneni* (They took him to Satan, Satan tried to heal him); *Vha mu isa mudzimuni, mudzimuni zwa denda* (They took him to God, and He healed him). It is important to note that, with God, it needs to be clear to whom this song refers because some of *Vhavenda* people have *Mwali* as their God while some are Christians. An ancestor (singular), in *Vhavenda* culture refers to *mudzimu* (God) and ancestors (plural) refers to *vhadzimu* (Gods). Clearly, the message of the song means that God is all-powerful. Thus, the presence of the European missionaries in *Vhavenda*-land
contributed to the convergence of God and Mudzimu. Today the word Mudzimu can refer to the Christian God as well as to the Gods.

6.2.3 Ndi Linde

Adults and children in Tshindzwane music culture share the performance space, which ensures that children learn from the elders through participation and imitation. Thus, it is logical that children’s songs address social relationships. A good example is Ndi Linde (Slide 33), which is a children’s song for boys and girls. In this song, the girls are calling the boys: Ndi linde (Wait for me). The boys respond: He zwi ri tshi tamba (When we are playing); Ni sendele muraho (You need to play with us cautiously); Ri sa do ni kanta (So that you preserve your girlhood); Taku taku dzhoto (Otherwise we may impregnate you). This song embodies moral teaching, because it makes the girls aware that, if they have sex with boys, they may become pregnant. Thus warnings against sexual intercourse as an extra-musical element contribute to the production of the children’s songs.

6.2.4 Vhakoma

Children’s songs also have text that addresses socio-political issues. A good example for this is the song Tshidula Tsha Musingadi (Slide 40): Vhakoma vha tshiya Dzata (When the rulers go to Dzata); Vha fhirisa mudinda phanda (A commoner leads them); Mudinda u fhunga nwando (The commoner fights things that can harm the rulers, hence he protects them). This song shows that, in Vhavenda culture, the commoners serve the rulers. However, another meaning of this song may be that rulers need to treat their juniors fairly or juniors need to beware of their seniors. Thus, the nature of the interaction of the rulers and the commoners as an extra-musical element (or context) contributes to the production of the children’s songs.

6.3 MUSICAL MATERIALS

With this section, I explore the idea that, in Tshianzwane music, cultural frame of reference is a synthesis of musical and extra-musical cultural patterns.
Sound as a means of expression works the same as song texts and language because they interpenetrate. *Tshigombela, malende* and some of the children’s songs that performers accompany with drums are also performed at the headman’s home because all these elements symbolise his authority. Furthermore, cultural frame of reference is connected to the location of the headman’s home as the performance space, with this place acting as a custodian of *Vhavenda* culture. People thus expect performers to behave according to the norms and values of *Tshianzwane* culture in their music performance (Slide 58). As I stated in my fourth-year project, I think it is a good idea to talk about materials of sound rather than songs or tunes because the strategy that is used to produce performances is the same in the *malende, tshigombela* and the children’s songs. As a result, I also infer that *Tshianzwane* frame of reference is a bowl of cultural materials because social rituals interpenetrate with cultural patterns such as music styles. Thus *malende, tshigombela* and children’s songs interchange the same song texts and tunes.

6.4 ANCESTORS AND SOCIAL ORDER

Here I explore the idea that the *Tshianzwane* music frame of reference is in essence ancestors or God who inform the behaviour of their or His people.

It is clear so far that music performers at *Tshianzwane* interpenetrate. As a result, there is overlap between music performers, composers and listeners in their society. In the belief system at *Tshianzwane*, their cultural interpenetration and interweaving necessarily refer to ancestors or God because they are or He is creators or creator and preservers or preserver for the musical and the extra-musical. The king serves as the guardian of and mediator between the ancestors’ property or mediator for the people and their ancestors to maintain their culture. God serves as the guardian of or maintains their culture. Ancestors essentially mean that seniors are gods to juniors according to the frame of reference at *Tshianzwane*, since they practice a top-down seniority structure. Juniors offer thanksgiving or ask for blessings from their seniors through social rituals, but the top-down seniority structure means that juniors are unable to reason for the
obedience of their seniors since they are not allowed to question them, which is implicitly vice versa, because in their particular context, juniors are also seniors.

6.5 MUSIC STYLE AND CLASSIFICATION

Since there are varying standard criteria of song style classification in Tshianzwane music, in this section, I explore various ways that may be used to classify their music.

According to my analysis, at least for the purposes of promoting clarity, Vhavenda music song texts are used in three broad ritual contexts; (a) social, (b) political and (c) religious. The social function of the music refers to the use of music for entertainment and personal relationships. Political music refers to the use of music for divisibility of the society into senior-junior power hierarchies. For example, “Tshigombela ndi tsha mahosi, Musiwana u tshi wana gai” (tshigombela belongs to the chief, where can a commoner get it?). This statement or phrase features in the music performances and helps to keep people aware of their social roles. Religious music refers to music used for worshipping their ancestors or God.

According to my analysis, Tshianzwane music can also flexibly be divided into various categories, depending on what the analyst or senior insider is looking at or for. Hence social music includes children’s songs and malende because they belong to anyone in the society. Political music includes tshikona, tshigombela and initiation music because, culturally, the chief or headman facilitates them. Religious music refers to the ancestor worship music (malombo), because it is usable when people perform ancestor worship rituals. However, it is important to note that the same physical features characterise these music styles.

As a result, the musical performance in Tshianzwane music fluctuates in meaning and functions depending on what the extra-musical pattern, the one who facilitates a performance, thinks about or intends to achieve with the performance. Thus even one person can provide various meanings and functions of a performance or performances at various times and place. Thus Ndi Ndothe (Slide 60) is a malende
song when it is performed in a malende performance and a Tshifasi or children’s song when it is performed for children.

In Vhavenda culture, certain songs serve as symbols of certain music styles because people normally include them in their performances. For example, people perform Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba (Slide 32) as a children’s song. As a result, when people hear it, they are likely to infer that there is a children’s performance taking place. But this song, according to my analysis, is at variance with songs that are, for example, malende in structure. Thus, since this song can fit in a malende performance, an inference that there is a children’s performance when a person hears it can sometimes be correct. Hence Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba is also performable in a malende performance (Slide 50 and 51). Even though Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba is also a malende song, some individuals such as Netshifhefhe continue to call it a children’s song that is convertible for a malende song.

Each musical style in Vhavenda culture can be understood as a symbol of a certain institution. For example, a tshigombela is a symbol of the king because it is culturally performed in his home or for his purposes. Thus a person who is listening from a distance can reasonably assume that the tshigombela dance he hears is taking place in the headman’s home. However, as I mentioned, the traditional social order of Tshianzwane has progressed and the tshigombela sometimes symbolises the king. Thus tshigombela dance can also belong to anyone such as traditional dance groups for competitions. Netshifhefhe runs tshigombela dance groups necessarily for traditional music competitions. Hence the flexibility in the traditional seniority hierarchy contributes to the flexible meaning of the tshigombela.

6.6 EUPHONY

According to my field experience, Vhavenda simply refer to a correct melody or rhythm of a song as good or bad, which is a result of the fact that they learn their music by demonstration and imitation. When they infer that a melody is good or bad, they in essence mean that it feels good or bad. The form of Vhavenda music has call and response (Slide 65). Some of the patterns of songs in their music are
cyclical. Hence both or either the call and the response can be repeated as many times as possible with the overall structure of the song in shape (Teretere, Slide 61). Some patterns are improvisation whose function is to increase the activity in the music texture. The shakers that performers wear on their feet, the whistle that the leader of a tshigombela blows (Slide 70) and the ululations (Slide 58) are some of the sound materials that performers use to increase the activity in the music.

My analysis shows that the music at Tshindzwane is based on pentatonic and heptatonic scales. Either of the scales is used in such a way that some notes are in either the response or call. Hence, in Transcription 1, the first and the second degrees of the scale are in the response, while in Transcription 3, the first, second and third degrees of the scale are in the call. It is clear in these transcriptions that the call and the response share the second, third, fifth and sixth degrees of the scale, while in Transcription 3, the call and the response share the fourth, fifth and sixth degrees of the scale. Thus the notes of the call may sometimes be higher than that of the response or vice versa.

Pentatonic and heptatonic scales are sometimes used in their complete formats. It is this factor that makes either of them interchangeable. Hence, the four notes of the call in Transcription 1 may belong to the pentatonic scale but this is if the response is based on the same scale as the call. In this respect, I think it is better to infer that the call and the response are based on two scales, tetratonic and pentatonic. The point I am making here is that a scale may have five or seven notes. It can even have two notes as in the response of Zimbabwe (Slide 67). Furthermore, a song can be bimodal in the sense that it is based on two scales.

The melodic curve in Tshianzwane music is comprehensive in two formats: there is the one that moves in an up-down curve (Transcription 1, call), while there is the other one that moves in a straight line with a down curve at the end (Transcription 1, response). This is basically following the frequency curves of Vhavenda language (Transcription 1). Hence Tshia - n – zwa-ne - ri – hu - m – be - la – ma - vho – ne (literal meaning: Tshianzwane we are asking for lights) (Slide
74) is a text that contributes to the nature of the melodic curve. The contribution of text on melodies in *Vhavenda* music is evident in the call, because it is “the person who does a lot of talking” (*Netshifhefhe*, Interview 2008). The varying length of sentences that the caller uses partially contributes to the shape and length of the melody. But the varying length of the call may also contribute to that of the response because the response is relatively independent. The varying length of the call sometimes results in an overlap between the call and the response (Transcription 6). However, sometimes the call may be short or shortened, in which case there is a space between the call and the response (*Ho Vuwa Lihanya*, Slide 71).

The harmony in the music of *Tshianzwane* occurs regularly but as a resultant musical pattern from interacting melodies. The melody lines of the call, response and improvisations are flexible; hence, singers can sometimes feel free to adapt any song to the range of their voices. In *Ho Vuwa Lihanya* (Slide 70), the caller is lower than the response because his voice is low in range. Another singer with a high range can sing the call an octave, some pitches or a pitch higher. This also applies to the response. Thus a person with a lower voice can sing the same melody that the response is singing at a lower octave. To my western-trained ear, sometimes the music sounds in need of stable tonality or key because of the nature of its vertical layering, which may mean that the performers have complete freedom. But, from my field experience, the people of *Tshianzwane* appreciated the music. The harmony is thus a resultant product from the call, response and improvisation that performers sing in the music performance space.

*Tshianzwane* music, like other African music cultures, has fast beats called pulses. Even though it can be associable to a beat, a pulse is different because it is a subdivision of a beat. A beat in *Vhavenda* music is interpretable into a group of pulses. Furthermore, in the children’s songs, *malende* and *tshigombela* performers use the same pulse rhythmic principles to structure their songs. These principles are patterns based on groups of three (Transcription 1) and four (Transcription 6) pulses. In my transcriptions, one bar is equal to one beat.
In Transcription 1, one bar is a pattern that is based on three pulses. In order to create a meter, the music in Transcription 1 is divisible into phrases based on a group of four dotted crotchets. Transcription 1 shows that the call and the response are each based on four dotted crotchets. As a result, they both make a meter or cycle of 24 pulses or quavers. However, the cycle, because of the call, is based on 48 cycles. The call starts at pitches G and A. In the second part (bars 9-16), the call moves down to pitches E and D, which makes it complete. This serves as a half cadence in the sense that it creates tension that is resolved in the response. The response is a full cadence because the G satisfactorily resolves the tension the A creates (bar 8) and D (bar 16) in the call. But the E at the beginning of the call sometimes begins at the same pulse with the G in the response (bar 9) to create an interval of a major 6th. As a result, the song stays in a continuous tension that nearly reaches a resolution. The other way to create tension is that the call sometimes waits for the response to finish singing. When the response has finished its melodic line, the call sings the E and D (bars 11-12). As a result, this means that the response needs to continue. Furthermore, the call in *Ho Vuwa Lihanya* is based on one part because it is 12 pulses long. But, the tension-resolution that characterises Transcription 1 is still evident in *Ho Vuwa Lihanya*. Hence the important aspect that creates the continuous tension in *Vhavenda* songs is the overlap between the call and the response or the singing of the last notes of the call at the end of responses. The response in *Vhavenda* music is a reliable feature for creating a meter in a song because it is relatively sizable from performance to performance. *Tshianzwane* call and response melodies begin at an upbeat (Transcription 1). An upbeat here means that the melodies begin at the last
pulse of the beat. Furthermore, sometimes the upbeat happens at the second-last pulse of the beat.

2 against 3.

Resultant Rhythm.

Figure 13: 2 against 3 and its Resultant Rhythmic pattern.

In this 2-against-three table, the 2 refers to the two dotted crotchets based on groups of three. These two dotted crotchets are equal to six pulses. The six pulses are then divided by two, which equals the 3 against which the 2 is playable. As a result, the 3 that is playable against the 2 dotted crotchets refer to three quavers. From my fieldwork experience, the other cross rhythm that people at Tshianzwane play or clap is 3 against 4 as follows:
3 against 4.

Resultant rhythmic pattern.

Figure 14: 3 against 4 and its Resultant Rhythm.

When analysing a performance in the field, I could hear patterns creating cross rhythms if instruments of a different colour or timbre each sings or claps them. In this regard, instrument refers to anything that produces sound in the performance. When instruments of the same timbre produce cross rhythmic patterns, the analyst can clearly hear resultant rhythmic patterns.

Even though the call in Transcription 3 is six bars long, it is based on groups of three dotted crotchets. The first three bars are a statement of a sequence that is repeatable on the second three bars a major third lower. The response is six bars long because it is also based on two sequences. But there are songs that are based on a group of three dotted crotchets whose response and call are each three bars long (Ndi Ndothe, Slide 60). As is the case in Transcription 3, Tshianzwane call and response melodies begin at a downbeat because they begin at the first pulse of the beat. But, according to my field experience, either or both the call and the
response can add *ahee* or other syllables before the beat to give the melodies an up-beat beginning.

![Figure 15: Four Pulse Patterns: this is the amount of pulse patterns that performers use to craft songs.](image)

Transcription 6 is based on patterns of groups of four pulses. Hence bars in this transcription are each a pattern. These rhythmic patterns are 16 in number as compared to the eight in the dotted crotchet structure. Furthermore, they are a variation of each other, which is probably one of the reasons for the high degree of variability or flexibility in *Vhavenda* music. While these patterns are limited, *Tshianzwane* music also has limited timbre because the performers use limited instruments. They, for example, use voice to sing the call, the response, as well as the embellishments or improvisations. For an observer, it is challenging to identify the various roles of the voice in a performance. Even though the call in Transcription 6 is longer than the response, the tension-resolution practise works the same as I have discussed in the groups of three-pattern structures. Furthermore, the response in this song serves two purposes, to respond to the call and to imply a harmonic support. I infer this because the response uses two notes that are a tone apart. This, in terms of western theory, gives an impression of dominant-subdominant relationship. There are songs in these groups of four pulse structures, whose calls and responses are each based on four minims. An example of this structure is *Vho I Vamba Ngwena*.

In the children’s songs, there are examples that are at variance with a call and response form (Transcription 9). But these songs are still cyclical in form.
Transcription 9 is a cyclic form based on an A and B form theme. The A and the B sections of this theme are each nine bars. The theme of this song is divisible into A and B sections because the 4th and the 5th bars of section A is at variance with the 4th and 5th bars of section B. The children’s songs also have cyclical forms of this type on themes that are based on an A section (Delele Na Mutuku). The children’s music is relatively fixed in the sense that one song remains basically the same from performance to performance. This is likely a result of the fact that children primarily use their music for entertainment and recreation. Thus this reserves it from the continuous influence of language on its structures.

Malende performers take children’s songs and convert them into a call and response structure (Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba, Children’s song, Slide 32; Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba, Malende, Slide 50 and 51). When this song starts, malende performers sing the song the way children sing it. As they approach the last sentence of the song, they convert it into a call and response. Hence Call: Mbudzi Dza Vhalemba (Vhalemba goats); Response: Dzi a fhiritana; (They are getting messed up). Furthermore, they or some of the performers return to the narration as the drums and hand clapping continue. This song is, therefore, a combination of children’s songs that are at variance with a call and response structure and malende song that is in a call and response structure. The three drums in the tshigombela are also based on specific rhythmic patterns, as in Transcription 1. The ngoma plays at the first pulse of the dotted crotchet. The small murumba plays at the last two pulses of the dotted crotchet. The big murumba is sometimes based on the dance steps of the dancers because it is the only freer of the drums in the tshigombela. In the malende, the small murumba and the big murumba are free. The freedom of instruments in Tshianzwane music is culture-specific. However, some cultural patterns such as ululation and praise poetry in the music performance are free from the pulse guidance but also culture-specific.

6.7 CONCLUSION

I looked at Tshianzwane music from a musical point of view based on Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the progressive nature of the
social order are musical. This chapter has presented my analysis of *Tshianzwane* music in which I used western or academic music concepts to achieve my goal. I defined and evaluated the function of song text in *Tshianzwane* music, found out why and how song titles are allocated to songs and discussed the nature and function of the metaphors in *Tshianzwane* music. Furthermore, I explored the idea that, in *Tshianzwane* music, cultural frame of reference is an embedding of the musical and extra-musical cultural patterns. *Tshianzwane* music frame of reference reflects social power hierarchy including ancestors or God in a top-down seniority structure. I also explored various ways that may be used to classify their music. Chapter 7 is a conclusion of the dissertation and proposes suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

This chapter has three sections; summary of this dissertation, generalisation on oral tradition I explored in this dissertation and suggestions for further research on Vhavenda music culture. Since Blacking is interested in world music cultures, the summary section is a generalised theory or frame of reference on music culture in oral tradition that I researched in this dissertation.

7.1 SUMMARY OF THIS DISSERTATION

The work of John Blacking, which I enriched with Bourdieu’s theoretical frame on habitus and hexis, is the foundation theoretical frame for my dissertation. Thus in this dissertation, I defined and revisited his theories on music, particularly Vhavenda music. I further focused on his understanding of the relationships between music, the social order and music culture during his fieldwork from 1956 to 1958 at Tshakhuma and Sibasa in Vhavenda region of the Limpopo Province of South Africa to lay the foundation for my project. I also mentioned and defined the methods I used in my research project and process. Music making takes place in a social space interwoven with its cultural frame of reference, which means that the researcher needs to understand both of them. Thus, I described the social space and culture at my research site, Tshianzwane.

I evaluated how the research participants construct the Tshianzwane music frame of reference, as well as its contribution to their habitus and bodily hexis. Thus I focused on Tshianzwane music performances from a musical and an extra-musical point of view. I looked at the village, the elders, the researchers and the children and how these facets of Tshianzwane society inform the nature and function of Vhavenda traditional music at Tshianzwane. In this sense, I used Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the production of music are musical while some of them are extra-musical. I evaluated the idea that the cultural frame of reference at Tshianzwane music is interwoven with the sound material and the extra-musical elements and as a result can best be comprehended as feeling and thought contributing to meaning construction. Hence, according to
my field experience, Vhavenda appreciate the euphony resulting from their music, which refers to pleasant sound resulting from the whole performance.

Researchers agree that research is in essence method but, in some research fields or processes, there are various or overlapping opinions on method. I defined method and methodology paradigms and mentioned their contribution to the research process, ethnography, as well as mentioned and defined its genres. Some ethnographic processes, like some research processes, are variable and can best be comprehended as a whole in which each aspect contributes to the nature and product of the research process.

I explored how researchers construct theories or frames of reference. Ethnographies are in essence a presentation of the insider’s culture as interpreted by the researcher, which also gives the reader an opportunity to further interpret the insider’s culture. I defined sampling and that, since the researcher is a research instrument, the way s/he introduces himself or herself to the research field and informants contributes to the research process and data. I briefly discussed race and ethnicity because researchers and informants use them to define cultures they research and inform on. I further discussed the contribution of the researcher’s cultural frame of reference to the research process. I defined and discussed data collection and documentation methods: participation, observation, interviewing, audiovisual recording and field notes. I also presented the outlook and culture of Tshianzwane village because they are important for the understanding of their music. I defined domain and embedded contexts.

I discussed the challenges a researcher faces when s/he leaves the field, the ethical benefits and challenges from the informants the findings may face; introduced the fieldworkers, briefly provided an account of my traditional music background and tribal identity. I stated reasons for having chosen Tshianzwane as our field site, introduced our key and assisting informants. I mentioned our reasons for the home stay and their contribution to my project, introduced the Tshianzwane music styles I research on and discussed the contribution of our academic background to our fieldwork process. I further explained why we chose to conduct fieldwork rather
than use literature to research on Tshianzwane music, introduced the music instruments we used in our fieldwork, discussed the strengths and contribution of the methods we used in our fieldwork, and explained how I used our field data in my project.

This project is partly my analysis of Tshianzwane music from my own point of view. For the purposes of analysis, I studied Tshianzwane music using the concepts of call and response, circular patterns, pulse patterns, improvisation, texture layers, shakers, whistle, ululation, pentatonic and heptatonic scales, transcription, bimodal, melodic curve, Tshivenda, harmony, intervals, voice range, key, vertical layering, beat, rhythmic principles, bar, meter, phrase, tension and resolution, cadence, up and down beats, cross rhythms, timbre, resultant rhythmic patterns, music instruments, dotted crotchets, sequences, variability and variation, dominant and sub-dominant, minim, theme, social commentary and dance steps.

I defined and evaluated the function of song text in Tshianzwane music, explained why and how song titles are allocated to songs, and discussed the nature and function of the metaphors in Tshianzwane music. In addition, I showed that Tshianzwane music frame of reference is connected to beliefs about ancestors who inform the behaviour of their people and that people can negotiate the authority of their ancestors. Since there are variable song style classifications in Tshianzwane music, I explored various ways that may be used to classify their music. I also pointed out that music as sound can be comprehensive as rooted in its social order. Since social order plays a very important role in the nature and structure of music performances in Vhavenda culture, I reflected on the specific performers that we recorded.

In chapter 5 I explored the Tshianzwane music frame of reference, introduced the research participants and how I addressed them and discussed the reasons for the progress of a social order; explored Tshianzwane music expertise and teaching process, how both the researcher and the informant contribute to the fieldwork and the overlap between academic and Tshianzwane music style classification; explained how Tshianzwane music performers embody the outsiders’ cultures, a
process that redefines the local culture; how Vhavenda literature and Tshianzwane music frames of reference overlap; assessed the overlap between Tshianzwane and academic or western frames of reference and pointed out the need for one frame of reference in fieldwork; evaluated the idea that a frame of reference is reliable and valid in a specific time and place; provided a picture of polygamy as people practise it at Tshianzwane; the importance of prescribed attire in a music performance; explained that the researchers and their informants collectively make the field data; evaluated the idea that what we see and hear can to some degree explain what Tshianzwane music culture is; how Tshianzwane music culture embodies the outsider’s concepts.

I explained that, even in one habitus, there is social meaning diversity; evaluated the idea that sometimes the insider’s frame of reference internalises the outsiders’ cultures; pointed out the importance of competence in the insider’s language; evaluated the idea that, in the fieldwork; the participants use spoken language, which tends to overlap with the written one; also that the insider’s and the outsider’s frames of reference on how loud and soft instruments need to be overlap; explained that some of the information that the research participants provide about the insider’s culture is historical; that if some of the main gatekeepers in the research site need explanations about the fieldwork and its purpose, the research process is affected; that, even though it is clear that people at Tshianzwane perform traditional music for economic benefit, it seems that they prefer to present it differently; that the tshigombela overlaps with Vatsonga shibelana; that the pulse, even though Tshianzwane music culture shares it with other music cultures, proves to be the physical structures that expresses abstractions; that when a music style becomes variable, the new ones inherit its culture; that Tshianzwane traditional music is now one of the forms of entertainment and recreation; that the need to maintain sound in the society is also a custodian of Tshianzwane music culture; and that the rainmaking ritual is a custodian of Tshianzwane music.
I explained that the accounts on the origin and identity of Tshianzwane music styles are speculative; that music cultures progress because their custodians progress; that a school is a social interaction area where diverse cultures converge to form another culture; that music competitions have long been an established tradition in Vhavenda culture; that music style amounts to a shared cultural abstraction. Thus a variation or change in music style instrument structure amounts to a variation or change in a shared music abstraction and vice versa. I explained that through music, the idea of “rights” penetrated Tshianzwane but as reinterpreted; that, since Tshianzwane music is one of the means for recreation and entertainment, its social function has thus progressed. Since it is important to understand the individual as well as the music maker, I provided an account of Ramashia’s and Netshifhefhe’s biographies. I explained that the informant prefers to be different from the researchers; that embodied habitus as lapse of memory is sometimes a conversion of a foreign culture into a local culture; that embodied information intended for maintenance of memory sometimes necessitates further research; that as culture in a habitus progresses or changes, the preceding cultures are regarded as of low value.

I explained that frames of reference from different social orders gradually web up into a new frame of reference through social interaction at an unconscious level rather than intentionally; that there is a difference between music structure and music production space; that when music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, it is difficult to see their difference even when insiders infer that there is any. Maybe the difference is in the musical abstractions. I evaluated the idea that when music styles in the same habitus share the same musical structure, their classification remains a subject for debate or subjective; that when music instruments in the same performance share or vary the same rhythmic structures or patterns, it is difficult for the observer to differentiate them; that a habitus embodies physical musical structures rather than musical abstractions from other forms of habitus; and that Tshianzwane music is a speculative source of historical facts.
I evaluated the idea that Tshianzwane music abstractions guide people but people keep searching for them. In case they prefer other music cultural abstractions, people at Tshianzwane may need to alter their physical musical structures. I painted the picture of the natural embodiment at Tshianzwane and its difference from intended embodiment; explained the disadvantage of the conscious externalisation of unconsciously embodied cultural patterns in a formal embodiment process such as research fieldwork; pointed out that externalisation of cultural patterns or a habitus is consonant with its internalised habitus. An individual’s internal cultural patterns are his or her physical habitus in an abstract format. If s/he migrates to a new habitus, s/he needs new internal cultural patterns to manage. Thus we needed to internalise Tshianzwane habitus first to manage in our fieldwork rather than rely on our internal academic habitus. I have shown that, since cultural patterns in a habitus interpenetrates; they tend to reflect each other; even though cultural patterns in a habitus reflect each other, they each have unique qualities. Thus, for example, there is a difference between a call and a response in Tshianzwane music culture.

I studied how the malombo, tshigombela and tshikona differ from each other; painted a picture of the challenges a researcher faces when he has developing research skills; explained that, due to their cultural interpenetration with other cultures, Tshianzwane is gradually becoming divisible into forms of habitus; and explained that women at Tshianzwane are juniors to men. I also inferred that Vhavenda prefer collective cultural expression; and explained that an introduction of new instruments in a culture degrades the old ones. Thus I speculated on why the people of Tshianzwane use other music instruments rather than their traditional music instrument, mbila. I also explained that the songs that are adapted from other cultures at Tshianzwane are grammatically and metaphorically Tshivenda. Thus Tshianzwane music culture adopts physical music structures from other cultures and uses them to express Tshianzwane cultural abstractions. I attempted to elicit the music culture frame of reference of Tshianzwane. Thus I focused at the Tshianzwane music from a musical and an extra-musical point of view. I looked at the village, the elders, the researchers and the children and how
these facets of their society inform the nature and function of their music. In this
sense, I used Blacking’s inference that some of the factors that contribute to the
production of music are musical while others are extra-musical. I also analysed
Tshianzwane music song text and sound structure using my academic frame of
reference.

I showed that what I infer about Vhavenda music is generally the case with the
oral music traditions I explored in this dissertation. I mentioned the ethnic groups
that Hugh Tracey (218 CDs) and David Dargie researched on and briefly
discussed the variations and variability of tribes and their names as social orders
progress. I also briefly focused on the traditional music instruments in the oral
traditions I explored: their role in the symbolisation of ethnic groups, as well as
the variation in their names. I further discussed the key concepts and practices in
oral tradition and their role in the progress of social orders. Finally, I explained
the importance of informants in post fieldwork data analysis and interpretation.

7.2 GENERALISATION ON ORAL TRADITIONS EXPLORED IN THIS
DISSERTATION

A frame of reference is how we locate ourselves in our social space. It also refers
to human affective and cognitive structures. Thus social spaces have frames of
reference based on “social”, which refers to human interaction and
interpenetration. Through social interaction, we also enhance our frames of
reference. Frames of reference are socially embraceable in a specific time and
place because cultures progress. Furthermore, our frames of reference are each
personal. We each observe and hypothesise on other people’s frames of reference
through cues such as verbal and symbolic languages. Since we observe human
affective and cognitive processes which are fundamental to shared culture through
cues, we are likely to speculate on overlaps and variations in embodied cultural
patterns.

Shared experience is fundamental to a music culture in a specific time and
community. Furthermore, since in societies around the world music is composed
by individuals each in their own culture, understanding the individual as well as
the music maker is also very important. Thus music can best be understood in its social context. Since the affective and cognitive aspects of people in a society are progressive, they are reliable sources of music production because they can adapt to varying social forces. Thus it is through abstractions that music in a society progresses or varies. It is when music is comprehended in its habitus that cross-cultural comparisons of music styles and genres can be made.

Music styles in their culture progress, vary, arise or make way for new ones. In an oral tradition where people participate in the making of the culture in its totality, the culture of the various music styles interpenetrate. Thus music cultures in an oral tradition overlap, which means that they are a speculative means to understand music culture because they emphasise quantity rather than their shared quality. Furthermore, classification of music in an oral tradition varies in terms of the concept that is used: politics, religion, entertainment. Thus, there are varying standard meanings and definitions in an oral tradition. Even though the meaning of music in its culture can verbally and symbolically vary from individual to individual due to varying conceptions, it is likely to be similar as shared abstraction. “Verbal” and “symbolical” refer to the physical structural aspect of music. Deep level refers to affective and cognitive levels, which are abstractions. Hence, that which is abstract may or may not keep the society in harmony.

If that which is a feeling unifies and keeps the society integrated, it compellingly is a norm and value. In an ancestor-worshipping oral tradition, norms and values necessarily refer to the ancestors or God because they are credited with the creation of the musical and the extra-musical. The king serves as the guardian of the ancestors’ property or as a mediator between ancestors and the society to maintain their culture – the musical and the extra-musical in this case – and those who have differing opinions about his mediation may be called in for disciplinary processes. An oral tradition society culturally encourages one frame of reference in the form of ancestors in their society. Ancestors inform the behaviour of their people but people continuously search for them. Thus ancestors, as a frame of reference, are best understood through ancestor worship rituals and dreams.
A music performance can reach a level of trance experience or state of possession, in which the real time and norms of the society’s culture are relaxed. As a result, people freely express themselves in ways that redefine their cultural norms and values. It is this trance experience in music performance that forms part of Blacking’s focus, because he regards it as a source of spiritual fulfilment and humanity. Such spiritual fulfilment and humanity, for oral traditions, are blessings from ancestors or God. Furthermore, researchers’ exploration of world music as multicultural music is in essence maintenance of tribal and racial identities, which could better be revised for the sake of humanity. Thus there is value in the power of music to extend and vary cultural mappings and this can be used to integrate world music cultures.

7.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON VHAVENDA MUSIC CULTURE

There is a need to explore further why Blacking saw value in comparing and contrasting Vhavenda and British social orders during his lifetime; the pre- and post-1950s-1960s social theoretical frameworks and how they represent Vhavenda music; whether Vhavenda music has grown or changed since Blacking’s research fieldwork; the dialogue between Vhavenda music and tribal African music cultures that I mentioned in this dissertation; the social symbolic-functional meanings and role of music and music instruments in Vhavenda music performance as embedded in the music cultures that I discussed in this dissertation; and the role of research informants in Vhavenda music cultural formations as embedded in its surrounding music cultures since Blacking’s research fieldwork.

In addition, there is a need for further research into the role of Vhavenda music as a means for enculturation; internalisation and externalisation of Vhavenda culture as embedded in the music cultures that I mentioned in this dissertation. There is also a need for further research on music as a means for the promotion of Vhavenda culture, and a need to explore means for maintenance of music performance space as embedded in the music cultures I mentioned in this dissertation; means to improve the focus of Vhavenda music text and metaphor on
positive social achievements and social experience of trance; the role of *Vhavenda* music in the construction of “me” and “we” in *Vhavenda* social order as embedded in the music cultures I mentioned in this dissertation; the role of music in the development, progression and change of social power hierarchy and classes in *Vhavenda* culture as embedded in the music cultures that I explored in this dissertation; how *Vhavenda* music culture embed *Vhavenda* social space in their surrounding music cultural contexts; the place of visually challenged people in *Vhavenda* music performance culture as embedded in their surrounding music performance; and how *Vhavenda* music culture interpenetrates with the continuous invention and reinterpretation of music cultures within and around its performance space.
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