RELEASING THE PAUSE BUTTON ON HUGH TRACEY'S FIELD RECORDINGS OF 1959: REPATRIATION AND REVITALISATION OF A SELECTION OF THE BANGWAKETSE MUSIC HELD AT THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF AFRICAN MUSIC (ILAM)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines an attempt at repatriation and the revitalisation of archival holdings from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) to the Bangwaketse community of Botswana. I assess how the attempt may shape future possibilities for the repatriation of more recordings from ILAM to other areas in Botswana. Drawing on the narrative compiled from the various sessions of memory retrieval and recollections of the past, I establish how the Bangwaketse claim ownership of their musical heritage. Memory and nostalgic reactions to musical sound contribute to a construction of communal truths as held by the people who claim their heritage to the music from ILAM. Memory retrieval and recollection are explored in this research as a process that allows the members of the community to reconnect with their past, interpret their memories, modify and create the ideal image of their community and retell their stories. Through the interactions and exploration of memory, I explore how the Bangwaketse are motivated to engage with the recordings from ILAM. In addition, based on the observation of the recent music performances of the Bangwaketse, I examine how the approaches they used, to sustain the traditional music that they continue to play, may inform the process of returning and revitalising archival holdings from ILAM. I argue that, for the purpose of revitalising the old archival recordings, the performers require incentives that are related to social developments and their contexts. Furthermore, the revitalisation effort is a joint effort between the performers, culture bearers as well as the audiences. In addition, I argue that in order to reinsert the archival recordings in the community, the recordings should be worked through the education sector and be taught to all generations, especially the children who hold the possibility of continued music revitalisation.

The research evaluates how the traditional music of the Bangwaketse is conceptualized in recent years by the different research participants. The project further describes the innate need for a continued music culture by the Bangwaketse. Some sections of the data explain how music 'escaped' the social practices and structures of the past. After tracing how the traditional music ceased, I study how the Bangwaketse communally construct different strategies to re-insert the music into their livelihoods in order to realise the revitalisation of ILAM recordings in their original performance contexts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis is my own work, written in my own words. Where I have drawn on the words or ideas of others, these have been acknowledged using complete references according to Departmental Guidelines.

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Chapter 1

Locating the tape player: Introduction

Terms

Ngwaketse *(the area) is* in the southern part of Botswana. The main village in the Ngwaketse region is Kanye. Ngwaketse is inhabited by the Bangwaketse (the people) and in the singular; Mongwaketse. Sengwaketse is the language spoken by Bangwaketse.

A *Motswana* is a citizen of Botswana, plural is *Batswana* and their language is Setswana.

ILAM is the International Library of African Music.

Introduction

The opportunity to undertake this research came about when Professor Diane Thram, Director of the International Library of African Music (ILAM), informed me about ILAM's ongoing project for the repatriation of digital sound. My curiosity about the collection at ILAM has its roots in my undergraduate studies at the University of Kwazulu Natal (Durban). I studied Ethnomusicology and African Music and Dance where the recordings made by Hugh Tracey were used extensively. I had been wondering if Hugh Tracey had made any recordings in Botswana, and was very excited to find that he had. On hearing that ILAM was engaged in repatriation, I eagerly took the opportunity to join the project. As a Motswana student at Rhodes, I imagined the reactions of the people in Botswana when they heard the music. This is because I became very nostalgic when I heard the recordings held at ILAM.

Hugh Tracey recorded music from different countries in Africa during his field trips[1] and made notes about the performances in the process of recording. At the time, the music was recorded on tape and published in LP format (two sided recording) rather than on CDs. There are two major compilations that Tracey made from these recordings. The biggest of these is the Sound of Africa series which is published today in a set comprising 218 compact discs accompanied by a catalogue, in two volumes. (Tracey 1973). In the catalogues, the recordings have been classified into

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[1] The Ngwaketse recordings were made by Hugh Tracey in 1959.

different categories by country, language, and the function of the music, for ease of access to specific recordings. Another compilation is the Music of Africa series, which is more compact, because it has fewer recordings compiled into a CD. Each CD has all supporting information in the CD pocket. To gain access to the recordings, one may visit the ILAM website at http://www.ru.ac.za/ilam/ where there are 30 second sound clips with supporting metadata about the different recordings. Furthermore, to purchase the full recordings one can either contact ILAM staff using the details provided on the webpage or visit the ILAM in person. In this project I use the system of classification from the Sound of Africa series catalogues to refer to the different songs used during the field work. TR108-A.2, for instance; TR denotes recordings made by Hugh Tracey. The number 108 refers to the series number of the original LP record, while A2 identifies track number 2 on side A of the LP. This information also appears in the catalogue, and enables access to catalogue metadata for the track. This music held at ILAM is digitized, so one does not have to worry about side A or B anymore, because the digitized format comes on CD. The music of Bangwaketse, that I use in this project, is mainly found in TR108, a few others in TR109 and TR111. Following the digitization and opening channels of communication with the ILAM, the current move at the ILAM is on repatriation and hopefully revitalisation of the sound recordings.

Place of research

The location for my fieldwork is Kanye in the southern district (see figure 1.2) of Botswana[2]. I chose to do fieldwork in Kanye because it is the main village in the Ngwaketse district and the only place in Ngwaketse where Hugh Tracey made the recordings. Although the village is mainly inhabited by Bangwaketse, it has other ethnic groups, most of whom are from the neighbouring regions of Borolong, Kgalagadi and Kgatla. Furthermore, I chose Kanye for its proximity and accessibility from my residence (Lobatse).

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[2] Figure 1.1 in the next page is the map of Bechuanaland Protectorate. Botswana was known as Bechuanaland British protectorate before 1966. Hugh Tracey recorded in Kanye in 1959 when the country was still under British rule and called Bechuanaland.

Figure 1.2 also in the next page is the current political map of Botswana that demarcates the regions or districts. The Southern district is the district often known as the Ngwaketse district. Kanye is the main village in the southern district.
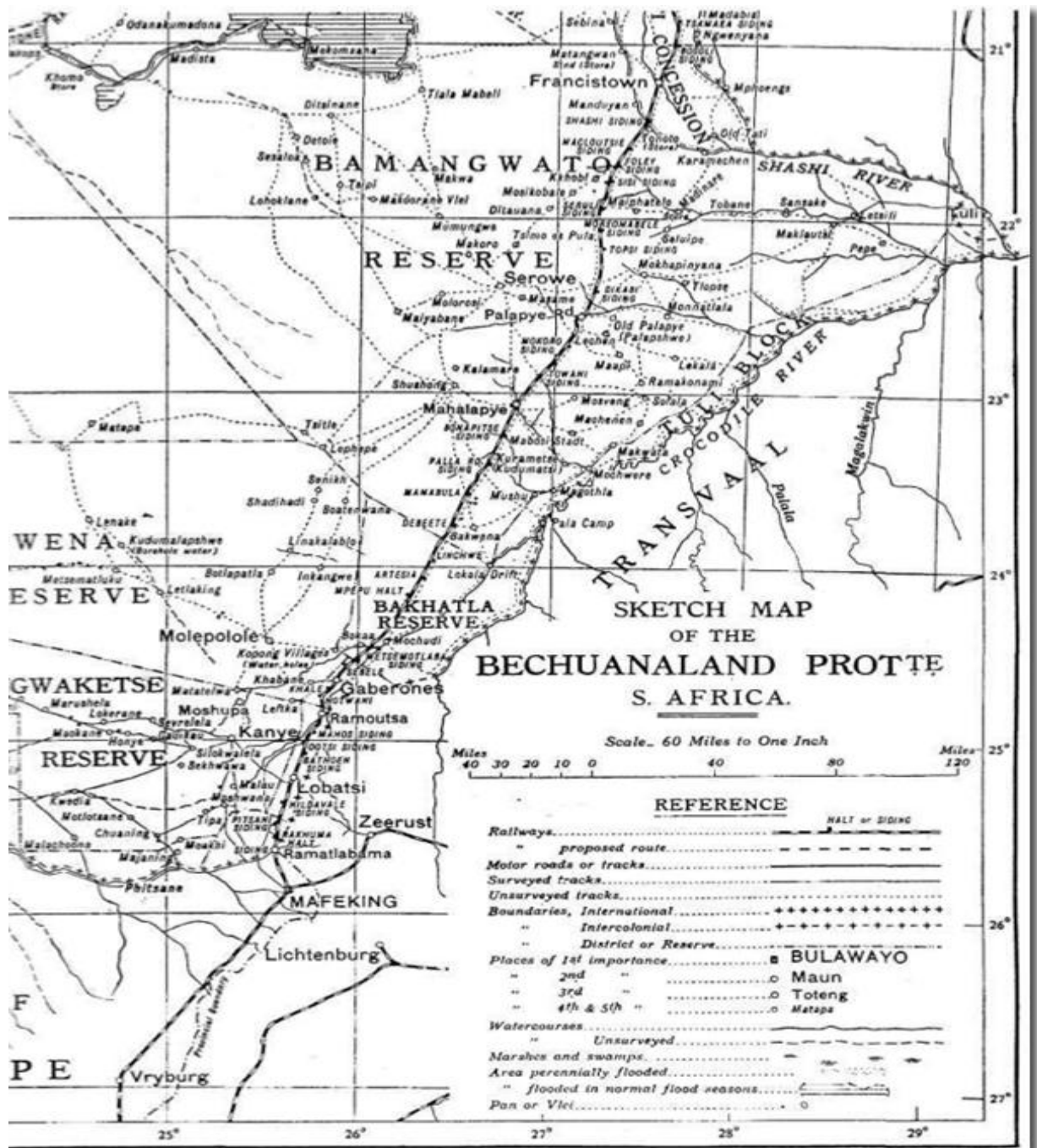
Figure 1.1 Bechuanaland Protectorate sketch map

Accessed on the 19th April 2014
from:http://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/bechuanaland/bechuanalandsketchmap.htm

Figure 1.2 Map of Botswana showing the districts.
http://www.mapsofworld.com/botswana/botswana-political-map.html (accessed on 19th October 2015)

At the time of Hugh Tracey's recordings, the Bangwaketse chief was Bathoen II, who is heard leading "Kgapha sa khudu" (TR109 A.3) in one of the recordings. He was the founder of the Royal Choristers group, a choir that is heard singing in two of the recordings, "Nama ke go tlole" and "Motlhala wa noga" (TR111 tracks B.3 and B.4 respectively).

Hugh Tracey made twenty recordings of music in the Ngwaketse district of Botswana in 1959 (Tracey 1973), when the country was called Bechuanaland British Protectorate. These are not his only recordings made in Botswana as there are other recordings that represent mostly the southern part of the country, sampling villages from Kweneng, Kgatleng (see figure 1.2 above), Lete, Ngwaketse and Rolong regions[3]. In my research, I focused on the recordings made in Ngwaketse district because of the limited time available.

In this research project I aimed to return a musical moment captured in time, through the digital return of the recordings, to trigger memories about the music and, if relevant, promote its use by local musicians. My study makes no effort to 'turn back the clock", but argues instead for a synthesis of the past and the present in order to remember the musical heritage of Kanye. Through this experience, the people will hopefully regain contact with their music heritage and use it in innovative ways. I further hope that this approach to the research will create and build continued interest in the Bangwaketse music and the musicians as was envisaged by Hugh Tracey at the time of recording (Tracey 1973). Hugh Tracey (1965, 8) explains the vision that he had for African music education. Most of what he advocates is summed up in the following stages which Tracey had formulated:

> First Stage: Discovery, and Collection.
>
> Second Stage: Assessment, and Textbooks.
>
> Third Stage: Publication, and Teaching.

The stages are explained in the article; *A plan for African music* (Tracey 1965). The action plan set up in these stages may benefit the education of music in Botswana schools which are currently operating on limited music resources.

I also watched the Bangwaketse demonstrate and interpret some of their practices is the Mmakgodumo Cultural Festival in Kanye. The festival is an annual event that was in its second year in September 2014. The event obtained its name from the venue; it is held on the grounds near the historical Mmakgodumo Dam[4] that was built in 1940

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[3] The *Balete* main village is Ramotswa and the *Barolong* main village is Good Hope. The two regions are on the borderlines of the southern District as well.

[4] "Mmakgodumo dam is located a few kilometers from Kanye village. The dam was built to provide water for domestic and livestock uses in response to the 1933 drought which had left many livestock

under the directive of Chief Bathoen II to help alleviate poverty in the Ngwaketse region.

Goal of Research

The goals of this study are to examine the reception of Hugh Tracey's music recordings among local people in the Ngwaketse region and to construct a narrative around this study for the purpose of revitalising the music. The field work of this research began in June 2014 and ended in September 2015.

Research Issues:

i. To examine how the different generations of Batswana reflect on or react to the recordings when exposed or reintroduced to them.

ii. To understand the original and contemporary performance contexts of the music as conveyed in performance and through the utterances and the behaviour of the performers.

iii. To study the potential for reviving the music in Hugh Tracey's collection in order to develop a programme for the ongoing revitalisation of the music.

iv. To determine or understand how digital return might or might not be the answer to revitalisation.

v. To develop a model for digital return in the context of a developing country such as Botswana.

Methodology

An ethnomusicological approach, using different methodological tools, shall be employed to investigate the social practices or the performances in relation to music. The research is placed within the epistemology of social constructionism. The constructionist approach is appropriate as the reality and meaning of the music is socially constructed (Burr 1995; Mertens 1998). Although there are many ways of knowing, evidenced in the many epistemologies often used in research, social constructionism is more resonant with this research because human understanding of

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dead. Building started in 1939 and was completed in 1941 and is attributed to the initiative of the chief and the local community" (Manzungu, Mpho and Mpale-Mudanga 2009, 216)

the world is "historically and culturally relative" (Burr 1995, 4). The social constructionism approach argues that humans construct versions of reality between them and the construction of reality focuses on "the social practices engaged in by the people and their interactions with each other" (ibid., 6). In this research, the social constructionism approaches further benefits my method of participation and observation, as it makes the researcher critical of the idea that our observation of the world yields the nature of the world to us without any problems (ibid., 3). The social interactions and interpersonal discussions will create a communal interpretation of the Bangwaketse "where interests are more social rather than individual" (Barkin 2010, 80).

I then follow the interpretive theoretical perspective that employs multiple methods of data collection (triangulation). I used data and methodological triangulation to attain information from a community that was constructing its reality through the retrieval of memory and through performance. Bloor and Wood describe data triangulation as using different data sources to study the same phenomenon and methodological triangulation as using different methods to study a phenomenon (2006, 170). Like these authors, I intend to validate the data through using multiple methods, while another reason I use multiple methods is with an emphasis on the potential to gather a tangible amount from the many, varied sources. This is elaborated upon by Brewer and Hunter, who explain that the individual methods compensate for each other's limitation for a better reflection of reality (1989, 21). It is a suitable approach because a community negotiates their 'truths' all the time. I used multiple data collection techniques such as analysing documents, reviewing literary sources, participant observation and the analysis of music lyrics, interviews and focus group discussions.

In preparation for fieldwork, I downloaded the Bangwaketse song recordings from ILAM (see Appendix I) onto my hard-drive. I produced a compilation[5] of the music and made a review of related documents in the ILAM catalogue, to collect supporting information about the songs from the captured data and the field cards. I then

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[5] I prepared a list of songs from Ngwaketse by compiling information from the catalogue in relation to the recordings.

categorised the songs according to genres currently available; *koma[6], mainane[7], dikhwaere[8] and diletso[9]*. My categorisation was the first thing that was challenged by people's discussions in the field, because some of the songs that I had mostly classified as recreational songs were reclassified as ceremonial songs. However, the categories I had set provided a framework for studying the different genres. As a point of departure and to identify the most suitable songs, I attempted to select which songs to use following a similar method to Lobley (2012), who involved local people to help him select songs that could have people talking more. The excitement of the people in hearing the recordings made it difficult to choose particular songs out of the twenty-one recordings. I therefore chose to let the reaction to the songs aid me in selecting a song for each interview session. During some interviews, the listening sessions took a long time because I had to play several songs before the participants decided to share a memory about the music. This seemed a result of curiosity of the listeners who avoided talking much in order to listen to the songs more than anything else.

I used the technique of participation and observation in ceremonies such as the Mmakgodumo festival and during teacher training workshops. It is an appropriate method to identify how people interact with one another before, during and after performances, as well as in everyday life, but also fulfilling for me, as a Motswana, to take part in discussions and question some of the issues that I did not understand. When people made music and taught each other songs, I joined and learned the music with the groups. I made an effort to keep a reflexive eye during the participation and observations. I used a video camera and a digital voice recorder to document the field experience, and made detailed field notes of my observations.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with the elderly and the younger generation, to gain a better understanding of their views on the recordings and on the issues of heritage and how they want to use the music in the recordings. I conducted group interviews with members of the families of the people leading songs in the recordings, as well as audience members in different listening sessions. I managed to interview two local folklorists to supplement the information obtained from the research group.

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[6] Ceremonial song,
[7] Story songs
[8] Traditional choir singing
[9] Instruments

I held report back sessions with some of the research consultants to acquire interaction data from discussions among participants as well as to elicit more clarity and verify the data. I held report back sessions when I observed some tensions and contradictions in the data, to guard against misrepresentation, especially of the classifications that the people felt strongly about.

A limitation to this study (which was an advantage to me) is that the informants are Setswana native speakers while I have to present my data in English. Being a Motswana, it turned out to be an advantage because I was able to identify linguistic devices (metaphors and proverbs) that were used. This is why interpretation and description in selected song lyrics will be part of my focus to support other data in this research.

Research Consultants

I drew the consultants for my field research from the community of Bangwaketse and included both the young and the elderly, with ages ranging from 18 to 80. I had initially hoped to find the people heard in the recordings. However, when I arrived there, I found out that the people who are recorded were in their 70s at the time of recording (1959) and had since passed on. I chose to find their families using the names of the family provided on Tracey's field cards. Using this method, I managed to trace three such families; the Dinake, Morapane and Abotsen families (see Appendix IV). There should have been more than three families because Tracey's notes about the recordings mention many more people. However, due to the difficulty posed by the changes in social structure that are evident in the village, it would have taken even longer to locate the other people. The Bangwaketse village of Kanye is no longer strictly demarcated according to surnames, and some Batswana who are not Bangwaketse have joined the community. The selection of the families was based on their relationship with the lead singers in the recording. I focused on them to gather information that I could then validate by checking it against other members of the community who participated in my research. The families were an important source of information that helped show how communities construct and negotiate their own forms of reality and truth. Apart from being related to the lead singers in the recordings, they have lived most of their adult lives in Kanye, where they engaged with social practices such as harvest celebrations and wedding ceremonies. Therefore,

their recollection about their parents, and their experiences, present a multifaceted narrative about the lives of Bangwaketse. Their narrations are from personal and a general Sengwaketse position. During the family interviews, the younger generations of family members participated in some discussions, mostly asking questions about the music and about their grandparents.

I held interviews with the families of Rantana Dinake, Serakalla Abotsen and Karabo Morapane. Rantana Dinake led four songs; "Hee ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana" (TR108 A.2), "Hee, Mmamoshage" (TR108 A.4), "Ditshwene tsa Mmuputswane" (TR108 A.5), and "Phatshwa bolela" (TR109 A.6). Dinake is father to Lebang and Goabaone Dinake (see Appendix IV, Figure 6), with whom I managed to hold two interviews. The two sisters were both born in Kanye in the 1930s (it was difficult asking for their specific dates of birth and so I did not ask[10]).

Another family was that of Serakalla Abotsen. Abotsen is heard leading two songs in Tracey's recording; "A reeng" (TR108 A.3) and "Hee rea nyadiwa" (TR108 B.5). I interviewed his son, Bothata Abotsen, and his cousin, Kepatilwe Mahoko (see Appendix IV Figure 7).

Karabo Morapane led a song called "Kgomo tsa ga mme" (TR 109 A.5). I Interviewed Mrs Nnana Itshepeng, a grandchild (daughter to Karabo's younger brother) and her husband (see Appendix IV Figures 8 and 9). She took me to meet one of Morapane's children, Gobonwaone Morapane, and a grandchild of Karabo Morapane, Sam Morapane.

I interviewed Kobamo Mongweotsile (see Appendix IV Figure 1) on several occasions, holding informal discussions with him about the music, as he was my main research consultant. He is a custodian of the Sengwaketse culture, who has a community performing group. He plays a *segaba/ segankure* traditional instrument, a one-string fiddle played with a bow, and the folk guitar, and is an elder in the community.

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[10] In Setswana it is inappropriate to ask the elders their age.

Other participants include the two surviving members of Chief Bathoen II's "Royal Choristers"[11]. The Royal Choristers are heard in two recordings "Nama ke go tlole" (TR111 B.3) and "Motlhala wa noga" (TR111 B.4). The two Royal Choristers I met and interviewed during fieldwork are Mphoentle Monageng and Goabamang Florina Mabe (see Appendix IV Figure 10).

Mr. Leremela Bogosing, a choir trainer and conductor, music educator and composer, whom I met and interviewed about Chief Bathoen II's choral music efforts, made a significant contribution to the research by remembering some moments in the performance of music with Chief Bathoen II.

I further interacted with three different groups of secondary school music teachers during in-service training workshops that were organized and hosted by the Music office, Curriculum Division in the Ministry of Education. Music teachers mainly participated through group discussion, performances of songs and dances. During these workshops, I had a chance to interact with a young Mongwaketse *setinkane*[12] player, Mokgweetsi Kabomo, whose contributions about interacting with Tracey's recordings were invaluable. I worked with DJ Bino (Boineelo Othusitse) and DJ King (Kabelo Motlhankane)[13] who sampled one of the tracks from the ILAM holdings.

Literature Review: Understanding the mechanism of the tape player

Hugh Tracey (1961, 1965, and 1973) explained that, by recording the music, he wanted to make the music of Africa widely known and give credit to the musicians who were hardly ever heard outside their own villages. Another intention was to create a point of reference for the aural arts in Africa, and to create a base for music textbooks for use in schools. Among other aims he intended to bring the study of African music in line with the way scholars interacted with other music of the world. Tracey's intentions are in agreement with the current ideals envisaged by the Bangwaketse and the Ministry of Education in Botswana, who desire to expose the youth to their heritage as well as to contextualise the curriculum delivered in schools

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[11] The name given to the choir that belonged to Chief Bathoen II.
[12] A lamellaphone with a set of tuned pins attached to a wooden sounding board.
[13] See appendix IV Figure 5

through the Revised National Policy on Education[14]. This is the main reason why I chose involvement in the sound repatriation project.

Repatriation, or digital return, is currently a global movement led by archives to return digitized artefacts to their countries of origin, with an emphasis on "outreach, social inclusion and engagement" (Leonard 2010, 173). This extends to sound recordings that are kept in audiovisual archives (Lancefield 1998). In my research, I returned twenty recordings made by Hugh Tracey in 1959 which had been separated from their place of origin for fifty five years. Repatriation of sound recordings is an effort to reunite the communities with their music and allow them to interact with it in creative ways. It is possible that, when repatriation occurs with a purpose, the music becomes revitalised or revived. The ongoing effort at ILAM to repatriate and revitalise sound recordings suggests that music does not follow an irreversible life cycle that ends in the archives. More so, an archive that takes the initiative to repatriate its sound holdings back to their communities of origin or to the people who claim the heritage of the music has an innate intention to see the receiving communities interact with the music they receive. The notion of repatriation and the observation I made, during fieldwork, resonates with Lancefield (1998) who raises issues about who should be the direct recipients of the repatriated recordings. This is because the recorded generation has long passed on and some of their children have migrated to other places. With this in mind, I made a conscious effort to repatriate the sounds to individuals that I interviewed, made available a copy of the music for the local museum for easy access by the community and to the music schools through the Curriculum Development and Evaluation Office[15]. In the repatriation process, I therefore put more interest on who would eventually receive the songs and not necessarily where they would be stored. The future plans about the storage of repatriated sounds, therefore, is one limitation in the scope of this research because of inavailability of funds to create satellite storage system., but with much consequence for the continued use of the recordings.

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[14] The Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE), Government Paper No. 2 of April 1994 is a Policy used to guide programs in the Botswana Ministry of education. It is a policy intended to cover a time frame of 25 years.

[15] The Department of Curriculum Development and Evaluation analyses and consults across Botswana to better facilitate discussions around topics that affect progressive development of Curriculum.

Models and examples of music repatriation exist in the following: (Lancefield 1998; Gray 2008; Hilder 2012; Kahunde 2012; Lobley 2012; Nannyonga 2012; Niles 2012; Treloyn and Emberly 2013). This body of literature develops the claim that people have an interest in gaining access and in using the recordings returned to them. In some cases repatriation processes successfully reaffirmed cultural identities (Kahunde 2012), supported ideologies, enabled creative expression (Hilder 2012), and contributed to community development (Treloyn and Emberly 2013). The return of digital copies of archived music helps musicians and other cultural practitioners to revive older traditions and use them to create new ones. This is a complex process in which the recordings mediate memory in the area where the research is conducted, thereby emphasizing a forgotten history and evolved traditions as well as cueing the recall of nostalgic, past experiences. My study tested Lobley's (2012) model, in which he took archived recordings from ILAM to study how people in Grahamstown, especially the township of Joza, responded to attempts at digital return. My research goes further by working with research consultants to trigger memories so that stories of the Ngwaketse people may be retold, reproduced and reinterpreted as a means of revitalising their music.

There is not much research on the reception of music that is repatriated from the archives to the developing countries in Africa, so in my study I aimed to establish the people's attitude towards the music and study the use of the music in various contexts. Not only did the fieldwork experience generate a wealth of musical and cultural knowledge about Bangwaketse 55 years after Hugh Tracey had recorded the music, it fulfilled my personal quest as a Motswana who had been wondering if there were any archived recordings of Botswana music held anywhere. It was even more exciting to take part in the beginnings of returning those sounds. The experience of meeting the families of the people singing on the recordings, and hearing their context of the music heritage, that I associate myself with, was priceless. In some way, the experience made some enthusiasts eager to begin recording the music that people recall from their past and that which is being continually created. There was curiosity and interest as some people asked if there was more music of Botswana in the ILAM archive.

The process of reconnecting the sound recording from an archive with the people, and an aim to revitalise the sounds is mediated by memory. In the initial stages, the participants have to remember the music or recall different elements in the music to relate to it. During the mediation process it is important to consider what authors like Tilmans, van Vree and Winter (2010, 12) described as the performative acts of human memory. The initial stage is to present a music stimulant to the brain and the memory is triggered. During the performative acts of the memory, the past is reclaimed in socially acceptable formats through social interaction and selective perception.

My observations during the fieldwork and the outcomes of the discussions have emphasised that the potential use of the repatriated recordings may be derived from understanding the past of the recordings and from the reflections and reactions of the various generations at the present time. To achieve this quest cannot be underestimated due to the variables of the people's reflections on the music. However, I managed to gather sufficient information about the Hugh Tracey recordings as well as record music presently being performed in the district where I was conducting the research. Following the collection of the data on people's reactions and recollections about the music, the theme that immediately surfaced was how the Bangwaketse set boundaries as a sign of ownership and association with the music. In order to declare ownership of the music, the Bangwaketse set imaginary territories that define what is in bounds and off-bounds in the music, in a process that reflects a representation of the 'self' and the 'other'. The process of defining the ownership of the music is further legitimized by nostalgic historical narratives (Slobin 1984).

My interpretation and use of the word "boundaries" relates to Schmutz (2009, 299), who mainly explains the boundaries as symbolic and social classifications such as those of gender. In order to classify music, confines have to be set to segregate what falls in or what does not. Different societies have attempted to define barriers such as genre, function and style, as Harries cited in Feintuch (1995, 510) observes about American folklore. Harries further observes that the different attempts to assert boundaries have posed great challenges and have often been defined through a wholesome approach to interpreting culture. Similar efforts in Africa have affirmed the creation of musical boundaries and referred to it as a classification or categorization (Olivier 2001). For instance, Swartz (1956) adopted an outsider

perspective in the classification of the songs of the Zulu and Xhosa with the intention to perform the songs and teach them to other people. Brearly (1989) has a similar approach and categorizes the songs of the Basarwa in Botswana. Although there might be challenges in asserting music boundaries, Wood affirms the existence of the boundaries in Botswana by classifying "songs for each age group, gender, all prominent events and the natural world around" (1989, 9). Phibion (2012) drives the point closer to this research by listing asserted boundaries[16] of the *setapa* dance music in Ngwaketse region of Botswana.

As Bangwaketse listen to the recordings from ILAM, they tend to wonder whether or not each song fits the genre or style they assign to the song. The discussions are about the original performers, the events associated with the songs and the musical characteristics of the songs. The discussion is used to assert imaginary limits to the music. Like other Batswana, the Bangwaketse music of the past was used to accompany real life experiences and practices. According to the narrative by the community members, the songs were designed to support daily chores, further supported by Frith (2007, 203). In recent times when both the songs and the traditional practices have ceased, the community explores their memory to search for rules or a means to remember both the music and the practices. Therefore, the community is involved in a search for evidence that will affirm the imagined descriptions to attach to the music from the past. Frith explains that words of songs may aid discovery of "the amount of felt life in specific words and music" (ibid., 214). The search for supporting evidence for the imagined boundaries is achieved through efforts to be in touch with the past and to explain history in the present context. Boundaries in the music of Bangwaketse seem to be asserted for music that shares musical characteristics, social function and by geographical origin with possible unresolved overlaps.

The need for classification is evident in different sectors of the Bangwaketse and Batswana communities. The schools in Botswana require that the traditional music should be packaged according to a prescribed system of classification and description. The classification will ease the teaching, learning, reference to the different social

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[16] Phibion (2012, 3) lists three different types or boundaries of Setapa performances as *setapa sa dipitse* (of horses), *setapa sa phathisi (*of phathisi; see Mojaki 2014), *setapa sa go goga maoto (*of dragging feet).

practices and recommend suitable music for the practices. The tourism industry, which is closely related to the revival of traditional music, packages the music for tourism (discussed later in the chapter). Additionally, the record companies use broad categories of traditional music to market and sell the music as 'Botswana music product'. The challenge with producing traditional music products is that "folk songs were authentic fantasies because they sprang from the people themselves; they weren't commodities" (Frith 2007, 218). In order to package a song as a commodity it should belong to a class or group with similar characteristics.

Similar research ideas have been performed to establish the musical boundaries, and this has been occurring in different indicators such as gender, function, ethnicity, age and geographic location, among others (Swartz 1956; Wood 1989; Olivier 2001; Ake, Garrett, and Goldmark 2012). However, the available literature does not discuss the actual experiences of the people when they negotiate the boundaries or how the people communally assert the boundaries in a shared musical heritage, how do people communally assert the boundaries of a music genre and the function of the music, for instance? For example, some of the boundaries were challenged when the notes, made by Hugh Tracey, stated a different boundary as described by the generation that performed the music. In the process of my fieldwork I, therefore, drew towards establishing what styles permeate different boundaries and those that do not.

In this research, I explore the idea of musical boundaries through Bangwaketse acknowledging their music heritage from the archive and then asserting genre, function and style among others. Scholars such as Smith 2006; Moore 2007; Yoshida and Mack 2008, have attempted to describe what heritage is or what it entails, but they have not reached consensus. Furthermore, these and other studies explore landscapes and artefacts rather than intangible heritage, which is an issue that UNESCO has had on its agenda until recently. Of recent, the definition of heritage includes intangible cultural heritage such as music and poetry (Smith 2006; Graham and Howard 2008; Yoshida and Mack 2008). While heritage issues have attracted scholarly attention from around the globe, the recordings used in my study belong to the heritage of the Ngwaketse people. The Bangwaketse, like many other ethnic groups in Botswana, have been affected by urban migration that reached its peak after Botswana gained its independence in 1966. As observed during the different social

gatherings held in Kanye during fieldwork, the people recognize their ethnic diversity and acknowledge that the diversity is what forms the Bangwaketse entity. Moreover, there are Bangwaketse who have moved to work in different towns, but they always return to the Ngwaketse region. My study views music as a mobile, flexible and unpredictable heritage (Moore and Whelan 2012), which was explored through people's memories and an interpretation of their place, their movement and their music.

The Bangwaketse communally negotiate the boundaries, in an effort to express a putative heritage, as observed during fieldwork. Viljoen explains that the challenging exercise of affirming a boundary is beneficial for transforming the music or revitalisation,

> While the metaphorical spaces and places constructed through music undeniably involve notions of difference and social boundary, music does not simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but also one of the means by which this space can be transformed (2004, 84).

This process of communal negotiation and the construction of an ideal truth often became a challenge when some aspects are set aside while others are overstated and presented as the main symbols of a heritage. The negotiations are influenced by several external factors such as social development and an intention to stage performances of traditional music and dance that may attract tourists. In my research, I consider these aspects of social classification to assert that, the recordings are a static commodity produced in a particular social context, but loaded with rich heritage content.

Repatriation of music recordings that considers the social constructs around music and the implications may enable the representation and re-presentation of the music in places where it is returned. The return of the music in this research intended to motivate the revitalisation of the music and the interest to participate in traditional music even beyond Tracey's recordings. Musical revitalisation is an effort to 'restore' music that is believed to be disappearing or that which has been relegated to the past, so that it may be used by contemporary society (Livingston 1999, 66). My discussions, with some Batswana, have suggested that the traditional music was never

paused or forgotten, but has always been playing while nobody listened or while people were distracted by other music. For this group of people, revitalisation or the revival of the song of old might not be necessary. However, for the ILAM recordings that have been stored away for a long period of time, revitalisation in any communally approved format is ideal.

Studies in the USA, Australia and the UK, have examined the revivalist movements, the ideals of folk revitalisation and the intentions of revivalists (Holm 1986; Rosenburg 1993; Livingston 1999; Mitchel 2007; Brocken 2013; Dreier and Flacks 2014). They have, in common with my study, the interest in reviving traditional music, whether from the archives or any other source. In South Africa, documented musical revitalisations have been occurring since the 1960s and although the approaches were different, they were all aimed at reviving forms of traditional, neo-traditional or South African urban music (Hamm 1989; Meintjes 1990; Byerly 1998). Music performances in Botswana have recently displayed an element of revitalisation of old traditions with the advent of neo-traditional music groups or bands such as *Mokorwana, Machesa, Matsieng, Dikakapa,* and *Culture Spears*, among others. However, there is still insufficient scholarly research to draw any firm conclusions on their possible revitalisation processes.

During fieldwork, I noticed that the repatriation of the sound recordings was an easier part of the project because of the reception and excitement around the music. The revitalisation process, on the other hand, begins with the awakening of the consciousness about the music, but remains a concept in the mind for a long time, even for those showing an interest in revitalising the music. Although the recipients liked the music and had great ideas of how to use it, the process of revitalisation was very slow and almost did not transpire during the time of my fieldwork of 15 months. However, because the DJs work with pre-recorded sound, they were the ones who immediately worked with the music. Taking this into account, therefore, a prospect for future research on revitalisation of archived sound might be to establish a platform to motivate the revitalisation of those sounds, if deemed necessary by the receiving community.

Research describes different revitalisation practices; some rate revitalisations as middle class phenomena (Livingston 1999), nationalist efforts (Byerly 1998) and as

an interaction of musical styles (Hamm 1999). In view of the current models for the revitalisation of traditional music observed in Botswana, it seems the youth view revitalisation as a potential for developing their musical interests. One young traditional musician, Mokgweetsi Kabomo (who plays *setinkane)* said that using music from the past or the ideas from it "is a move towards branding my music". The elderly traditional musicians, such as Mongweotsile, continue to create and perform the music and think less about revitalisation. Other performers, as envisaged by Livingston (1999), explain that they believe their music traditions are still in existence, in which case the community might find no need to revive it. A contemporary, traditional musician, Tomeletso Sereetsi, believes "we should have access to and be able to hear the music from our past, but we have to remember that it tells its own story about its time, and I am in the process of telling my story too with the music I now make" (Interview with author 2014). The research (Byerly 1998; Hamm 1999; Livingston 1999) relates to and describes the attitudes of people towards revitalising and seems to describe the views held by the audiences and individuals who listen to revitalised forms of Setswana, and in particular, Sengwaketse traditional music. This is because they pay to attend such performances, analyse and evaluate what counts as music of Botswana or what does not, during the performances and they attempt to describe which traditional music styles have been merged and how effective that merging is.

Furthermore, similar research suggests that the revivalist movements have separated folk music from other genres of music or have concentrated more on a single view of the audience or of the performers. In order to avoid 'pausing' the music in this research, I made a conscious effort not to restrict the research to any view, but rather strive to understand the music from the perspective of everyday life of the informants. This explains why DJs, contemporary musicians, traditional musicians and the different audiences were involved in this research. The different practices mentioned above and the considerations bring into question as to whether or not the revitalisation of the music is necessary to the people of Kanye. In theory, most Bangwaketse seem to want the music re-presented as closely as possible to that of the past while new artists continue performing and creating music of their time. The community members wish the performers could revive the music in their original contexts, while they wish for continuity and the creation of new songs. During the Mmakgodumo festival, I

observed that some participants wished to create clear boundaries around the music and to revive it as a separate entity of folk music. The approach of separating the folk music seems to suggest that the music alludes to a certain ceremony or practice of the past. However, in a community that had music as part of a ritual or cultural practice, it remains a challenge in situations where the performances have ceased. The implication for future attempts on revitalisation of archived music is that researchers should be reflexive during the research to allow the informants to shape the revitalisation of the music and not impose the models for revitalisation applied elsewhere.

Thesis Format

The research project was to examine the reception of Hugh Tracey's music recordings among local people in the Ngwaketse region and to construct a narrative around this study for the purpose of revitalising the music. The study made an attempt to understand feasible methods to explore the revitalising of music from ILAM.

In order to find the answer to the research question of how the different generations of Batswana reflect on or react to the recordings when exposed or reintroduced to them, the literature review focused on the aspects of memory and recall and how music may trigger the two aspects. The literature review further looked into the various attempts at repatriation and revitalising songs from the archives. As a result of this research, it has been established that the processes of digital repatriation and revitalisation of music from ILAM may be impacted on by the digital divide (Limited or no access to information and communication technology) of the people who are to receive and work with the recordings. The study of the reactions of the people (in Chapter 2) and the original and contemporary contexts of music (in Chapter 3) was required to establish the relationship between the way music was practiced in the past and possibly new methods that may be developed for music revitalisation following repatriation.

Chapters 4 affirms that repatriation and revitalisation of music from the archive is possible if the implementers study and refer to the social patterns that are already created by the members of the community. The chapter establishes patterns that may be explored for future revitalisation programmes. With all the social constructs and

experiences in Chapters 2 and 3, there is a prospect for feasible future models of digital repatriation and music revitalisation for a developing country like Botswana.

Chapter 5 describes the possible approaches that may be explored in response to the above hypothesis and to the research question that aims to establish the potential for reviving the music in Hugh Tracey's collection in order to develop a programme for the ongoing revival of the music. The chapter concludes with some insights gained from the complete study and the contributions that are intended to construct, through social interaction, a feasible model of repatriation and revitalisation.

Chapter 2

On the rewind: Reconnecting with the past

This chapter is an account of fieldwork interaction with my participants, who are the families of Rantana Dinake, Serakalla Abotsen and Karabo Morapane,[17] the Royal Choristers, teachers and my main informant, Kobamo Mongweotsile, a *segankure*[18]/ *segaba* player) and a member of the Bangwaketse people in general. The chapter describes the memories of the Bangwaketse people and their family members in the music recorded by Tracey in 1959. It then describes the interactions with the sound by the general public who are not necessarily Bangwaketse. Through the ethnographic data attained from fieldwork in Kanye, I interpret how the people explore memory and a recollection of the past to assert boundaries of the function of music, genre and styles in order to present the music for different audiences. In the process of recollection, nostalgic reactions are unavoidable. The memory allows people to go beyond the immediate experience of listening to music and draws on the history of the past. Therefore, the experiences of memory may be closely linked to the process of returning music from the archives. The recordings from the archive such as ILAM act as a premise to build arguments and construct social truths about communal life and experiences. As will be observed throughout the chapter, the process of asserting the different boundaries around music is influenced by nostalgia as the people recollect experiences of the past through individual and collective memories.

The benefits of reconnecting with the people's past.

The past can not be measured and may be inconsistent between individuals. Lancefield explains that "some communities' spatial discontinuities are partnered with the discontinuities of oral transmission, which can render archival collections all the more important for creative reinventions of group identity" (1998, 48). Itshepeng, a research consultant, explained that anything that has transpired is in the past, and may either be repeated or remembered by anyone who experienced or heard about the event. In addition, Tilmans, van Vree and Winter question the "pastness of the past" (2010, 68). However, there is 'dated past' that is commonly accepted by the different generations. For instance, the Ngwaketse recordings made by Hugh Tracey in 1959,

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[17] Some of the people leading songs in the recordings by Hugh Tracey.
[18] Known as *Segaba*; it is a traditional bowed instrument with an oil tin resonator attached.

and discussed in 2014, undoubtedly belong to a 'dated' past. The notion of a shared past seems to refer to situations such as the recordings described above. The different generations who interacted with the recordings all treated the recordings as a shared past, although some of them were present in 1959, while others were not yet born. It appears that the generations treat the shared past differently. The reconnection of the people with the recordings made by Tracey in 1959 explores the interpretation of the past to construct social meaning as the "people say and do what they do and say with each other" (Barkin 2010, 26). The generation that lived the particular past acts as a calibrator to measure progress, and developments in the present. The generation that embraces the 'distant' past uses the past for comparative data, an aid to solve some mysteries, to make sense of missing links and to complete pieces of the historical puzzle.

In this project I bring a sound object to reconnect the informants with a shared past. The past represented here by the sound recordings from the ILAM archive had characters, or actors as heard in the recordings, who will enhance the participants' connection with the past through their geographical origins and their kinship identities.

How the Bangwaketse reconnected with the past in this project.

The initial attempt to reconnect the Bangwaketse to their past was through tracing the links to the past and locating the people through their geographical origins and their kinship. As I undertook fieldwork for this research, I expected and hoped to hear the people in Hugh Tracey's recordings offer their interpretations of the music. I set out to hear people's memories about the singers, about Hugh Tracey, about the recording sessions, or about the musical past of the Bangwaketse more generally. On arrival in Kanye where I conducted fieldwork, I introduced myself as a student of music. Initially, the people's memories seemed to be musical constructions about the performers and the stories they shared in the past. The more open ended discussions became a major relief since the initial selective approach of past traces had almost blocked my understanding of how the said music makers interacted through music.

What I did not know, when I began the fieldwork, was that the generation recorded by Tracey, was already old at the time of his recording. I had initially gone into the field

hoping to at least find a few of the performers, but it became almost impossible to keep tracing them when I got to hear the possible ages of the performers through their children (who, themselves, are in the 70s). For instance, Rantana Mosimaneootshosa Dinake, one of the lead singers, was born in 1890 and died in 1994, according to a funeral programme that his daughters showed me. Dinake was in the *Malwelakgosi* (the chief's warriors) regiment.

Tracey's notes and people's evaluation of the music further propounds the view that the music that he recorded was mainly age regiment music. This suggests a performance that is age specific as well as selective in its content. Information gathered from the family members suggests that the lead singers in the recordings were either of the *Malwelanaga* (initiation graduates of 1909) or the *Malwelakgosi* (graduates of 1915) regiments (Schapera 1938; 1955). A brief explanation about regiments at this point will give a better background of the subjects of Tracey's recordings in Kanye. Chief Bathoen II, who was chief at the time of recording, was of the *Maisantwa* regiment (graduates of 1928). The families explained that regiments worked as teams who always kept together. Interestingly, the family members, young and old, remembered their parents' regiments both by name and the year of graduation. It is therefore not surprising that a regiment that was meant to fight for the chief (translation of *Malwelakgosi*) or to fight for the land (translation of *Malwelanaga*) were present at a similar gathering. It would have been expected that Chief Bathoen II's regiment was there as his close social network. This information explains why these recordings are a moment in time created by a particular gathering, probably selected for the purpose of recording.

In the recordings, there were many people performing in each song and Tracey's field notes, provided in the catalogue, stated the names of the lead singers. Using Tracey's field notes made it easier to search for the lead singers' relatives. For those who supported the singing, there was not much information useful to help identify their families. This did not hamper the efforts of finding more people who related to the music. As I tried to determine if the families would have a problem with me sharing the music with the general public, the family members and most elderly people generally explained that, the people recorded were singing "music of Bangwaketse", suggesting an attitude towards a shared heritage. After listening to the music, some

people were almost certain that their grandparents might have been among the participants, especially when measured by the age group of the lead singers. In addition to working with a limited list of surnames, another challenge was tracing people by surname in a village that has changed since the recordings were made. Most elderly people explained that a traditional Ngwaketse village setting was made of different ma*kgotlana*[19] *(*wards) settings; a group of people who shared a family name would build in one place and that *kgotlana* would be called by their surname. Therefore, the people who would have lived in the village for a while would know the map of the village and be able to locate surnames. This setting has since changed and people choose where they want to build their homes, even if it is not at their *kgotlana.* Another challenge in using surnames was that women often change their surname to that of their husband's family. Therefore, the use of surnames in this research to locate the families of the performers was successful for some and unsuccessful for others.

Before considering the musical discussion about the Bangwaketse, it is important to note their predominant sense of belonging to a kinship structure. The families that I interviewed initially responded to the recordings with the proud expressions of kinship relations among them and the (mostly) deceased singers heard in the recordings. Through the extended expressions of kinship, they pointed out more people in their family who performed music of any kind. This exercise engendered more names of people whose parents participated in music performances and they pointed to more music practitioners in the village. They used kinship to create family boundaries and often went further to include physical boundaries such as places of origin and how their families had come to settle in Kanye. The narratives about kinships further emphasised that there are different ethnic groups that make up the Ngwaketse community. The informants always expressed a keen sense of family when introducing themselves or talking about the relatives heard in Tracey's recordings. In my discussions I will make reference to their kinship introductions because understanding their kinship will elaborate on approximate social boundaries about some of the song leaders in Tracey's recordings. These boundaries are further defined by the age groups of the performers.

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[19] The main Kgotla is where the village chief works, then in the different *makgotlana* there are elders appointed as *dikgosana* (the chief's assistants).

Returning to the subject of reconnection to the past, the reconnection process may be conducted in small groups, large gatherings, festivals or individually. After I had interviewed the participants listed in the introductory section of this chapter, I searched for comparative data from other sources. Therefore, having considered the views of the Bangwaketse, it was reasonable to look at other audiences that have to interact with the same music. I interacted with three different groups of secondary school music teachers during in-service training workshops that were organized and hosted by the Music office, Curriculum Division in the Ministry of Education. Although these teachers are from different places in the country, they are expected to teach the same curriculum and require a common understanding of the music of Botswana. The participation and observation, together with interviews from the secondary school music teachers, created an understanding of the challenges and successes of music teachers who have to teach traditional music of Botswana to school learners. The people who resourced the workshop participants during these week long workshops were both from Kanye (Bangwaketse).

The main vehicle for reconnection to the past is memory retrieval and recollection. In addition to the theme of music that crosses socially constructed boundaries, the subsidiary themes that work closely with both repatriation and revitalization that will form part of the discussion are memory and recall as triggered by a sound object, in this case it will be Tracey's recordings. Morgan, Lugosi and Ritchie describe the function of human memory by saying that "our memories of past events, encounters and excursions are arguably one of the most important ways in which we understand or extract meaning from the experiences we produce and consume" (2010, 125).

Although the present understanding and narration of the musical past might not be what occurred, the understanding helped recreate the developments of the Bangwaketse music as performed, interpreted and reproduced by the different generations. The families of the older generation of performers (heard in Tracey's recordings) were taken aback to hear some of these recordings that were made in 1959. The sound recordings elicited joy, laughter, mimicking, singing, dancing and remembrances of the performers and a marvel for those who were not born at the time. The fieldwork experience was more rewarding when the singer in the recording had more than one family member participating in the discussions. The multifaceted

discussions presented different sides of the same story. The multifaceted discussion was more informative because the elderly drew their recollections from one another and the younger ones curiously asked questions about their great grandparents.

Traditional and folk music, such as that recorded by Hugh Tracey, may be viewed as intangible cultural heritage that the different generations may enjoy and use. For the people to identify with the music and embrace it as their heritage they have to remember aspects of the music, the memory has to serve as a medium for ownership of the music. Amidst interactions with the people, another recurrent and inferred sub-theme was the acknowledgement of the music heritage by the families interviewed and the Bangwaketse community. The people acknowledged that Tracey's recordings were the sounds of Bangwaketse and never rejected any recording as being from outside their heritage.

Reconnection to the past involves finding meaning and the relevance of the past to the present. The participants make an attempt to dig into the past to find traditional customs and to confront contemporary problems. Despite the physical divides that demarcate Bangwaketse from the rest of the world by geographical orientation, the music transcends the boundaries in different ways. Although the Bangwaketse participants explored their memory to affirm physical boundaries around the music, the teachers at the workshop used the song "Sebodu ke nnenekwane"[20](see Appendix III, Track 11) to reflect how music knows no boundaries. Hugh Tracey further attested that music is never restricted by physical divides when he recorded the same song in Disaneng. The memories of the different participants in the research reveal that music and memory are both defined by the human action and not the physical boundaries. The memory of the song "Sebodu ke nnenekwane", suggests that some musical boundaries are created unconsciously due to the distance between groups of people. Such boundaries become challenged when the people across the physical divides and distances meet and share their music. This observation is supported by the moment when a similar song to the one the Dinake sisters sang had come up in one of the teacher's workshops that I attended. In that forum, the song "Sebodu ke nnenekwane" was unanimously associated with a particular folk performer from the Kweneng West Region, Speech Madimabe. Hugh Tracey recorded a variation of the

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[20] Sebodu (Setswana, adj.) means 'lazy'.

song (TR111 A.4) performed in Disaneng, Mafikeng in the North-West province. It is worth noting that Mafeking, at the time Tracey made these recordings, was the capital city of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1894 until 1965. This song mobility and the geographical changes all allude to the physical boundaries that people often find themselves in and how the music permeates those imaginary boundaries of space.

I further argue that people use memory and recall in music to create boundaries around the music and package the musical heritage as an object. Therefore, the other sub-theme that I will work with, mostly by inference, is the issue of a packaged heritage. While the discussions will describe the music boundaries, the boundaries are, in fact, a way of packaging the heritage. When I began the repatriation process, the first step was to collect a packaged product from ILAM and return it to, where it was recorded, Kanye. Packaging of the cultural heritage by Bangwaketse, as in many other areas, has recently taken centre stage. Evidently the lives of the past generations are currently packaged to be viewed rather than practiced. In the process of explaining their past in music, the Bangwaketse package their heritage in different ways and for different purposes. The tourist industry, for one, has catapulted the need to package the heritage to share it with the different audiences that are interested in viewing it.

In order to package and re-present their past, the Bangwaketse have started a cultural festival called Mmakgodumo. As mentioned earlier, the festival is an annual event that was in its second year in September 2014. The festival explores memories of the Bangwaketse and packages the different aspects of the heritage for the tourist market as well as for the youth who are not aware of the past they have never experienced. The festival, on its own, is not a complete image of Bangwaketse culture, or at least not yet. It is a representation of Bangwaketse culture that is gained through a collective effort of different memories. The memories form a collective product, with the intention to showcase the lives of past generations to a new audience. Evidently, a few elements of the people's way of life have crossed their known boundaries in order to fit into the festival. For instance, some ceremonies have become commemorative as they no longer exist. The festival has attracted a large viewership and tourists.

Tourism has a significant connection to music repatriation and revitalisation. Most people would not like to travel as tourists to see their own music performed

somewhere else. For instance, it is possible that the Bangwaketse would not like to travel to South Africa to go and hear their music played on tape. This is the driving force why archives like ILAM have to repatriate sounds lest owners of the heritage view these archives as tourist destinations where they travel to go and listen to their own heritage. The effort that archives could do after repatriation would be to find out if the owners of the heritage are ready to revive or revitalise their heritage and support the intentions.

Tourism and memory are further connected with the idea of music revitalisation and music performance. In an effort to package the music for the tourists, the host reconnects to the past through memory recollections about the music. The tourists, on the other hand, explore memory and past experiences in order to evaluate the music as a cultural 'other' or as similar to what they know. The two tourism stakeholders (the host and the tourist) use memory to find cultural intersections that could be of interest. After a tourist has left the place of performance, the subconscious stores the experiences and uses it as ways of reconnecting with the past of the other and with the ongoing musical experiences. Therefore, memory and recollections may reveal the interconnectedness of the host and of the tourist. Ideally, both the host and the tourist wish for a nostalgic feel of the music that may present an impression of 'some cultural purity'.

The tourist industry is attracted to cultural practices such as music and dance, as observed through the packaging of the Mmakgodumo festival. At the festival, there were both local Batswana from other regions as well as people from outside Botswana. Furthermore, in recent times, cultural practices, of Batswana in general, such as music and dance are dependent on the tourist industry. That is why the arts like music and dance shape themselves around the tourism industry, as observed in the packaging processes of different genres of Bangwaketse music. The Bangwaketse, and Batswana in general, are in an era when performers yearn for incentives and the tourism industry provides a lucrative incentive for the performers in order to package and create another imminent past of the music.

If tourism is to be understood not only in physical movements, then it is possible to realize that memory aids the Bangwaketse (who are possible local tourists) to

internalise and understand their culture as they take the performances on tour. Apart from enjoying the diversity of the culture, the Bangwaketse revive their memories annually to evaluate the changes each year. For instance, the 'local' tourist travels through memory to an imagined place in time during the tour of the packaged past. The result of the memory tour is nostalgia for the 'local' tourist. Some aspects of the tour are selected, internalised and committed to memory to become what defines the culture and the music for the people. Therefore, for a local tourist, the tour through memory provides a platform for education in order to diversify what the people already know.

As Bangwaketse package their music heritage, the music boundaries become necessary. However, as they try to assert those boundaries many challenges arise. The packaging explores the use of the words of songs, poetic language and the imagery thereof. Within the word content is a great deal of data that different generations of Bangwaketse have come to trust as a legitimate source of their musical past. The contemporary problems are addressed as they arise and a feasible heritage package negotiated all the time. In the process, Tracey's recordings seemed to further aid the recollection of some forgotten aspects.

While digging into the past, the attempt to reconnect with the past makes participants challenge accepted notions about the past using the available information or the objects such as the sound recordings from ILAM. The recordings made by Hugh Tracey aided some discussions about 'ethnic hybridity', multiple ethnicities and how the hybridity of ethnic groups occurred. Furthermore, as an illustration of the Bangwaketse's multi-ethnicity, I managed to interview two of Rantana Dinake's children, Ontlametse and Lebang. In Hugh Tracey's recordings, Dinake led four songs; TR109 A.6, TR108 A.2, TR108 A.4 and A.5. The initial reaction by the two sisters was to correct their father's name and they asked me to "correct it even on paper", as I kept using the name on Tracey's notes. They did not refuse the written name, but gave their preference. The name written in Tracey's recordings had successfully pointed me to the family because many elderly people recognized it. The two daughters explained their family origins and with an element of pride, pointed out why their father was called *Mosimaneootshosa*. According to the elder sister,

Ontlametse, their father originated in Serowe (in the central district of Botswana)[21]. They explained how he had been sent from Serowe to be a representative of *Bangwato* in Ngwaketse. They took time explaining their father's affiliation to *Bangwato* and several assignments he had been sent by chief Bathoen II to perform in *GaMmangwato*. Traditionally, Ontlametse says, different ethnic groups sent representatives to other groups to be their host when they needed to visit. The host would provide a place to lodge, feeding and directions around the village. However, it was not clear whether he had brought some of the songs he was singing with him because his children were all born in Ngwaketse where he eventually met his wife. The two women remembered their father as an advisor to chief Bathoen II. He became a "chauffeur" (they remembered how he used to proudly call himself that) for Bathoen II's wife and was given the chief's vehicle *'mmadiipone[22]'* for that purpose. From the mention of the vehicle's nickname, there were more recollections about Dinake's good working relations and musical encounters with Chief Bathoen II.

In the end the community evaluates the past to find relevance to the current situation and to social operations such as the economy. For instance, during the 2014 Mmakgodumo festival, one such moment was staged during the arrival of the village Chief and his entourage at the Festival. He arrived in a traditional cattle drawn wagon to the sound of *segankure* music amidst ululations of the crowd. According to the elderly people, s*egankure* was traditionally a herd boy's instrument that was never played for such audiences. A royal entrance honoured by the sound of the *segankure* instrument would be unheard of. To the people who attended and witnessed that moment, it was a very unique and beautiful moment, which, to most, brought nostalgic feelings about the past. To many others, the moment highlighted the beauty of *segankure* music. Generally, folk instrument players were never prominent in official programs, but with their instruments, they always found their way to where the crowds were gathered, explained Mongweotsile. The instrumentalists carried the instrument and played for anybody who asked them in exchange for a token of appreciation. During the Mmakgodumo Festival, I observed that some instrument players such as folk guitarists and *segankure* players (see Appendix IV) were present,

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[21] See Map of Botswana in Figure 1.2
[22] 'The queen of mirrors'. The chief's car was also mentioned by Hugh Tracey in his field notes; (1973, 248) and by the two royal choristers who remembered how they were transported in Bathoen's car for concerts around the country.

carrying their instruments and randomly playing for different small audiences in the crowd.

Why Bangwaketse reconnected with the past.

The Bangwaketse participants who listened to the music became very nostalgic. In an attempt to explain why Bangwaketse reconnected with the past, I explore the theme of nostalgia as it relates to sound and memory. In this section, the discussion will look into what the people are nostalgic about, their thoughts as triggered by nostalgia and how nostalgia may be beneficial to the revitalisation of music from the archives. Another recurring motif is the notion of music crossing contextual or functional boundaries; what the music is used for and how it has to be performed. Boundaries will be used to refer to the imaginary, but emphasized, barriers that people use to demarcate music and categorize it by using similar characteristics or functions. For instance, the Bangwaketse might affirm that a particular song is intended for a particular ceremony and not for recreation. The community might further categorize the songs as; songs for elderly males or for younger boys. As part of the discussion, I will explore how the boundaries of music style, between the past and present, oral or written, male or female, and the young and old, among many others, are asserted and how they have been set in Ngwaketse music. The discussion will attempt to emphasise how the Bangwaketse reconnected with the past in order to assert the musical boundaries, how the boundaries are challenged, what permeates the boundary lines or not, and moments in the music when the boundaries become less or more significant. This will lead towards a brief assessment of crossing or maintaining music boundaries, as viewed by the community.

The discussions that followed the listening to Tracey's recordings evoked nostalgic reactions to the music recordings and about the people recorded on them. According to Andersson (2011) and Havlena and Holak (1991), nostalgia has multiple definitions and the term has evolved over time. Despite the many definitions, the main concern in this paper is that nostalgia is a human emotion (Havlena and Holak 1991, 323) and that music triggers nostalgia (Barrett et al 2010; Andersson 2011, 20). Viewing nostalgia as an emotion suggests a relationship between the nostalgia, memory retrieval and memory revival. For instance, when a person becomes nostalgic about a past experience, the memory of that event is activated and the experience re-lived

emotionally. The re-lived moment may be recreated in a narrative. As nostalgia allows the people to visit their memory and emotions, one may assume that the emotional experiences of the past may later be used to aid the revitalisation of the music in the present.

The nostalgic memories of the Bangwaketse people, about the music and about their family members, brought back fond memories and revealed the history of the Bangwaketse of the past. The Bangwaketse explored the nostalgic memories of their past and attempted to assert boundaries of ownership and of classification of the music from the ILAM archive. The experience of recollection was informative. However, as memory crossed geographical barriers and borders, some boundaries were redefined.

Remembrance of the parents and their relatives reminded the participants of the beauty and happiness of growing up. Listening brought smiles and tears of joy. In one such event, Ontlametse remembered watching her father, Dinake, singing with a group of men and women. "He sang the song called "Sebodu ke nnenekwane" and was dancing with a mud pot on his head, balancing it very well. It did not fall until he stopped dancing". Ontlametse explained and demonstrated balancing a hymn book on her head as Lebang sang along with her.

The nostalgia was evident among all the families interviewed and they were not sure what they wished to return, if they wanted to return the music they were not sure how they wanted to bring that music to life. Some were thinking about their long gone parents as they heard their voices in the recordings while the others merely longed for a past that had since eluded them. Barrett *et al*. present a model to explain that nostalgia links with the affective and mnemonic experiences, the song's familiarity, memories linked to the song, experienced emotions and emotional arousal (2010, 391). The nostalgia triggered them to recall past experiences. Some began to long for a forgotten past, while others basked in the narration of the stories from the past. As recollections of the past continued, the two Dinake sisters remembered the stories their father used to tell when he retired from the army (where he was a sectional sergeant), and the hymn that he used to sing for others in the army. Immediately, Ontlametse took out the hymn book and they demonstrated how their mother and

father used to perform the same hymn together. Just as it was becoming an emotional moment, Lebang started with the jokes their father used to tell them and there was laughter again. The two sisters recalled another song that their father used to sing for all his grandchildren, in which he used the same pet name for all of the children, as Lebang explained. They recognized their father's voice in all the four recordings, but had never heard him sing the songs "Hee ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana" (TR108 A.2) and "Phatshwa bolela" (TR109 A.6). This is understandable because the two songs are for ceremonial functions attended only by the elderly people. The other songs; TR108 A.2 (mentioned above), "Hee Mmamoshage" (TR108 A.4) and "Ditshwene tsa Mmuputswane" *(*TR108 A.5), according to Tracey's notes, are dance songs. Most people I interviewed agreed that dance songs were less restricted and they could be performed at any time, to any audience. Following the above reactions of the members of the Bangwaketse to their music it is evident that nostalgia, as an emotional result of memory retrieval, is a possible catalyst for music revitalisation.

According to Ontlametse and Lebang, Dinake was an active singer, mostly with his regiment, where he spent most of the day. Dinake was uncorncerned which music he danced to. His well- deserved nickname was *Nthapalla.* The nickname relates to his tall height and flexibility during dance. The two women went on to describe their father as a versatile performer who sang and danced enthusiastically all the time. However, another discussion arising from the two dance recordings was whether the songs were *setapa* or *dinaka*[23] dance music. Long and heated debates ensued on the differences and similarities of the two dances and whether they were different at all or if they were variations that depended on the context of performance. The message and content of the songs were analysed to find supporting information that may be used for reference and to fill in the historical gaps. The memories and recollections of the participants, therefore, enabled the Bangwaketse participants to see the music world in a new light.

Reconnecting with the past, during the fieldwork, provided educational information about the past and how things worked. Initially, it was not clear to me why the music in the recordings was mainly performed by the elders. To elaborate on this aspect, the Dinake sisters described how the Bangwaketse socially and communally negotiate

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[23] A dance characterized by the dancers shaping their hands as cow horns during the dance.

where to set boundaries of music genres and music functions. Asserted boundaries such as social restrictions between the young and the old have contributed to the way the music is currently performed. In a discussion that hints at the social boundaries which might have an impact on the music of a people, the two Dinake sisters explained that when they were younger, going to the chief's compound was age restricted. As a young person, it was not possible to visit the compound uninvited. As I tried to establish whether the young people were only expected to sit and watch during the open-invitation sessions, Ontlametse explained that some of them would be included in the programme to sing choral conducted songs or to dance *Borankana*[24]. The young people had a chance to visit the *Kgotla* on very rare occasions such as the visits of state officials to which schools would be invited.

As the Dinake sisters continued the musical memories about their father, it seemed their story further exemplified how music boundaries often become blurred or oblique despite the established physical boundaries. For instance, Lebang asked if I had a recording of his father singing one of his favourite songs, "Kgongwana tshweu". She voluntarily sang the "Kgongwana tshweu" song for me and explained its meaning in the context of the Sengwaketse wedding. This is the translation of the song:

Kgongwana tshweu,	The white calf
A ke ke reke ka wena dilo tsa batho?	Should I use you to purchase people's things?
Tshweu wee, mmokolodi	White one, the crier
Tshweu wee sa bokolela	White one, it then cried

Lebang had gone further to decode the symbolism in the song. This is a song of pride sung by a young man who is about to be married. In this song he is having a conversation with his favourite white calf. He asks the calf whether he should use it to pay the bride price (people's things). The white calf responded with a cry of approval to his request. The white or lighter colour is in recognition of the purity of the fiancée. The colour is symbolic of the man's willingness to go into the marriage without any doubts. The calf (and not an old cow) is symbolic of the youth of the fiancée who has not yet borne any children. The calf further symbolizes new life, health and hope for longevity.

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[24] It is possible that she used this as a generic term to refer to traditional dance performances and not a particular dance style.

Situating the song in the Sengwaketse context suggests a sense of community and embracing the practices of the community. The narrative reflected a daughter's pride in knowing that her father knew, upheld and practiced Ngwaketse customs. It further confirms the family as the rightful heirs to the musical heritage of the Ngwaketse. Hugh Tracey recorded variations of the song twice, but never in Ngwaketse. One version of the song, TR114 A.1, was recorded in Motswedi, Zeerust in 1959. Another version was recorded at Gopane, Zeerust (see Appendix I) in the same year (TR115 A.5). In these two versions Hugh Tracey (catalogue info) states that it is a wedding song. The memories about that song coupled with Tracey's various versions are evidence of music transcending barriers and the fluidity of music within and across human boundaries.

Dinake led another song that was very popular with most of the interviewees; "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR108 A.2). His family remembered it as a *dikgafela* (harvest celebration) song when women carried traditional brew, made from the first and best sorghum harvest, to the chief's compound to be shared in celebration with everybody (see Appendix IV). They explained how their father would be among the men leading the Dinake clan to the chief's compound singing that song and many other songs. From my interactions with the Dinake daughters, it became evident that their nostalgia was triggered by listening to the music recordings. The two women travelled back in time through the musical sound recorded in the past and were able to recall mostly good times about their father and partly their mother when she sang with the father. In the process, part of the social history of Bangwaketse was narrated as the people narrated more about the lives of the generation in Tracey's recordings.

Sometimes when the boundaries of music are created, they require further subdivisions because umbrella terms may overlook the submerged parts of the main ceremony that is being associated with the music. Hornbostel and Sachs (1961) affirmed the challenge of classification similar to what the Bangwaketse are experiencing in the article; *Classification of Musical Instruments.* Without subdivisions, the people continue to disagree with the suggested boundaries. For instance, categorizing a song as a wedding song seems inadequate because there are many stages within a wedding ceremony that use music in different ways. Within a wedding ceremony in Ngwaketse, there is music that serves the ceremonial function

and that which serves the recreational function. Within a recreational boundary of music, one may further subdivide the music into dance music, instrumental music and topical singing, for example. I explore this more through "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR 108 A.2) which continued to stir different reactions in different forums and among different age groups. The song evoked thoughts, memories and feelings from the different participants. Some members became very nostalgic and wanted to incorporate dance moves to the music. It was interesting how a lengthy discussion about its meaning and its possible use in one of the teachers' workshops emerged. The title of the song translates into: *we have a large pot of beer in front of us!* This is the translation of the song:

Hee ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele	There is a big pot of beer in front of us
Banna, re llela bogogo	We men are crying for the bottom part
Lekgaritlha le le teng	While the remnants are still there
Hee 'ne re ntswe ke nkgwana pele	We had a big pot of beer in front of us
Hee, morole wa banna	Hee, the type of men
Re llela bogogo,	We cry for the crusty bottom part,
lekgaritlha le le teng	while remnants of beer are still there.

The performers personify the image of the big traditional brewing pot and say it is situated in their midst (in front). They long for the thick deposit at the bottom of the pot while the last bit of beer is still available. There seems to be a metaphoric meaning to this song as what people should long for is the last bit rather than the thick deposit.

Exploring memory, as triggered by music from the past, allows the community to reflect on their relation to their imagined past. In agreement are Ake, Garrett, Goldmark who observed that,

> Despite the efforts of community members to define themselves through the boundaries they set around the music, such boundaries will always remain fluid, continually determined and redetermined by groups and individuals whose distinct interests, histories, and knowledge are themselves constantly evolving (2012, 83).

For instance the Bangwaketse elderly consultants affirmed the song "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" as a *dikgafela* song rather than a drinking song. The participants in the group imagined a setting where traditional beer and recreational sessions were popular, especially with male groups who could sing while drinking. The younger

generation of teachers imagined the song as a beer drinking song where people would be seated around a big gourd of traditional beer, drinking and singing together. Mongweotsile, who remembered some performances of the song, explained that it was a song of joy used during *dikgafela* or a celebration of a harvest festival. He gladly and voluntarily stood up and demonstrated how to dance to the music and explained the structure of the musical procession. He explained that men carrying *maologa (Croton gratisimus)* tree branches would lead a procession with females carrying, on their heads, clay pots full of harvested produce for the chief. The same was later reiterated by the Abotsen brothers who demonstrated how their father used to lead a procession of people, mainly women carrying traditional beer in their clay pots to pour into the big one at the *kgotla*. This big pot would be surrounded by men drinking the sorghum brew and singing while celebrating the harvest. Although there was another suspicion that the song could be carrying more meaning than they have explored, the discussion was left suspended. One wonders whether these contradicting opinions are influenced by the age and ethnic affiliations of the participants.

Revitalisation of music from the past makes the boundaries of music more permeable or less significant. The difference between the two interpretations by Mongweotsile and the young teachers is based on the way the music boundaries and the social roles are asserted around the performance of the song. Each of the two arguments makes an important contribution to two issues; the importance of words in understanding a *koma* (ceremonial song) and to the contextual understanding of traditional beer drinking. The younger generation explored the meaning of the words in the song and then attached a role to its performance. The older generation, as represented here by Mongweotsile, asserts the functional role through contextualising the song. It would seem the assertion is made with an intention to emphasize what Mongweotsile and a few other elders had said, "In my day, there was no purposeless drinking" (Mongweotsile, 2014), and to perhaps instill a message of responsible beer drinking.

At the Mmakgodumo Cultural Festival, this particular song, "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR 108 A.2*)* was never performed. However, I observed that traditional beer was carried in small clay pots to the chief's compound where it was poured into one big pot. After the chief had said a few words to the crowd, they started partaking of the beer. As they drank, they talked, while some danced and sang.

I imagined this would have been the point when that song would have been performed. It is therefore a challenge to assert the boundary for this song. One could not help but notice the inferences of age in relation to the ceremony. The women in the procession were dressed in the traditional attire for senior women in the community. This supports the argument I made earlier about age restricted ceremonial music. It appears that even if the boundary may be established, there might be boundary crossing because "the words do not mention any particular ceremony, so I can sing it anytime I drink beer", said one young member of the teacher's group. Although what this member said might seem unfair because he was not from Ngwaketse, it still represents a view that some younger Bangwaketse might hold. Currently, the boundaries around this song are still debated and only time will tell if they will become less significant or be maintained.

In addition to this preceding discussion about the importance of words in the song, I noticed that the song does not have to be retrieved from archives of history to cause a controversial discussion about its meaning. I took one of Mongweotsile's songs "Dirampeetshane" that he played on the *segankure* instrument (see Appendix III Track 4) and played it for different audiences who had to interpret it. The younger people were suspicious of the meaning behind the words of the song. Some of them attempted to interpret the words and various interpretations emerged. This is one song that helps question whether the people who listen to the traditional music have a creative ear or if the song composers were creative with the use of the language. However, one evident point is that people draw from their experiences and some knowledge about life to interpret the traditional music. From the discussion, it is possible that the interpretation of the meaning of the songs was age related. The music makers did not attempt to explain their content or message. The listeners had to interpret the words in their own way and keep developing the content as they grew up. A song could therefore have multiple meanings at a time depending on the age categories that interpreted it.

As part of the recalled experiences, there was one setback which I could not resolve at that moment or anytime thereafter: I was working on a limited digital album, with only 21 music recordings of Bangwaketse available from the ILAM recordings made by Hugh Tracey. During the listening sessions, I was therefore not able to respond to

requests of people asking if I had some recordings by specific singers who were related to them. The requests for songs and questions about some songs emphasized how much the people longed for a musical past that was, unfortunately, not recorded. Some of them still remembered how to sing the songs they were requesting from me. There were times when those people only remembered a phrase or two of such a song.

On a different day, I went to talk to the Morapane Family who are related to Karabo Morapane who led "Kgomo tsa ga mme" (TR 109 A.5). I met Nnana Itshepeng, a daughter to Karabo Morapane's younger brother. Itshepeng shared experiences about her grandfather who was a well-known *koma* leader and singer from the generation recorded by Tracey. She expressed her joy that the music was returned to her village in Kanye. Itshepeng took me to meet one of Morapane's children, Gobonwaone Morapane. Gobonwaone is currently serving at the *kgotla* as an assistant to the Chief's wife; an almost similar post that was held by Rantana Dinake for Chief Bathoen II's wife. The family emphasised that Morapane was of the *Malwelakgosi* regiment. In narrating their family lineage all the family members emphasized that Morapane was of the *Tshwene* (baboon) totem and not of the typical Ngwaketse totem. From this recurrent pride in kinship, I observed that it was not only a family practice, but a communal phenomenon where people took pride in their people and their music. The people wanted to express their personal identities through the identities of the musicians and in turn establish or justify their rightful place as Bangwaketse heirs to the music heritage.

These recorded moments triggered musical memories about Morapane and the music of the time. The family mentioned that their grandfather, Morapane, was popularly called *Mogatsanoga* (which loosely translates as, wife of a snake). In trying to find out why he had such a name, and Itshepeng briefly said it was customary in Ngwaketse for someone who was born after the parents had lost a baby to be given such a name. During the discussions, both Itshepeng and the Gobonwaone's family fondly remembered Morapane as 'Grandfather *Mogatsanoga*'.

In an effort to establish whether the family knew the song in the recording, the response from each one of them was that they knew very few of his songs because most of them were ceremonial songs that were only performed in the privacy of the

ceremonies. Judging by the message of the song in Tracey's recording that was led by Morapane; "Kgomo tsa ga mme" (TR 109 A.5) suggests a moment of prayer for rain.

The sentiment expressed by the Morapane family embodies the view that some musical boundaries may only be imagined and assumed. The restrictive laws that protected some of the territories where some music was performed were never permeated. One of Morapane's grandchildren, Sam (September, 2015), told stories about his grandfather who 'had important social roles to perform during his time'. He explained the role his grandfather had during *Bogwera* (initiation). Morapane was one of the elderly members of the community who was fully engaged during male initiation processes. During times when he would have stayed in the village during initiation, he would act as a mediator between the village and the initiation school. Communication between him and the school was through music. He had songs that only he and the school understood as signals for entering and leaving the camp. If, while at school, an initiate fell ill or needed attention the 'teachers' would signal Morapane to fetch the *Kgajane* (initiate) from the bush camp. He would use another music signal when returning the initiate to the camp. He never sang the songs for the grandchildren because '*go ne go ila*' (It was taboo) but he told stories about the music. Towards the day when initiates returned, he communicated musically with the elders in the village who prepared for the return of the initiates. The narrations of the family members and the song recorded by Tracey is evidence that Morapane was more involved with the ceremonial music of Bangwaketse.

While the discussion in the preceding paragraphs, about Karabo Morapane, has acknowledged the socially asserted boundary of ceremonial music, it has hinted at other styles of Bangwaketse music that Tracey did not manage to record. In a further discussion with the Morapane family, Mrs. Itshepeng pointed out that Morapane was a full time farmer who spent most of his time on the farms. Her husband explained that active community singing, especially of *dikoma*, was not a profession but something that came naturally with old age and reached its peak when the individual retired from social responsibility such as working for the army. He jokingly, but importantly added that "*dikoma* is wisdom music developed through life experiences". Morapane had been part of the army that went to the First World War according to Itshepeng. When Morapane could no longer do anything that required his

full strength, he returned to the village and joined other elderly men of his age and became the chief's advisor. They all remembered him as a very strict disciplinarian who did not allow them to leave the yard at night. They recalled how they used to sneak out to go for *setapa* or to *tantshe* recreation at night and crawl back into their blankets hoping he would not notice. They all broke into laughter remembering how he used to check their feet for dust gathered at *setapa*[25] from under their blankets. He would wake them up and ask about the dust and discipline them accordingly. This experience is an allusion to the coexistence of different generational music styles, the challenges and hardships of coexistence and the perseverance despite being challenged or not being acknowledged by the other. Rather than suggesting any social divisions, the experience alludes to the musical variations created by the different age groups.

Some reactions from the interviews suggested that memory and recall are not an automatic reaction that may readily be attained. I observed that at times it seemed uncomfortable for the interviewees to immediately narrate stories, understandably because I was asking them to try and recall accounts of their lives that they had lived with no plans to one day recall and narrate, as Bothata Abotsen said, when I asked if he could tell me about his father's musical life,

> Even though I am his son, I might not be able to tell you what you want to hear because my father was the musician and we just grew up in his household. We witnessed some of his performances and mostly missing many of them because he was of a different generation which he shared his musical endeavours with (Interview with author, 2014).

Although Bothata's statement highlights the possible gaps in the retrieval of memories that may result from memory selection or experience, memory retrieval could serve as an introduction to find out about the music of the younger generation of that time, Bothata, the son of Serakalla Abotsen, was in his late 20s at the time of Tracey's recording. Abotsen was of *Malwelanaga* regiment (1909). This suggests an older group than the *Malwelakgosi* regiment. Bothata remembered his father as a very sociable character, outspoken, friendly and musically creative. The Abotsen brothers explain that their father was an animal skin processor who worked from his backyard.

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[25] The recreational traditional dance event discussed later in Chapter 3.

Serakalla Abotsen is heard leading two songs in Tracey's recordings; TR108 A.3 (a walking song) and TR108 B.5 (hunting song). Song TR108 A.3 appeared to fit its description and to create a nostalgic feel of how men used to walk past each other's yards inviting them to walk together to heed the chief's call. The song represented a similar image to most listeners who were tempted to sing along with it. Bothata stood up to demonstrate how his father would have performed the song, although he had never seen him perform it. He said the mood of his father's voice gave him an idea of what he would have done in such a performance.

As discussions continued with the various interviewees, more songs were recalled. I tried to establish if there were copyright principles asserted in this music. I asked if any of the songs had definite composers. The response from all the respondents was that there could have been some composers within the groups or within the song leaders, but mostly they sang *"dipina tsa Bangwaketse"* (songs of the Bangwaketse). Bothata explained that it was possible that his father did compose, like the other men in his regiment and before him. The *dikgafela* ceremony especially demanded that those with the musical talent should keep composing for each ceremony. Itshepeng explained that it was possible to hear the same song performed by two clans during *dikgafela* or the same song from the previous season sung again. However, all of them concurred that no clan was proud of singing the same song twice or singing the same song as another clan because during the ceremony there was intrinsic competition through music. Immediately, I remembered what I had witnessed during the recent *dikgafela* demonstration and started a discussion on it. There was music from every corner and the musical moments heard together created an ambiance that made it vital for me to inquire as to whether or not that was always the case. The musical performances coexisted and created an atmosphere of happiness and a space where music travelled freely within the space. Although they said it had not really bothered them, they agreed with me that the song repertoire was very limited (to about three songs performed by the many clans who came to the demonstration). However, I observed that while waiting their turn at the *kgotla*, the different groups continued with their music and did not bother to fit within the structure of other groups.

Several songs in Tracey's recordings were unanimously classified as *dikoma* by different participants during fieldwork. The consensus in my interviews seems to be

that *Koma* music represents a joint effort of composition and performance by the different members of the community. Many elders define the music as wisdom learnt through many years of life experience. Similarly, the manner in which the younger generation interacts with the *koma* music; highlighting or struggling to establish the message and to enjoy the poetic language propounds that view. The notion of the *Koma* music representing wisdom acquired through age and life experiences was recurrent in my research. The younger generation listened to the songs each time with an ear to deduce meaning from mostly poetic expressions and drew their discussions from there. This observation triggered another discussion on how the *koma* music had unique performances; the singer could chat, sneeze or cough within the structure of the music and it would not disrupt the flow. Music performance and age are discursively interrelated in the music of Bangwaketse and that of Botswana through the performance, the implied meaning and the dance structure. That the community subdivides into gender specific roles at their different ages is significant, but of less consequence to the argument here because the "people did not separate in order to perform music, rather the social responsibilities separated the genders. In that separation of social duty, songs would emerge" explained Mongweotsile (2015). This explanation may apply to the uniqueness of the song structure mentioned above. For instance, one would not hold a cough until after a performance, but experienced it during music making. Furthermore, when one grows as part of the community, one continuously negotiates meaning and context appropriate to their age. In the same way as the community functions, the participants say that *koma* music may be gender specific or it may be all encompassing.

When the *koma* is performed for private ceremonies such as an initiation, it becomes more difficult to decode. It appears that the songs for such private ceremonies are 'secretly coded' by the performers to protect their privacy and to develop a coded language that is unique to them. I explain this through my observation as I watched and participated in performances by the music teachers who were stimulated by Tracey's recordings. Tracey's recordings triggered memories about the music that the generations who were interviewed related to their childhood years. It became an interesting session with the teachers who are from different places around Botswana and, while they are generally of a younger generation than in Tracey's recordings, their ages vary. As the different members took turns to share songs that they

remembered, they taught each other how to sing the songs and performed them together. Most of the songs were common among the members with slight differences in pitch, rhythm, or the words of the song. One example of such a song is "Di phepa" (They are clean). The song was contributed by one member of the group who immediately explained that she did not know if she had the words accurately.

Di phepa

Di phepa di phepa	They are clean, they are clean
Diphepa di ya go ja maolo	They are clean, they are going to eat clay
Diphepa di tswa go ja maolo	They are clean, they have eaten clay

A discussion about the song, "Di phepa", ended in what people believed were the correct words of the song. All the members who remembered the song knew it was associated with initiation processes, most probably for men. Some members of the group observed that the song pointed towards different times during the initiation process; departure to the bush and the return home after initiation. The arguments therefore assumed that the song changed the one verb in the song to make the song serve a different function. Some argued that despite the change in the verb ('they are going to eat clay' changes to 'they have eaten clay'), the song still served the function of celebrating the completion of the initiation process. This second argument suggested that the *maolo* (clay) referred to in the song was figurative language that referred to the experience they gained in the field and the readiness for the future they are about to face as successful initiates. Tracey recorded a version of this song as TR 109 A.2. He notes that it is a men's initiation song which agrees with the above arguments, but it does not provide further information on the specifics of its performance during initiation. Interestingly, at Mmakgodumo Festival, the song "Di phepa" was briefly performed by a group of women after they had submitted their share of the harvest at the chief's compound (see Appendix III Track 7). Although it would have established their context, I could not get a chance to talk to them about the song. Another Tracey recording that carries a thick text that was not easy to decode is "Sebete sa khudu". (TR109 A.3) The secretly coded songs appear to have been purposefully designed to define the boundaries of listenership and the way the message was interpreted by different possible audiences. Another song that was discussed in this forum was; "Mogoge, goga o lere thokolo" (TR108 B.1) and a further difference of opinion on the role of the music ensued.

Mogoge, goga o lere   The drawer, draw and bring
Goga o lere thokolo ya metsi a pula   Draw us heavy drops of rain

The youth, using the meaning of the words, established that the song is a prayer for rain. None of the young people in the room had ever witnessed a rainmaking ceremony or heard of how it used to be performed. In his notes, Tracey states that it is a song used for *dikgafela* ceremony and Mongweotsile agrees with the statement. However, the teachers argued that the words of the song suggest a request for rain rather than a celebration. In ananalysis of the language, the participants imagined it as a song performed as a prayer for rain by members of the community over a long period of drought. The teachers who joined the discussion seemed to wonder why the song is asking for *'thokolo ya metsi a pula'* (huge raindrops) when they could be thankful for the past rains and instead celebrate a good harvest. Mongweotsile explained that the message intended by the song was that the rainmaker should keep performing more rainmaking ceremonies so that the annual celebrations may continue. According to Mongweotsile, the song is a prayer asking for a continued supply of rain so that the people may continue farming. Therefore, the song functioned in celebrating harvest and as a request for more rain. The younger generation seemed to agree that the song was within the boundaries of rainmaking ceremonial songs. Their discussions only questioned the specific point in the rainmaking process. The light-hearted interpretation, by Mongweotsile, on the other hand suggested that either the song had permeated the boundaries and become a celebration song, or that the initial boundaries of the song had become less significant to the community.

The discussion about "Mogoge, goga o lere thokolo" (TR108 B.1) had been triggered by a group discussion where one of the smaller groups presented a version of the song. The group had learnt it from one group member who came from the Ngwaketse region, who had associated it with the *dikgafela* celebration. A few other members mentioned that, in their regions, the song was performed for the same function. The physical boundaries of the song were not a major problem and the group seemed to agree with the possibility of a shared song. "But in my area it doesn't really sound so hymn-like" said one participant. The members made several attempts to explain why it sounded differently. All the comments pointed to the harmonic structure and to the

rhythm the group had chosen (see Appendix II Track 6). Although no single answer clearly differentiated the harmonic structure from the one they knew, they agreed that the group used a different harmonic structure and an adjusted rhythm to suit their style of dance during the performance.

The discussion in the preceding paragraph suggested that the geographical boundaries are not as strict as those established around the roles and functions of music. It seems that the participants were more interested in reproducing the music of the past in a version as close as possible to what most people believe is correct. Evidently, when a role is asserted, the next aim is to reproduce the sound that best describes or is seen to go well with the defined role. Following this discussion, all the participants made an attempt to sing the "Mogoge, goga o lere thokolo" song in a version that they believed was correct. For a while, the majority of them could not establish a clear rhythmic feel of the song (see Appendix II Track 7).

I played the 'hymn-like' version of the song to some elders in Kanye during my visits there. Bothata, an elderly member said "that one sounds like there is a choir". His sentiment, echoed by a few other elders, is that the version they were listening to had permeated the boundaries of the choir in its sound production or that the choral sound had permeated the folksong boundaries. Amazingly, none of the elderly people commented on the dance rhythm used by the group. In my view, the different versions of harmony that people seem to relate more closely to are the ones sung in unison, although none of the participants wanted to commit to that response. The main discussion was not so much based on a particular vocal technique or ensemble, but was concentrated on the resultant sound obtained.

A version of this same song, Tracey's recording TR108 B.1 was performed by the majority of the clans, which are formed by kinships, at the Mmakgodumo Cultural Festival (see Appendix III Track 9). The words of the song and the rhythm were almost similar to the one heard in Tracey's recording. Tracey states, in his notes, that it is a song in celebration of the first fruit. The mannerisms of the performers observed by Tracey during performance were replicated closely during the festival; the people carried *moologa* tree branches and waved them around playfully.

The arguments held by the member of the community over the meaning of the song and the oral nature of the tradition, both seem to contribute to the evolution of the music. The discussions often questioned whether the differences in words always existed or the modifications had been made over time. One such song that caused an argument was "Marabele nakana tsa ga tlholwe" (see Appendix II Track 5). The group of teachers resolved that the story had to be retrieved from memory so that the words may be established. A further discussion about which animal was called *tlholwe*[26] ensued following the recalling of the story. After suggesting that it could have been an error intended to be *tholo* (Kudu), Mongweotsile explained that in the Ngwaketse region and some areas of the south, *tlholwe* is a version of a rabbit. It seemed those who were from regions that did not know *tlholwe* had replaced the word *tlholwe* with *tholo*. After hearing Mongweotsile's explanation, some participants acknowledged that, until that moment, the song never made sense.

When people argued about the meaning of certain songs, they often seemed to overlook the fact that the language evolves with time and the meaning shifts as well. To illustrate this, I look at a song that was performed and asserted as a childrens' song, "silang mosoko" (see Appendix II Track 8). Although Tracey did not record this song in Ngwaketse, the song was frequently discussed in different forums as a children's song. A version of the song is TR111 A.9 in Tracey's recordings. The arguments began over the title that the group said was *silang mabele*. In trying to imagine what *mosoko* is in the current context, it was replaced by *mabele*. The older generation explained that *mosoko* is not wrong as it was a word used to refer to anything that could be pounded and prepared for eating rather than a specific crop as is the case lately.

After the participating elders narrated the process to the young it seemed the song had revived the language and aided understanding of the traditional process of sorghum grinding and milling. Having explored the various possible meanings of the words of the songs, the boundaries currently set around the song were challenged. Earlier the song had been classified as a children's song. After the discussion, participants questioned how the song could have functioned as a song for children's play when it referred to children from some position of authority (parent or guardian), according to

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[26] Serekoane (2012) translates *tlholwe* to 'red hare'.

the words. Following a long discussion that was unresolved the song was classified as a topical family song that expressed family life and social communication. Even these new delineations seemed blurred to the participants. Another observation is that although age contributes to the assertion of musical boundaries, real life experiences may bring forth arguments about events and the use of the language. It would seem that when words are replaced, often the all encompassing term used to define the action is used rather than the names for specific stages.

Following the discussions in the previous paragraphs, but still on the issue of song evolution and change, I played "Re tswa ko Tlhabane"[27] (TR109 A.1) which Tracey noted was performed by school children. Many teachers and the youths were surprised by the place named in the recording. Middle aged Bangwaketse people acknowledged that the words were correct, although they had grown to accept the rearranged version *(He tswa ko Thabala[28])* of the song that instead used a different place. The Bangwaketse people in the group remembered the game of stones that goes with the song and described how it is played to other members who then remembered the game. Having dealt with music evolution and change, the teachers continued to recall more children songs and games.

Although the sessions with the teachers did not concentrate much on remembering how to perform the dances related to the music, each time a song was performed some members of the group who remembered the dance would stand up and dance to the music. One song that attracted an immediate response from the majority of the members is "Khubamang ka mangole" (see Appendix II Track 4). It was obvious from the demonstration that it was a song that requires vitality and flexibility to perform. More songs shared in the group discussion served as a rich resource for remembering cultural festivals as well as sharing experiences and stories about those events. The forum with secondary school teachers' workshops provided the teachers and the folk artists that were present with a forum to share experiences retrieved from memory, the music and a nostalgic feel of how they used to perform some of the songs in the various regions.

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[27] We are from Tlhabane.
[28] We are from Thabala (a village in the central district of Botswana).

As heard from the *dikgafela* demonstration, another song that raised curiosity is "Pula" *(TR109 A.5)*. The current version of the song mentions Chief Malope and not Bathoen as in Tracey's recording. The older generation remembered using Bathoen's name because at the time he was the chief at Kanye. It seems this song might have been transmitted through generations from way beyond Chief Bathoen II, who reigned between 1928- 1968, and they would have used the name of the chief at each particular time. In addition to name replacement, the rhythm of the song has slightly changed from the walking feel heard in Tracey's recording to the more dance-like feel that shifts it from $\frac{4}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$. The song leader in Tracey's recording sounds busier than in the current version where it is a cyclic, call and response version.

Having recalled several songs and categorized them in genres, it therefore became evident that certain music boundaries are common to the majority of the people and only become challenging when they are divided into sub-genres. One such song where participants almost had a common understanding of the main genre is recording "Hee, re a nyadiwa" (TR108 B.5)*. Most believe, as Tracey had in his notes, that it falls within the category of 'wisdom music' of *dikoma*.

Re a nyadiwa

Hee re a nyadiwa	Hee we are despised,
Le ha re nyadiwa,	Even though we are despised
re marumo a kgomo di gapilwe	We are the bullets when the cattle are kidnapped.
Makau wee!	(Regimental shout)

First possible meaning of the song

Even though people think very cheaply of us, when their cattle are kidnapped, they send us to retrieve them.

Second possible meaning of the song

Even though they despise us, when they are desperate they quickly send us to resolve situations.

Even though this is not a major part of the discussion here, it is necessary to explain the possible uses of the expression; *hee* is a part of speech that is extensively used for different functions in the Setswana language. Most of the songs recorded by Tracey use the expression, often as the first word of the song. Here is a list of possible meanings attached to the expression and is not exhaustive:

- A call or a way to call out
- Wow!
- A response to a call
- Look out!

- Oh, I just remembered
- You know! (As in a sigh)
- Attention please

Tracey notes that it is a song for hunting, and many listeners did not agree with the note. Most of them seem to think it is a regiment song that would be performed as a symbol of pride after completing a challenging assignment. They explained that *mephato* or regiments had assignments that they would be given by the chief or other village elders or a social responsibility that they are obliged to perform. The regimental shout heard in the song, *Makau wee,* fueled the discussion on the pride of a regiment. A further discussion was based on the interpretation of the words of the song. A participant in one of the groups argued that 'hunting' and 'kidnapped cattle' did not sound accurate in one sentence because people did not hunt cattle, and there would be no need for any group to be instructed to protect anything if the cattle were not stolen by a different group. Some elders, during a different listening session explained the song in relation to the responsibility of regiments to protect Bangwaketse territory. This did not fall far from the argument that the group of performers was Abotsen's age regiment of *Malwelanaga* (those who fight to protect the territory). This evidence points to the theory that the performances in Tracey's recordings were age group songs.

I would agree with Tracey's notes that the song was a hunting song. For instance, if the cattle were attacked by a lion, the villagers would expect the particular regiment to hurry and protect the cattle. Then in this context, the men would return and sing the song in celebration of a successful lion hunt. The main difference between the two definitions is in their literal and figurative meanings. On the other hand, any of the people's arguments presented above would not hold if the hunting process had music at different points. However, as Bangwaketse elders have explained during the interviews; for a hunt session, music served as prayer for a successful hunt and functioned as celebration of success.

It appears that the songs which fall within the boundary of work songs are easier to affirm. The songs are usually directly associated with the action they support. The Abotsen brothers explained how their father used to process the goat and cow skins and they remembered one of his favourite work songs. They both sang it and imitated

the action he would be doing at the same time (see Appendix III Track 2). Bothata offered to explain the words to me. The song is in simple time and matches the demonstrated action of processing. Following is a guide to the melodic and rhythmic structure of *Tsa betsho ba bantle* (transcribed by author)

Tsa betsho ba bantle

Folk as perfromed by Abotseng
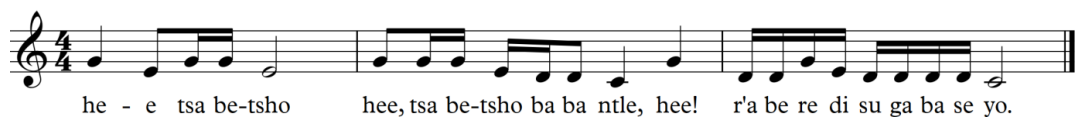
Figure 2.1 *Tsa betsho ba bantle* by Kepatilwe Mahoko and Bothata Abotsen (2014).

Hee, tsa betsho	*hee,* these are for them
Hee, tsa betsho ba bantle	*hee* these are for our beauties
Hee, rea be re di suga ba seyo.	*hee,* as we process them, they are not here

The word content, meaning and associated actions all described the boundary around the '*tsa betsho ba bantle*' song. The memory of this song had them recalling another song that their father liked very much. He had adopted the song from his time in the bush while grazing cattle to use it for a more social/communal role and had supposedly changed the lyrics. He had often explained how he used to watch birds of different types and had come to understand their patterns. The shepherd's song that they remembered here is an alarm call made by someone about birds competing to find food while the larger bird unfairly wins the best spot to dig. They remembered how he had decided to sing the song as part of *dikgafela* (harvest celebration). A guide to the melodic and rhythmic structure of **"Bo tlhangwe"** (transcribed by the author);

Bo tlhangwe!
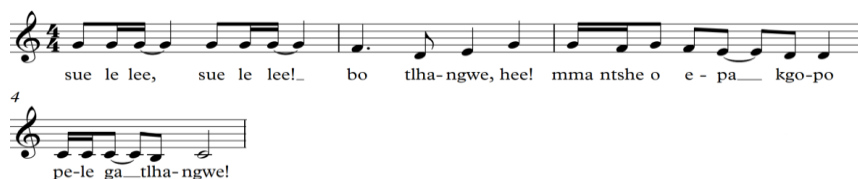
Folk as perfromed by Abotsen brothers

Figure 2.2 **"Bo tlhangwe"** by K. Mahoko and B. Abotsen. (Appendix III Track 1)

Suelele, suelele, Botlhangwe	Look out there, look out! Secretary birds
Hee, Mmantshwe o epa kgopo,	Hee, the ostrich is digging out a wild fruit
pele ga Tlhangwe	Before the secretary bird

In this song, the boundaries of musical functions have been crossed with the same message. A song that was topical for a shepherd has crossed over and become part of a traditional repertoire for another activity. The brothers explained that Abotsen and a few friends who had been his companions in the bush managed to teach the song to the people in the Abotsen clan. Itshepeng, who was with me at the time of this interview, explained that "the song fits the social structure well; the people who are physically stronger always obtain things by force from the weaker ones". This song, she concluded, "alludes to such a mishap in the community and directs attention towards the problem with the hope of a solution". From the meaning supposedly given by the initial performer, the song went past the adaption to a new context and ended with several deduced or inferred meanings. The deduced and inferred meanings are in agreement with Frith that the words of songs may aid discovery of "the amount of felt life in specific words and music" (2007, 214).

Some songs acknowledge and assert their boundaries by mentioning names of the local heroes from the past or important sites that relate to Bangwaketse heritage. The song, "A re yeng" (TR108 A.3), asserted its belonging to Bangwaketse by mentioning Chief Tshosa. It appeared to be one song that every group I met acknowledged as distinct Ngwaketse music. The elderly members of the community categorized the song further into the boundaries of very old Bangwaketse *pitso (*call to the royal kraal) music. I asked who Tshosa was because the message in the song is an invitation which is made in response to Chief Tshosa's call. They explained that Tshosa was the most strict chief to have ever ruled Bangwaketse, he ruled in 1823 (Schapera 1942) and was of the *Matshelaphala regiment* (graduates of 1815). It was amazing that a song was recorded in 1959 and still made reference to a chief who had ruled over a hundred years earlier. Perhaps the song is currently viewed as a historical reference to Chief Tshosa. It is possible that the performers in 1959 explored their memories and recalled some songs from their past for the recording session.

Although some songs make reference to heroes and historical sites and enable the listeners to set boundaries around the performance of the song, the reference point

cannot be trusted as a source of knowledge because it is a flexible reference point. With a song like "Pula" (TR109 A.5) that is currently performed with the name, Malope, the boundaries are challenged and shifted (see Appendix III Track 6). Sometimes these might extend beyond the reference to lineage and be performed by a different group with a suitable name in their context. The same is reiterated in the song "Re tswa ko Tlhabane" (TR 109 A.1) which the majority of the young people know as "Re tswa ko Tlhabane". In the first song a historical hero is replaced by a living legend while in the other a name of a place replaces another. This replacement often involves the words of the song or the interpretation of the words. When words are replaced or re-interpreted, boundaries are permeated and suitability of context negotiated.

At the time of Tracey's recording, Bangwaketse were ruled by Chief Bathoen II. Chief Bathoen II (1908 – 1990) ruled Bangwaketse from 1928 to 1968. Although his administration seems to be the most documented of all the Bangwaketse chiefs, for initiatives and political life, his musical life remains a mystery, a lacuna to be partly addressed by this research. Chief Bathoen participated in Tracey's recording session and is heard leading a song; "Kgapha sa khudu" (TR109 A.3) in the recordings. I managed to trace part of Chief Bathoen's musical life through two songs performed by the Royal Choristers. The Royal Choristers were chief Bathoen's choral choir, formed in 1940 and performed until 1968 when he no longer found time in his schedule to train the choir. The two Royal Choristers I met and interviewed during fieldwork are Mphoentle Monageng and Goabamang Florina Mabe. The two explained that it was a choir that initially had 14 (fourteen) choristers including Bathoen's brother, Mookami Gaseitsiwe. Most of the members (11) have passed on and the two women explained that there was one more surviving member who could not join us in the interview due to ill health.

The two surviving members of the Royal Choristers Choir brought up fond memories of the members of the choir and, in particular, the chief who was the founder and owner of the Choir. In order to explain how she joined the choir, Monageng said, "I had a very beautiful soprano voice and Ms. Gaseediwe invited me to join the Royal Choristers". She further recalled a memory from her past that had made her join the choir on arrival at Kanye. She said; "The first time I watched the Royal Choristers

perform was at a concert in my school at Moshupa. I stole a look through a hole that was not fully covered through the window because I didn't have the 10 shillings entry fee". Although she did not remember the exact date, she said it was in the early 1940s. She eventually joined the choir in 1955 when she arrived in Kanye to work as Chief Bathoen II's secretary.

Mabe, on the other hand, and like the many other interviewees, introduced herself with a brief description of her lineage. Although she did not base her explanation on family kinship with Chief Bathoen, she based it more on the friendly relationship that her family had with that of chief Bathoen II. She informed me about the origins of the place where she now lives. "I live at *Boitapolosong* which is now commonly known as *Mepakong*. This place used to be Chief Bathoen II's weekend retreat." She further narrated how her father had been invited by Chief Bathoen II to build in his neighbourhood as a distant relative, friend and a future mediator in neighbourhood disagreements.

The two former choristers remembered concert performances in Moshupa and Molepolole and many others locally. In all these, Bathoen had carried them in his vehicle; *Mmadiipone*. Apart from performing in concerts, they performed at weddings, parties, funerals and other official events. They both explained how Chief Bathoen II used to give them a lift in his car after practice and when they had performances outside Kanye. Mabe fondly explained how her "finger got caught and injured by Chief Bathoen's car door after rehearsal at *Maisantwa* school" as they were about to be dropped at their homes, and showed me the scar on her finger. In trying to establish Chief Bathoen's character as a choir trainer and conductor, more stories were told. Mabe remembered how Chief Bathoen had in one instance reprimanded a chorister who had been absent minded during rehearsal and made her sing alone from a distance until the chorister cried.

Although it is evident that change is not always negative among the Bangwaketse, they are able to tell when there is change or when the boundaries are permeated. I played two recordings "Nama ke go tlole" (TR111 B.3) and "Motlhala wa noga" (TR111 B.4). The discussions were a mixture of doubt and surprise at whether or not those two songs could be classified as traditional songs of Botswana. The boundary in

question at this point was that of genre or style. The teachers' approach was most interesting. They approached the discussion about the boundaries differently to other audiences because they wanted to establish the traditional idiom in the music by analyzing the music. However, none of the discussions resulted in a decision about the boundary of the genre or to justify whether the two songs fall within or outside the Sengwaketse music boundary.

Most youth were surprised to hear that the Chief had his own choir, although some of them knew about his two piano instruments and how he used to play the piano at church where one of the pianos remains. From the discussion with the choristers, Chief Bathoen played an accordion during concerts and it was the only instrument that he used when he wanted to dance, sing and play alone for the audience, who would eventually join him in the dance.

Although old age might take its toll on human memory, as acknowledged several times by my two informants, musical sound may trigger a recall of long lost memories. The two elderly women (former Royal Choristers) started by apologising as they could not recall much about the performances of the choir. I played the recording; TR111 B.4 for them and hoped Monageng would remember Hugh Tracey because she was the chief's secretary at the time. She did not remember any specific recording group because different people had come to record at around the same time. After listening to the song, she immediately explained that although she remembered the song very well, it was not her quartet performing the song and she was not sure which quartet performed the two songs. She confidently listed thirteen choir members by name and surname, but after straining to remember a surname of one of the performers she blamed it on 'old-age memory'. Interestingly, she arranged the names and the voices according to SATB parts. The discussion explained the structure of the choir. The two women explained that the choir used to perform in smaller groups; solos, duets, trios, quartets as well as a complete group. The whole group performances were not as frequent as the smaller ones. Monageng recalled a nostalgic moment in a certain song called (Happiness). This song (happiness) seemed to bring happy memories to Monageng who recalled the names of the members of the quartet that performed it. She began imitating the moves that went with the song and attempted a demonstration. She asked if the song (*Happiness*) was not recorded. As

she spoke, her choir mate asked if another song (*diphala*) was not recorded. I could see the disappointment on their faces when I said that the two songs were not recorded by Hugh Tracey. I immediately followed up on their questions to find out more about those two songs. They both explained how the two songs were the choir's favourites and were popular with their audiences. They remembered how the choir used to attract audiences of the elderly while the young thought the music was not exciting and Mabe remembered how they used to look beautiful in like-colours on the stage. At this time the choristers were young people whose ages ranged from 18 to 30. From their discussions, I established that the choristers performed both English and Setswana songs.

The practices of reading and writing music seem to have been less of an issue for this older generation of performers even in choral singing. Music learning occurred through modeling and oral transmission. The choristers explained that they never read any music during their rehearsals and performances as Monageng explained, "Chief Bathoen would play his piano and then we listened and sang the provided words to the sound of the piano". They explained that Chief Bathoen had a song book mainly for English pieces. He played the tunes on the piano and the choristers had to listen and imitate the piano. During the performances he would accompany the singers with variations of melodies and chords on the melodies that he taught them. The members were not sure whether he had his own book of compositions, although they knew he had composed some songs. They explained that he would not read much when teaching Setswana songs mainly, but would concentrate on playing the piano for them to imitate the sounds.

In agreement with this was Leremela Bogosing, a well-seasoned choral trainer and conductor, music educator and composer who did not remember seeing any written song by Chief Bathoen though he did not dismiss the possibility. Bogosing attributed this to what the conductors used to do during his time as a chorister and a young choral conductor. He explains that there were those who would write the soprano melody and allow the choir to harmonise freely while encouraging partial independence as well. Then, he said, there were other composers who played the main melody on the piano and shared the words of the song with the choir, as described above by the former Royal Choristers. However, Bogosing did not rule out the

possibility of finding Chief Bathoen's written compositions, saying, 'he definitely could read Tonic Sol-fa notation'. He remembered how Chief Bathoen had adjudicated in one school choir choral competition. After the competition, Bathoen had followed Bogosing's choir in order to help him improve the choir's performance for the national competitions. Bogosing explains that he eventually won the competition. Interestingly, Bogosing mentioned that Chief Bathoen II was an active member of the Schools Choral Music committee in the Ngwaketse (Southern) region for a long time. Apart from training the Royal Choristers, Bathoen II continued to have an influence in the music as he sat on committees that trained students in choral music. Chief Bathoen was a musician who had a great impact on the music of his people. Tracey explains briefly about the chief's choir in his field notes;

> This group is the chief's own choir. The chief Bathoen has always been interested in music and has composed several songs for choirs. He possesses a grand piano himself and keeps up a choir at his home, Kanye. He frequently takes his choir by lorry and car around the country to give concerts elsewhere (Tracey 1973, 248).

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I explored how the repatriation of Tracey's recordings did not only trigger nostalgic moments about the past and about the history of the Bangwaketse, but further triggered narratives about the communal nature of the people and their music making. Some of the memories were a direct result of personal knowledge and experience while others were created through the social negotiations which continue to be refined over time. The narratives of different participants about their experiences of the past and the present reflected the people's values in relation to music.

The different ages and life experiences, locations, and the meaning of song words are the main components when a community attempts to assert musical boundaries of function, genre and style, among others. The songs recorded by Tracey were associated mostly with emotions about happy times, places and known people. This association helped create autobiographical memories in relation to the different songs and the performers. More generally the people who were excited about the music, mainly associated it with good memories.

The stories told about the performers reveal that the people used the communal approach to composing and to performance. The communal approach to composing seems to have greatly influenced the way the musical boundaries have been set around the music. The community knew its social structure and the ceremonies that were part of their life and these ceremonies have set music genres specific to each function. The negotiations of song meaning, function, selections of words and song structure enable the members of the community to contribute and refine each style and assert the boundaries in which each song could be used. The communal effort has enabled the community to face the challenges of creating or understanding the boundaries. The appearance of music that crosses boundaries or music which demonstrates maintained boundaries is another communally negotiated practice. The nostalgia and the unfolding stories about musical boundaries has been a product of the human memory reacting to recorded sound. The people's memories managed to revisit the geographical boundaries and demonstrate the fluidity of the music and how the music knows no boundaries.

Real life experiences have been attached to the music to explain how the music was connected with daily life and how the older generation of Bangwaketse, recorded by Tracey, interacted through music. The different family members, never at any point consciously thought of Bangwaketse in general while listening to the music, but rather about their fathers' participation in the music making processes of the Bangwaketse community. The Mmakgodumo festival[29] as a work of fiction draws from the lives of the previous generations. The nostalgic commemoration of communal practices at Mmakgodumo festival is in part a result of the longing for the past. The longing of the past and the need for commemoration are cultivated and inspired by the recollections from memory. The festival as a commemorative work of art definitely holds some truth to the lives of Bangwaketse. Within this festival, realistic and nostalgic experiences of the past generations are enacted and staged. In 2014, the Mmakgodumo Festival depicted several activities, some compressed and some in a different context than the usual case. The challenge of miniature representations may be associated with the limited time frame and the limitations of the human mind to recall and reproduce events. The process to reconnect with the past at the

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[29] An annual festival in which Bangwaketse perform their culture by displaying different traditional practices. The festival was held on the 13th September 2014.

Mmakgodumo festival exposed how much of the past the people continue to practice, how much is lost and how much is fading away. The teachers, on the other hand yearned for a packaged heritage that they may pass on to the students. They need to be able to identify elements such as genre, function and characteristics of the music for easy classroom instruction as well as for assessment purposes.

Through the interviews, observations and discussions with different members of the community, the music repatriation project has proven to aid memory, to recall experiences and moments from the past. It has opened discussions where the community negotiated meaning and asserted some social truths about their musical heritage. There is an evident connection between memory recollection and nostalgic reaction to the music. The nostalgia may not offer conclusive thoughts of what the people wish to do, whether it is to return to the recalled past or be connected somehow to that past, in the same way that the Bangwaketse are not sure whether they want to live the old lives or they want to remain connected to the past in memory. However, an exploration of the nostalgia in the memories may benefit the efforts of contextual revitalisation of the music.

The interrelation between the themes in this chapter is such that returned sound recordings are received with nostalgia about an acknowledged heritage, but also about people long dead, which people then package for different purposes such as for tourism. During the packaging process, the musical borders and boundaries are challenged in different ways, often ending in suspended discussions of where the boundaries are and a way to set the boundaries realistically.

Chapter 3

On low volume: The various styles of Bangwaketse music

Chapter 2 explored how memory mediates in the process of repatriation and revitalisation. The people, whose stories are retold in Chapter 2, constructed their own reality and created meaning around the recordings. This chapter goes further to explore how the cost implications and coordination of efforts to revitalise old music have been negotiated by the people of Ngwaketse and some Batswana to rekindle some performances of the music that were not recorded by Hugh Tracey. The experiences of the people shall become an important tool to assess how repatriation and revitalisation may be made meaningful to Bangwaketse and to Batswana. As shall be observed in the discussion in this chapter, the revitalisation of sounds from the archives is an unpredictable, collective effort that has cost implications and requires levels of coordination. In the revitalisation process all stakeholders require money, space and time, all coordinated coherently. All stakeholders require a level of motivation to achieve revitalisation.

The chapter is divided into sections that provide a general overview of the various styles that were not recorded by Hugh Tracey. It further examines the developments of Sengwaketse traditional music styles since the recordings were made. The first section presents an introduction to dance music events; of *setapa*, *khonsata* and *tantshe*, to explore the unpredictability of the revitalisation process as observed in the data collected during fieldwork. The second section explores vocal music of *dikhwaere* and the wedding songs. The third section discusses the traditional instruments; *folk guitar, segankure* and the nonexistent *ditlhaka* music. The discussion is based on how the revitalisation of these instruments has survived the demands of a changing community. The fourth section explores the children's music and the need for a more coordinated and concerted effort to revitalise the music of the children. The final section studies work-songs; why they have faded away and a possible lesson about the continued revitalization of traditional music. The chapter closes with a summary of the challenges in the process of revitalizing music as informed by the various styles discussed in the chapter. The motive for using the words of the songs is maintained in this chapter as an important element to

understanding the music of the Bangwaketse. Meaning continues to be negotiated socially as people agree or differ on certain aspects about their music.

Dance Recreational Music

The Setapa Event

Not much research has been conducted on the *setapa*[30] dance of Bangwaketse. In two different articles that are intended for music education, Phuthego (2005) and Franke (2012) do not define the term *setapa* but they briefly describe the music of *setapa* in the Ngwaketse region. Phibion, who discusses several elements of the *setapa* suggests that "*setapa* according to the Bangwaketse understanding unanimously means to dance by stamping feet" (2012, 2). In contrast, my fieldwork data provides no support for that explanation. Instead, the different informants defined *setapa* as an event that was characterized by different forms of dance such as *mmino wa dinaka* and *mmino wa diphamphathana.* The difference between the data from the fieldwork and the argument by Phibion (2012) is that he makes reference to an activity rather than an event. Despite this difference, most of Phibion's descriptions of the performances are consistent with my fieldwork data.

While Phibion provides valuable information in his article about performative issues of *setapa* of Bangwaketse, with the intention to relate it to music education in schools, some aspects of his study seem inconclusive. In his narrative, he blamed the decline of *setapa* performances on urbanisation, employment and the shortage of social incentives such as monetary rewards to encourage the revitalisation of the music (2012, 2). However, with the different competitions such as the Presidents' Day competitions and constituency competitions that occurred annually since 2006, there is arguably an incentive towards revitalisation, if measured by the number of groups that take part in those competitions. Phibion further lists several places and describes them as the "stronghold of *setapa* traditional music" (ibid., 2) and with this statement suggests that *setapa* is still found in places that used to be *setapa* focal points. In this incidence, Phibion is possibly arguing for the revitalisation of the *setapa* event rather than its music. According to fieldwork data, *setapa,* as an event, does occur in a few places, but the *setapa* music is used even beyond Ngwaketse borders.

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[30] A traditional Setswana evening recreational event that involves singing and dancing and being merry.

Furthermore, the data collected from fieldwork and observations suggests that *setapa* music is being revitalised and often performed by groups from urban areas. Phibion's findings are probably ambiguous due to the variability of the subject matter and his definition of the musical boundaries that are used. It is thus important to establish the envisaged revival in the discussion and to understand the consistency in the use of the terms, the *setapa* event and the *setapa* music, in order to understand the seemingly contradictory statements.

Phibion (2012) further proposes an argument about the functional and stylistic qualities of *setapa*. Although some discussions echoed his sentiments, there was very little about those qualities demonstrated during the Mmakgodumo festival. The three groups that performed the *setapa* at the festival seemed to cross those boundaries of style through performance and made the boundaries less recognizable, thereby almost suggesting that the boundaries had become less significant. *setapa* is a word that refers to an event/occasion where people, mostly the youth, went for night time entertainment and recreation. The event was participatory as people took turns in singing and dancing or doing both at the same time. The live performances of the music and dance were never the same. According to the informants, the event was not based on any rules, but over the years, it has attracted many rules of performance. The participants further explain that *setapa* was used as a place for socialisation where some people made friends, some settled their differences and some met their spouses. Flirting and courting were possible through *setapa*. One elderly participant informed me of how he constantly attended *setapa* events in order to get a glimpse of the woman he eventually proposed to and married. He went on to explain how tough the competition was between him and other suitors because he was not a good *setapa* dancer or singer.

Furthermore, none of the narratives emphasise drinking beer at the event, but some have alluded to courtship and romantic ideas during the *setapa*. Some dance sequences such as *Konkomi*[31] were seen as feminine. On the other hand, *go chikisa*[32]

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[31] A staccato-like intricate dance movement often seen as a communicative move performed decoratively infront of male dancers.

[32] In admiration and appreciation, the male dancers often choose partners from the group or from those performing the *konkomi* to dance with and turn around. If the woman accepts the lead of the partner, she will dance with and around the preferred partner. The man may wrap his arm around the woman's waist as a they dance together.

was explained as a celebration of beauty as well as a means of identifying a partner among others and a public declaration of love. The *Konkomi* and *chikisa* were performed within the *borankana* rhythm (represented in notation towards the end of this section). Social interaction appears to have been the main characteristic of the *setapa* event as people sang, danced and interacted with one another. Perhaps it could be argued here that the cost of rekindling *setapa* was attached to emotional needs such as love, companionship, friendship and competition, among many others.

Hugh Tracey recorded two *setapa* songs; TR 108 (A.4 and A.5), in Ngwaketse. A possible reason why the traditional dances of Bangwaketse, such as the different *setapa* versions, were not recorded in large numbers as compared to the ceremonial performances at the *Kgotla* was due to the place and time of the recording. The timing of some of the events may be traced in some of the discussions; "we sneaked out at night while parents were sleeping to go to *setapeng* and came home before anybody woke up" explained Tutu, a man who had regularly attended *setapa* events in his youth. He went on to say, "nobody could tell on one another because no one had permission from parents to go for *setapa*". This further suggests that no one would therefore risk being found out performing *setapa* music publicly for anybody and especially Tracey, who could have been mistaken for a Christian missionary. Therefore, although Hugh Tracey's vision to save the people's music from disappearing with all the migration that was taking place was respected (Lobley 2012), it is possible that an element of suspicion towards him lingered in the performers' minds.

Like many African countries under colonial rule, Botswana was marked by religious systems that suppressed traditional practices and performances under the religious pretence of Christianity (Chapman 1999; Barz 2003; Molema and Plaatje 2012). One such instance is traceable in the *Bechuana Newspaper*[33] of 1881 where *setapa* or traditional music events were interpreted as sin or blasphemy; to be discouraged. The harsh reaction to the traditional forms of music and dance resulted in the disruption and the prohibition of such performances. The domination of Western religious music as well as music content approved by missionaries and colonisers in colonized

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[33] The newspapers are published as part of the history paper collection at the University of Witwatersrand.

Bechuanaland[34] led to the subsequent decline of traditional music making and performance. Traditional music has since been relegated from being central to rituals or social functions to the current setting where it serves mainly as entertainment for tourists or anachronistically as artificial celebrations of the past. Therefore, following the religious challenges, the *setapa* event has shed many of its characteristics either because they were not recalled during early revival attempts or because some of the characteristics are inappropriate in the community of today.

The participants in this research explain that *setapa* was not set to specific times of the year, but was held during *go leta* (bird scaring activity) and *tlhafula* (harvest) times at the *masimo* (ploughing fields). None of my participants remembered *setapa* held at the *meraka* (places where cattle are reared) but they all remembered the venue of *setapa* as *masimo*. The event was not restricted to certain age groups, but the adults or guardians determined if their children could attend *setapa*, and no-one permitted it. Some reasons for hosting a *setapa* event would be to have company and celebrate the success of the harvest or to motivate people to remain at the *masimo* and not long for recreation in the villages. The host would invite the people informally by telling the neighbours who would then spread the message about the *setapa* event. There was no formal invitation, but anybody who heard of the event could attend. As the participants repeatedly said, *setapa ga se timanwe* (*setapa* is meant to be shared by all). The host provided a venue (an open area in the yard) and food for those who might be hungry. Lighting was provided by the bonfire that was meant to keep the participants warm and helped keep predators away from the chickens and goats. There were no formal introductions at the beginning of the event and no master of ceremony, but the host could individually welcome the first few people as they arrived. The revitalised *setapa* events require event coordinators who do all the administrative work to organise venues, money for preparations, to pay the performers and the audience requires money to pay for admission into the shows. Recently, the motivation to hold a *setapa* event is therefore financially driven.

Dancing and singing were an important part of the *setapa* event and it seems a variety of dances were performed. These folk or traditional dances were very competitive in nature, the participants danced in groups, pairs and as individuals. Itshepeng

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[34] The name used for Botswana during the colonial era; *Bechuana- land or land of Bechuana.*

remembered his experiences of *setapa* and explained that he never knew how to dance or lead songs although he wished he could. He said, "although I could not even move a toe, I regularly attended Setapa because I liked the music and I thought I would one day dance like the champions" (Interview with Itshepeng 2015). There were dancers who were respected for their skills and those usually dominated the performance and remained dancing when others retired. The participants remembered some names of good *setapa* dancers of their time as Itshepeng recalled names of two dancers; Masutlhe and Rabokweeyana. He explained how the dancers were nicknamed according to their dance skills during *setapa* performances.

The observations and discussions strongly suggest that the controversy and poetic element in the language and song continues even in *setapa* music. Famous song leaders were known for their social commentary, topical relevance as well as a confrontational approach in singing. The intention to revitalise versions of *setapa* is based on how much information about the *setapa* idiom is understood or communicated to enable the revival process. Following is an example of such songs with open social commentary often coupled with confrontational commentary:

ke letse ke lora ke sule

Siwana wa lona wa lela,	Your Siwana is crying,
oa lela ke mo nee mang?	who should I give her to?
Ke letse ke lora ke sule,	Last night I dreamt I had died
sika la ga mme le lela	my mother's relatives were crying
Sika la ga mme le lela,	my mother's relatives were crying
la ga rre lone le tshega	while my father's side celebrated
Ga lo are ga lo ba rate,	I thought you said you did not love them,
tlhako sa rifi se tswa kae?	where is the trail of a boot coming from?
Ga loa re ga lo ba rate	I thought you said you did not love them,
disakatuku di tswa kae?	Why are you holding handkerchiefs?
O ntebileng ganong,	Why are you looking at my mouth?
wena ware ke ja mmidi?	Did you think I was eating maize?
Divine tsa Rona ga diyo,	Our dancers are not here,
go setse bo matlhogojane	we are left with inexperienced people

In the song above, the singer begins the song with an expression. The participants believed that the words of the speaker meant he has something urgent in his heart that he would like to share. The statement, *"Your Siwana is crying, who should I give her to"* therefore suggests that the singer is about to express a view about something for anyone interested in hearing. This is followed by a comment suggesting that, the

relationship of the singer with the mother's family is stronger than that of the father's side, who celebrated his death (in his dream). The song makes another general comment in reference to the mine-workers (known for their trailer boots). The elderly participants explained that some girls used to pretend that they hated the miners, but continued to date them (symbolized by the way the girls wiped the miners' faces with handkerchiefs). In a sarcastic tone the singer asks if he was mistaken for somebody chewing maize. The singer comments on the dancers' performance and insinuates that they are not as good as some who are not present on that day. This seems to have been a way to encourage the dancers to apply more effort to earn the lead singer's praise (*poo ya pina*).

The structure of the harmony in the music was not taught or notated but rather felt and created by each performer during performance. Each one had to find a suitable entry point and choose the correct pitch in the performance. The leader of the song insinuates how direction and unity are lost or might not even occur without a leader in the community, and that a bad leader has a negative impact on the performance. The research participants used this as an explanation for the need to have a *poo ya pina* (song hero). *Poo ya pina* needs to be good with lyrical content and have a strong, audible voice. Traditionally, anybody could dance spontaneously. In contemporary and competitive settings, the selection of dancers reflects the modernised standards and rules for creating unity and diversity. The standards are created within a given framework.

The process of identifying the idiom in the music is a challenge that is negotiated in social practices of the community (Burr 1995, 3). The negotiation may be observed in the following song of *setapa* that I had been wondering about for a long time, called Bangwaketse. The song provoked different reactions and interpretations from the Bangwaketse as well as participants who were not Bangwaketse.

Bangwaketse[35]

Ga ke batle go nyalwa ko ga-Ngwaketse	I do not want to be married in Ngwaketse
Bangwaketse ba lowa ka segabone	Bangwaketse bewitch in their own way
Ba lowa ka sebabole le letsoku	they bewitch with *sebabole and letsoku*
Tshutshu ke longwa ke lesonya	Ouch, I have been bitten by a large ant
Kere ke tshwara Tebby wee,	As I tried to touch (bewitch) Tebby
Kere ke tshwara Tebogo	As I tried to touch (bewitch) Tebby

Hearing this song performed by Ngwaketse groups always made me curious because it is a song popularly associated with different groups of *setapa* performers in the Ngwaketse region. Franke explains what the song means (2012, 6) but does not explain issues such as why the song speaks against Bangwaketse, but is associated with the *setapa* music of the Bangwaketse. I spoke to Mokgweetsi Kabomo, a young Mongwaketse male, who explained to me that he believes the song was some kind of hate-song about Bangwaketse by somebody from a different ethnic group but he did not know how it remained part of Ngwaketse heritage. In another discussion the participants suggested that the words of the song have an element of *mantsala* (cousinship). *Mantsala* relationship is described as a more relaxed and free space through which cousins may jokingly talk and not worry about offending each other. Cousins in Ngwaketse, like in the rest of Botswana, specifically refer to children born of a male and a female sibling (if the people call each other brother and sister, then their children are cousins). Cousinship does not extend to children of same gender siblings. Another element explained during discussions was that the Bangwaketse are believed to be ethnic cousins of the Barolong[36]. Those who related the song to the ethnic cousinship interpreted the words more lightheartedly, adding that the cousins could live in the same home (Ngwaketse) but continue to relate to one another as cousins and not as siblings, hence the existence of the song.

In the same discussion, another participant suggested that the song was created by a Mongwaketse who wanted to propose a comic opinion about the fears of witchcraft and gossip that other ethnic groups had spread about Bangwaketse and their wedding ceremonies. The participant suggested that the words of the song had been used to

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[35] It seems the song has a lot of concealed meaning. *Lesonya* is a big, black ant that stings and leaves a red, itchy and swollen blister. *Sebabole* is rock sulphate, which in this song is mixed to another powdred stone colourant that women often use as make up. There seems to be a resultant muti from the mixture that 'stings' like *lesonya* in anyone who tries to bewitch Tebby.
[36] Many ethnic groups in Botswana have a similar relationship of cousinship.

emphasise that the gossip about witchcraft did not make sense. More participants who are non-Bangwaketse were surprised that such a song was performed in the region, although most of them had not given it any thought before the discussions.

Mongweotsile, who had played the song several times on the *segankure* and on the folk guitar (see Appendix II Track 1), had given the words a twist and I had followed that curiously. During my interview with him about the song, he had a story about it and why he had substituted some of the words. The version that he presents may be viewed as a counter-response to the popular version. This is his version as played on the folk guitar and *segankure* instruments (see Appendix II Track 2):

Bangwaketse (By Mongweotsile 2014)

Bangwe le bangwe ba nyala ka segabone mama	Everyone has their ethnic marriage custom
Bangwaketse ba nyala ka segabone mama.	Bangwaketse marry in their own way
Bakgatla ba nyala ka segabone mama	Bakgatla marry in their own way
Bakgalagadi ba nyala ka segabone mama	Bakgalagadi marry in their own way
Basarwa ba nyala ka segabone mama	Basarwa marry in their own way
Chorus: *Mme ele semanka, semanka sa baloi*	And its all witchcraft shock!
Bakgatla ba nyala ka segabone mama	Bakgatla marry in their own way
Batebele ba nyala ka segabone mama	Batebele marry in their own way
Batawana ba nyala ka segabone mama	Batawana marry in their own way
Barolong ba nyala ka segabone mama	Barolong marry in their own way

Mongweotsile shared this story with me to explain and express his views about the words of the song;

> When we prepare for a marriage ceremony there is a thing called *setimamolelo* (fire extinguisher). And that *setimamolelo* is the so called *semanka sa baloi*. You know, every people have their own customs and practices. Even if you can hear a church pastor saying that they only depend on the word, I have observed, just the other day my cousin's son was getting married and a church pastor came to pray. After prayer, a *motlhakanelwa* (shared) cow was slaughtered and an arm from the meat was reserved for the pastor. Is that not *setimamolelo*? It is! and that is the *semanka*! (Interview with Mongweotsile 13-11-2014).

Apart from replacing the words of the song, the interview above reflects Mongweotsile's views about the song. He seems to agree with people who suggest that the song was intended to ridicule a Sengwaketse practice. He hints at some of the

practices that have been viewed as witchcraft practices (*setimamolelo)* and equates them to Christian practices. He seems to suggest that the practices may differ with different people, but they all serve the same purpose, hence his version of the song. He further explained that he performs the song with his community dance group and uses the words in the same way.

The Setapa Idioms

At this point, there is not a single aspect that I can present here as the main idiom for the *setapa* music. However, there are rhythmic and melodic elements that are emphasized in the *setapa* music performances. In this chapter, I shall transcribe and discuss a few such idioms that the participants immediately recognized or pointed to as they listened to or performed the music. These idioms are combined with other elements to bring out the *setapa* feel in the performances.

Borankana rhythm

Folk ryhthm

Figure: 3.1 *Borankana* rhythmic idiom (transcribed by the author)

The *borankana* rhythm is evident in popular traditional songs such as: "Re Batswana" and "Borankana mmino wa Setswana" as well as "Marabele". The rhythm may be traced in the dance steps, the clapping pattern, often slightly altered, and evident in the song melodies. A common variation of this rhythm is often referred to as *Stibikoko.* It is a rhythm closely associated with children's music and dances. The rhythm was prominent among the elderly women who performed the *setapa* dance during the Mmakgodumo festival.

Tshasa

Figure: 3.2 *diphamphathana idiom* (transcribed by the author)

The demonstrations of this sequence suggest that it is important to perform this rhythm at a slow speed to express a marching-walking character. The rhythm is often

embedded in a continuous clapping pattern. At other times, the hand clappers may perform this pattern as the dancers match them with feet stamping to the rhythm. The rhythm is mainly associated with *setapa sa diphamphathana* (or *phathisi* as it is known in other areas), although *setapa sa dinaka* and *borankana* dances may use the rhythm.

The Setapa in recent years.

Most Bangwaketse confirmed that *setapa* continues to be practiced in places such as Mmathethe, Ga-Majaalela and Sesung[37], although I did not witness any during my fieldwork. They further explained that many of the characteristics have been shed, forgotten or abandoned. The venue has, in some cases, shifted to the villages, unlike the *masimo* venue of the past. Apart from those few places that continue to host *setapa*, the music of *setapa* has been revived in many versions and is performed on different occasions, mostly during the day, unlike the nightly recreational events of the past.

The three performances of *setapa* that I observed at the Mmakgodumo festival were all different, and they occurred at different intervals in the festival programme. One was described as; old people demonstrating the *setapa* of the olden days (see Appendix III Tracks 12 and 13), while the young learners from Tlhomo were introduced as a *setapa* dance group (in a way denoting the current version). Then the Maswailathota appeared with what is generally referred to as Botswana traditional pop music (see Appendix III Track 8). They were all in the same arena. They had similar attributes such as, the use of the language and the ululations, but they reflected aspects of comparative change and continuity, as created by the different performers.

A reference to, or display of, the past was observed when the group of elderly people from Mmathethe Village performed (see Figure 3.3). The group, that was dominated by women with only three male members, staged a free flowing performance that did not look choreographed or predetermined. I observed that before settling in as the lead singer, one woman who had been given the microphone had attempted to pass it on to the other members of the group so that they may lead the song. The microphone was eventually returned to her and she started the song. When the performance started,

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[37] These are villages and settlements surrounding Kanye who form part of the Ngwaketse district.

clapping began, then she led the song and others joined, followed by the men performing the dance. A few moments into the performance, one male dancer turned towards the lead singer in what appeared to be a protest about the speed or intensity of the music. Following that gesture, the music became more intense and the dancer performed more enthusiastically. Throughout the dance performance, the mood remained jovial and the women, often ululating at the same time, continuously interjected with short rhythmic dance movements[38] around the male dancers. The two male dancers who continued dancing throughout were performing different movements, often taking turns to watch and cheer each other briefly before attempting to outperform each other with intricate leg movements.

The inferences to the past in relation to the present are evident in the way the elderly performers were dressed. It was a group of 15 members; three men and twelve women. All the women wore blue German print skirts and *ditjale* (small blankets to cover their shoulders)*, while men were wearing formal clothes. My attention was drawn to the man who seemed to be the main dancer. He was wearing a two piece grey suit and cream white shirt with formal dress shoes. He tied rattles on one leg. The man's attire told a story about bringing the past and the present together. During the performance none of the audience members around me commented on the attire, which suggests the subtlety of change in people's view. Except for the rattles, the female dancers' dresses are the kind that the elderly people wear to official or traditional ceremonies. The rattle was a musical instrument to accompany the dance, but it was used to place a "traditional signature" on the dance and to act as a person's transition from being a member of the audience to a performer, in uniform with other performers. When I asked people about the man's attire, the responses showed that the audience did not think there was anything wrong. However, it appeared that the audience members would have preferred that he at least removed the jacket as it hung too loosely as he danced.

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[38] They interjected with versions of *borankana, konkomi* often resulting in *mochikiso* by male counterparts.

Figure: 3.3 The elders demonstrating *setapa* performance (2014). *Photo by G. Mojaki*

During the performance, members of the audience continuously commented on the different aspects of the performances, often evaluating how much agility the elderly people still had to perform some of the movements. The comment that captured my attention the most was about the song accompanying the dance. One member of the audience laughed and said, "listen to that song, it has not changed or given any message since they started". I had noticed that the lead singer had performed a vocal repeated pattern with meaningless syllables throughout. I addressed the issue with Mongweotsile and a few village elders who had participated in *setapa* in the past. They all agreed that the lead singer was performing well, but lacked a good choir. According to their explanations, the woman singer had provided the basic pattern on which other members of the group had to build their melodies to demonstrate their good singing skills. The participants all agreed that there was no *poo ya pina* (master of song) in the group to match the basic pattern.

The music from the *setapa* event of the past has been reconstructed in schools and other community groups in an effort to promote the music as one symbol of Sengwaketse and, most recently, Setswana practices. The next *setapa* performance was by the young learners from Tlhomo Junior Secondary school in Kanye (see Figure 3.4 below and Appendix III Track 14)). The learners walked in file towards the arena for the performance, clapping and singing a song that has popularly been performed as part of traditional choir music *(selemela)*. They were wearing clothes

made of animal skins; boys wearing *metseto* (napkin-like shorts made of animal skin) and remained bare on the upper bodies. The girls were wearing attire made of two pieces of aprons for the skirt and a mini top. Most of the group members wore leg rattles and a few had decorative items on their heads, hands and around their necks. One noticeable difference between this group and that of the group of elders who performed earlier was the attire. Some informants explained that there was no attire specifically used for attending the *setapa* event in the past, but people wore their everyday clothes at the event. The male elders had performed in their suits that they had worn to the event and women had not removed their *tjale* either. The young dancers were wearing an agreed upon 'authentic Setswana dance attire' that is used across Botswana, which they would not wear outside a performance. After finding their positions in the arena, they started singing a song with a few phrases about *behavioural change.* The song started in unison before one of them took the lead part as they started clapping and dancing. The song that they performed on the stage is called *thulamela.* It uses a phrase, (*thulamela selonyana),* that is used often in *setapa* songs and is interpreted in different ways by different audiences.

The performance of the school group of dancers and singers looked choreographed and rehearsed for uniformity. Though harmonised with more voice parts, their song still maintained the repetitive structure of the melody. The male dancers took time doing different choreographed dance sequences before those movements were punctuated by female performers with brief dance sequences and ululation. The movements of the feet and legs resembled those observed in the performance by the elders, only differing in speed, agility and flexibility. This kind of performance further explains the challenges of a revitalisation process because, for the team and the coach, it required a sacrifice of time and a space to choreograph for the rehearsals.

Figure: 3.4 Tlhomo School traditional dance group (2014). Photo: G. Mojaki

The third *setapa* group to perform at the festival was Maswailathota (see figure 3.5 below). They performed what is generally referred to as Botswana traditional pop music. The group is made up of five male members who are all from Kanye and live there. I had earlier talked to them when they were promoting their CD which had recently been released. My first impression of them was that they were a group of *Phathisi*[39] performers because of their attire. However, I found out later in their performance, that they perform different types of traditional music; *dikhwaere, setapa* and *phathisi.* They were wearing the *phathisi* attire or *diphamphathana* because they had decided to perform one of their *phathisi* songs at the festival. Their performance occurred at lunch time when most people had gone to buy food at the surrounding stalls and others had moved to the shade under the trees. The group performed their dances to music from their CD playing on a radio. As soon as the song began the people moved closer to watch the performance, while others danced on the sides. I observed how the audience enjoyed the music and never suggested that it was not part of the Sengwaketse cultural practice because of the instrumentation. The performance, unlike the other two, aims for a consumer market that has to buy the product or pay for the entertainment in some way. The financial cost is clearly pronounced, although other cost implications are embedded.

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[39] See the article: '*The Phathisi dance of Botswana: decoding the meanings in the traditional performances of a dance.*" by (Mojaki 2014)

Figure: 3.5 The Maswailathota group performance (2014). Photo: G Mojaki

From observations, it seems that, of recent, the term *setapa* denotes the dance rather than an event. This is mainly because the music that is adopted from the *setapa* event is currently used at events such as prize giving ceremonies at schools and other official gatherings. Most of the times the dancers are school going children and community groups who rehearse and choreograph the dance for each performance that they are invited. Although songs use the traditional music idiom from the past, the words are re-contextualised to describe the current lifestyle of the people. The themes that are set for the events often influence the content of the songs.

As described by Itshepeng, the *setapa* event was a communal music making event and a performance where people sang together and participated freely. However, in recent years, the groups perform for an audience who mainly sit and watch during official gatherings, except for a few ululations from some members of the audience (ululation would have been a symbol of interaction and celebration where the ululator was able to move towards the performers and display her joy). The changes have resulted in groups bringing an appointed person to ululate for them as part of the dance rather than a spontaneous celebration of a good moment in the performance. However, groups seem to appreciate it when members of the audience ululate although some members of the audience often complain of obstruction and disturbance from the ululator. In some instances, the appointed ululator of the group could be jeered for a bad skill, obstruction of a good dancer or the frequency of the ululation.

The confrontational songs have generally been abandoned in public performances, but a similar mood of these may be depicted by a good singer. In recent years a dance uniform has become obligatory and almost prescriptive. The issue of traditional dance attire does not go without controversy. The different members of the community have been led to discussions about the functions of different pieces of the attire from the past.

The Tantshe Event

According to discussions, *tantshe* is newer than *setapa* and it depended on gramophones rather than live music. This seems to have been a coordinated event that had an organiser who had to have basic equipment like the gramophone and records to play. The two dances for this event are *Modikano* (a form of couple dancing) and *Mosakaso* (intricate rhythmic leg movement). As Itshepeng explained, the *tantshe* has expanded and become more public these days as people attend road shows, talent shows, music festivals and other related events. The tone he used when he explained that he used to be regular at *tantshe* events suggested that it must have been a space for young people to interact through music. The participants generally described *tantshe* as a participatory, but competitive dance where men went to demonstrate their dancing abilities. I had a conversation with Kabelo, a middle aged man, who informed me that he was a good dancer in his youth. He explained how he used to dance until dawn. He mentioned a few names and said he was the best dancer compared to all of them. From his narration, one thing that captured my attention was the way he kept snapping his fingers as he punctuated his speech with a mimicked demonstration of the beats. When I asked about the finger snapping he told a story which made me understand why the other participants had pointed me to him when I asked about *tantshe*. He began;

> You know, during *tantshe* you have to be good at dancing and snapping your fingers like this… and you have to be a dancer that can capture and retain people's attention. If you are not good, it is difficult to get the attention at all, (with a smile he added) especially from the females! Finger snapping is easy for me, but no one can finger-snap continuously for a long time, so I learnt how to produce the same sound with a clothing peg that I kept concealed at all the times. I got all the attention and was popular for the most continuous and lengthy finger snapping. (He asked for a clothes peg and demonstrated how he

used to produce the sound). (Interview with Kabelo on 29th November 2014)

Another observation made from the information about *tantshe* is that memories of the past are being narrated in the current situation and in the current vocabulary. As a result, some words and events are often likened to others, even if the comparison is inaccurate. Memories of more recent events have blurred older memories and attempts at recalling the past often takes a shorter route to liken events. For instance, Itshepeng's description of the *tantshe* event was a single statement that "it is like this Polka dance (see Appendix III Track 10) that they do nowadays". In further discussions with him and a few other participants it became evident that the two dances (*tantshe and Polka)* are only similar in function but different in the way they are performed[40].

The Khonsata Event

While *setapa* appears to have been age restrictive, other musical events such as the *khonsata[41]* were open. Following the story of the Royal Choristers, I established another musical event that seems to have gone into oblivion, *khonsata.* This discussion about the *khonsata* emphasizes some of the challenges that money may add to the performance of music and possibly to the revitalisation of the music. Although Phibion (2012) and most participants suggest the need to use monetary incentives, the use of money may have its benefits and disadvantages. The *khonsata* event seems to be obsolete or it may be appearing in a completely different version. Lesedi (a music enthusiast who seemed in her late 30s) described her experiences with the *khonsata* and said;

> It was a common event when I was still at primary school. Clubs in the school hosted *dikhonsata* (many concerts) at different times in order to raise funds. The teacher patron of the club would write out adverts and post them around the school and then announce at assembly several times to invite people. On the day of the *Khonsata*, some volunteer learners would help to clean and prepare the performance room. (Interview with Lesedi on 16th August 2014).

She remembered how she used to volunteer in order to obtain free entry to the *khonsata*. The volunteers were expected to sweep, mop and arrange chairs in the room while others covered the window panes with papers. The doorkeeper was usually a

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[40] Other participants argued that Polka dance could be classified as one of the dances that occurred at the *tantshe.*

[41] The word is a distorted version of the English term; Concert.

strong person who was able to keep the door closed and only open it for those who have paid, after obtaining a mark on their arm. The mark had to be unique so that none of the attendants could reproduce it. The common mark was made with a rubber ink stamp. Lesedi remembered how some students used to wet the mark a bit in order to pass it on to their friends. The challenges that the organizers faced often resulting in a loss of profit included the need to have the security at the entrance, separating those who paid and those who had not as well as the unforeseen circumstances such as cheating the system. After listening to Lesedi's experience of a *khonsata*, I was able to consult other people about the music performances. They seemed to agree that *khonsata was a* fundraising event, hosted in community halls where admission was paid, although the admission fee had to be affordable to most people in the community where the event was held.

The initial performance during a *khonsata* was that each group would perform their best songs before 'buying' (*go reka)* begins, then the director would announce that 'buying' could start. The word 'buying' refers to the exchange of money for a preferred performance by the members of the audience. *Khonsata* was a live performance of music with an interactive audience that selected the repertoire for the event. The venue had to have a bowl for coins on a table and a director of the event who stopped performances each time when "buying" occurred. Cheering, ululation, face wiping and other expressions of affections were common with the audience members. The setting is in many ways similar to what Erlmann (1996) observed with the reactions of the audiences in *isicathamiya* performances. The people 'bought' could however be bought out if unwanted or being an obstruction, or out of jealousy and boredom. A performer or an audience member could be bought by an admirer or a naughty friend to sit or stand in front of the choir.

It seems that the power of money was evident when the members of the audience determined their performance preferences as well as their favourite members of each group. Although most participants argued in favour of monetary incentives for performances, in this event, they lament the negative impact that money has had on the event and how it could have caused the *Khonsata* to fade away. The participants recalled moments when the members of the audience chose to 'buy in' a certain performer because they knew her from somewhere. Some members of the audience

could contribute to outwit a 'buy' that they did not want. Often the performers tried to do group contributions to protect each other in the group if one of them was made to perform a part they knew he would not be able to sing. At other times the performing group would buy out a member of the audience who was bought to join the choir and lead their song. At other times the buyer could 'buy' a chance to either sing or dance along or to hold hands and dance with a performer that they liked or admired. Lesedi explained that in some concerts people have bought others to do funny things or even tried to send them home during the *khonsata*.

Lesedi explained that, with time, some members of the audience started buying with large amounts of money, such as 20 pula, often targeting the end of the *khonsata* when they noticed that a few people had money left to buy. The people who became victims of such choices would either refrain from buying at all or eventually avoid future *khonsata*. The participants recalled an audience member who had once 'bought' dismissal of the *khonsata* with a 10 pula note. The participants said that although that was a sad moment, people had no choice but to go because they had run out of cash and there was no buying on credit during *khonsata*. The *khonsata* event may benefit revitalisation efforts for younger children in schools. The main features of the *khonsata*; gate-takings, and the process of 'buying', may be recycled into the revitalisation process as incentives for the performers.

The Dikhwaere Event: Social and musical consonance amidst competition

Dikhwaere has been a part of Ngwaketse for a long time, although there seems to be limited documentation on the subject. *Dikhwaere* is a Setswana term used for traditional choirs. The music is mainly responsorial and often polyphonic. The singing is mostly performed in open voice while the dance movements are choreographed and synchronized. The music does not use any instrumentation except for the whistle that is used extensively. *Dikhwaere* music is used in different celebrations and has formed the basis of events like the *khonsata* (mentioned earlier in the chapter) and in traditional ceremonies such as weddings. Some Bangwaketse refer to the event as *dikhwaere tsa khirisemose (*Christmas choirs) because they were commonly heard during times of Christmas and Independence Day celebrations. The performance of *dikhwaere* is popular as many choirs are being formed and more audiences attend the

performances. The performances have gone through changes that are mainly defined by social developments.

Figure 3. 6 A *Khwaere* during the Mmakgodumo Festival (2014). Photo by O. Mojaki

Dikhwaere performances reveal how the people of Ngwaketse are motivated by intangible and material incentives to continue creating and performing music. The intangible incentives include public acknowledgement of excellence, popularity and praise while tangible incentives are in material forms such as money and other tokens. *Dikhwaere* is an event of musical unity that motivates solidarity among performers during group rehearsal and in performance. The *dikhwaere* performance sometimes attracts monetary rewards because it is a highly competitive musical performance. *Dikhwaere* are not only found in Ngwaketse but around Botswana in different variations.

A reflection on the performances of *dikhwaere* suggests that effective revitalisation and the continuity of music requires social and musical consonance. There is a need for individual expertise, group effort and sometimes uniformity to make the performance effective. According to participants in this research, *Dikhwaere* performances require levels of discipline and performance skills. Exploring this idea further, I followed a performance by the *Ditshephe choir, which* performed during the Mmakgodumo festival. It was a choir comprised of youthful members all wearing uniforms (*paka*). The women were wearing blue skirts, white t-shirts and black shoes while men wore black trousers and shoes with white t-shirts. The choreographed

dances that they performed seemed rehearsed and uniform. The choir performed a call and response song that was led by a male voice while other voices harmonised in response. The voice of the soloist was often harmonised by two other voices. According to one member of the choir, the rehearsals take place in the evenings most days of the week. From my knowledge of the genre as a Motswana and as I further found, from the workshops held for the teachers, *paka (*uniform) is an important aspect of the *dikhwaere* performance. Choirs compose and sing about their tailor/designer and about their uniform. A performance that was based on the uniforms for the choirs occurred when one of the choirs performed the following confrontational song during the Mmakgodumo festival:"Tsamaelang koo!" (By Kanye - Kgatleng ward representatives at the Mmakgodumo festival 2014)

Di a tshwana! (lead)	They are the same!
Di tshwana hela mama (one choir)	they are the same indeed
Tsamaelang koo (the other choir)	get out of here
Ke gore ya lona e lesetlhana	it is just that yours has some trimming

The song is a confrontation between two choirs. One choir is exclaiming that the uniforms for the two choirs are the same while the other mocks the comment, but confirms that the uniforms are the same, apart from the trimmings on the uniform of the opponent. The song is started by a solo voice, then choir one and two (or two sections of the same choir perform the two different phrases indicated above, together). This creates tension in the music as well.

There are elements that decide the winner when the choirs 'clash' in a performance in the Ngwaketse region, as in other regions of Botswana. The most important of these are; a choir that is in uniform, which can sing with relatively the same amount of energy throughout the night, and one that has a large repertoire. These aforementioned elements define a potential winner. Therefore a choir lacking in one of those aspects faces the risk of losing. Seemingly, the participatory and yet competitive approach to *dikhwaere* music may benefit the revitalisation of music from the past through the assimilation of elements such as group work and competition. The competition during *dikhwaere* performances is an intangible incentive that motivates performance; the different choirs work hard to be popular with audiences and to retain the championship title.

Wedding music: incentives aiding music revitalisation.

The wedding celebration extensively uses the music of *dikhwaere* (see Appendix II Track 3) although there is ceremonial music (*dikoma*) used during the initial stages of the wedding. As in other places in Botswana, the wedding ceremony in Ngwaketse is a long process that involves extensive negotiations and an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and that of the bridegroom. Observations suggest that the traditional wedding ceremony is among the few that Bangwaketse continue to perform with the purpose of displaying the 'authentic' Sengwaketse practice as maintained from the past. However, the celebration part of the ceremony has begun to adopt new elements that have replaced some aspects of the practices of the past. In a discussion with some participants in Kanye, I established that there are initial stages in the ceremony that are based on old practices which the youth call *tiro ya bagolo* (the elder's ceremonial duties) and the other part is known as *mokete* (celebration or party). To both the youth and the elderly, the initial stages are important and viewed as *lenyalo* (the marriage). Within the initial stage of the marriage ceremony there are many sub-stages that build up to the celebration. The celebration or party is usually left to the discretion of the couple to decide how they want to organise it. However, even during the party the elderly have some expectations. In the lengthy process that ends in a party, music is used extensively for different purposes throughout.

As mentioned earlier, the Ngwaketse wedding ceremony, as in other regions of Botswana, is a process that has clearly defined stages. Some of the stages are further subdivided. The people engage in song within these stages and sub-stages as an expression of spiritual agreement that only music can convey. The music is used for different functions, such as; counselling, celebration, remarks or opinions, among many others.

Therefore, some performances or displays of the traditional music, such as *dikhwaere* (see Appendix III Track 5)*,* are revived to display an 'identity' or a sense of belonging or to follow the traditional ways of doing things, to avoid bad omens. It seems that the music performed during the different stages of a traditional wedding is motivated by a particular purpose; following the traditional practice, a purposive display of 'identity' or for celebratory purpose.

Traditional instruments: The thin line between tangible and intangible incentives.

During the Mmakgodumo festival the traditional instruments that I saw were; the folk guitar (known as the four string guitar) and the *segankure*[42]. The *segankure* instrument, called *segaba*, is a bowed instrument with a single string attached to a carved piece of wood. It is usually resonated with a used 5 litre oil can. The *segankure* is not only found in Ngwaketse, but in most parts of Botswana. The *segankure* (*segaba*) seems to be the most documented of all the traditional instruments of Botswana. It is discussed by Wood (1980 and 1985), Brearley (1989 and1996) and in Schopf (2008), who makes specific reference to the Batlokwa *segankure*. A more insider's view is found in Phuthego's two articles (1999, 2006). Phuthego presents a full discussion about the *segankure* instrument; from manufacture to performance, although his research was not based in the Ngwaketse region. Most of what he describes agrees with data collected during fieldwork.

At the Mmakgodumo festival, the different folk musicians walked around carrying their instruments while others found secluded places to sit and play their instrument. Apart from the prologue (described in Chapter 2) to the Mmakgodumo event by Mongweotsile, the player of the *segankure*, the programme did not give the instrument players more time because there were too many activities on that day. Perhaps this is understandable, as Mongweotsile explained, that the instrument was played in isolation in the past and it was never performed for the crowds. However, different forms of incentives have resulted in the revitalisation of the *segaba* music and therefore the instrument has been adapted to places where it was never seen before.

The study of the context in which the folk instruments are performed in recent times suggests that both the tangible and intangible incentives may be regarded as a medium required to link repatriation of sound recordings with an effective revitalisation process. Additionally, data collected during the fieldwork proves that intangible incentives such as patriotism and solidarity are not as valuable as material incentives in revitalising music that is being practiced by the community or that which comes

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[42] I use the name *segankure* because it is the name used in the Ngwaketse region to refer to the *Segaba* instrument.

from the archives. The material incentives are consumables and short-lived, they need renewal and renegotiation. However, the modern lifestyle nurtures the material behaviour and does not provide much for the solidarity aspects of the community. The lifestyle requires that the people should make money and earn a living. Although attitudes to heritage continue to inspire an element of solidarity in performance, the need for money defines how people interact with the music heritage. The monetary incentives which may be in the form of wages, tokens, or awards, appear to be incentives that are required at the stage of development where artists are being inspired to start projects.

Inspiration to revitalise or to perform music may be derived from a role model or from a sense of belonging and then motivated by possible incentives. The performers, who are established, require incentives to motivate them to improve their products. I observed the benefits of a little incentive during the Mmakgodumo festival when I spent time with Seatla Tshimologo, a folk guitarist. He had decided to sit alone and "talk to his friend" (this is the way he referred to his instrument). When we (I was with my five year old son) approached him, he smiled and kept playing. After playing that song he greeted us and started another song about 'preserving heritage that is slowly fading away'. As a Motswana who has heard folk guitar music in different forums I did not think that the song flowed well with the traditional style of playing because the message was almost imposed. However, I watched him perform until the end of the song. I offered him a coin that I placed next to his shoe, as this is what is often done to show appreciation. As I was about to leave, he started playing a popular local hymn. His playing of the hymn was more appealing and a few other people were attracted to the performance.

Figure 3.7 Seatla Tshimologo and his guitar (Mmakgodumo Festival 2014). Photo: O. Mojaki

As Tshimologo's audience increased in number and gestures of appreciation, the audience added more coins. He kept playing the song and the performance became brighter and more cheerful. My five year old son was smiling the whole time and standing much closer to the guitarist. When Tshimologo finished playing the hymn, he took time to talk to the little boy. After that short conversation, the guitarist then played a long medley of children's songs on the guitar and encouraged the children to sing along with him. The observation demonstrates that relatively insignificant or small incentives, such as coins and an audience, may motivate and define performance. However, it is highly unlikely that a similar token would motivate performance in another context. The variance of responses to the size of the incentive suggests custom-made incentives to motivate revitalisation at different levels.

In addition to the effect of the intangible and tangible incentives of attracting an audience and receiving a token of appreciation, the few minutes we spent listening to the performance further emphasised the flexibility of the folk guitarist in catering for different interests and audiences, as well as sounding relevant to various audiences. During my short conversation with Tshimologo, he kept referring to the guitar as his friend who could drive loneliness away and one that can make money for him during competitions. The guitar he was playing appeared old and the nylon strings were not in good shape. He used a guitar that only had four strings, a common occurrence among most folk guitarists in Botswana.

When I visited Mongweotsile at his house on a different day, I was surprised to find him playing the folk guitar, since I had only known him as a *segankure* player. I talked to him about the guitar and why his instrument had more than four strings as I had seen many others do. He explained that he plays both folk and contemporary music on the guitar so he kept all the strings for when they are required. His response explains the breadth of the folk music practice which is sometimes mistakenly homogenized. Both Tshimologo and Mongweotsile managed to combine the bass line or chords with the melody during their performances. It seems, from these two players, that the peak of a performance is in how the performer manages to make the guitar "talk". This is when they use the bass line to imitate some of the vocal melodic lines. Mongweotsile performed some of the songs that I had heard him play on the *segankure*, in addition to some new ones. It appears that the content of the music is defined by the themes that are set for different events. Most of the artists around Botswana have been experimenting with the themes used for the national folklore competitions[43]. This partly explains why, similar to Tshimologo's performance, Mongweotsile performed a song based on the theme for preservation of heritage, and then he played a hymn among other songs. As I was settling into the idea that Mongweotsile is a folk guitarist, he said "you know, I used to play the guitar very well, but now my heart is with the *segankure*".

While the music performances are greatly influenced by the need for material incentives and partly by intangible incentives, a few traditional music performers are inspired by their childhood experiences and have learnt to create new music or use the old one through exploration of the traditional idiom. To elaborate on this point, Mongweotsile shared his memories about the *segankure* music and his previous performances. He remembered how he had wanted to learn how to play the instrument from his father at an early age, but was too shy to learn openly. He was shy because, at the time, people viewed *segankure* as an instrument for the boys who herd cattle in the bush. Mongweotsile further explained that, being a herd boy for cattle was not a form of pride during his childhood years.

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[43] These subthemes are derived from the main one from the National Department of arts and culture; "Towards artistic excellence by 2016".

When Mongweotsile's father moved to the cattle post at different times in the year, the young Mongweotsile always volunteered to accompany his father in order to have a chance to play the *segankure*. Initially, he would play the instrument and try to reproduce the sounds he had heard from his father. Unfortunately, as he explained, it was not easy;

> My father used to loosen the string on the instrument when he would not be using it for some time and I did not know that he did. Each time I tried to play the instrument, the sound would be unpleasant. All this time I would then make a failed attempt to tune the instrument and my father would always find out that somebody had been playing with his instrument. (Interview with Mongweotsile on 19/11/2014).

After a while, Mongweotsile decided to tell his father that he was interested in learning how to play the instrument and admitted to using the instrument in his father's absence. This experience and confession by the young enthusiast suggests that revitalisation processes may benefit from self motivation and the interest of the performer.

Mongweotsile's father eventually made a *segankure* for his son and showed him how to tune it and taught him the basics of playing the instrument. Mongweotsile explained that he was excited with his instrument and started learning one of his favourite songs from his father's repertoire. His father's comment about learning other people's repertoire suggests that music revitalisation has to encourage unique and new productions rather than 'freezing' musical moments through memorized repetition. As Mongweotsile excitedly demonstrated that he had learned and mastered the song, his father said "You cannot celebrate that because it is not an achievement. You should create and master your own songs that are different from those of other people before you can celebrate". This was probably his defining moment as a *segankure* player because he says that was the time when he started composing and playing his own songs or arranging versions of known songs to his style of playing.

Having discussed the possible approaches to revival that may be used to motivate further revival of the traditional music, there are other forms of music that seem to have gained people's interest well enough to be revitalised effectively. In the following section, the three forms of music; *ditlhaka* music, children's music and

work songs, are discussed in view of the challenges that have possibly hampered their effective revitalisation.

Ditlhaka (reed pipes) music: an unclaimed heritage.

Throughout the fieldwork experience, it appeared that the Bangwaketse people did not need to know the songs from the archive in order to relate to the recordings. However, in order to return music that falls within the category of forgotten or unknown songs and aid revitalisation, more time is required for the people to interact with the sound and attempt to verify the songs as part of their music heritage. This was demonstrated by the reception of the *ditlhaka (*reed pipes) music. Two *ditlhaka* traditional instrumental songs are heard on recordings made by Tracey in the Ngwaketse region; "Maomosa rekaeleng" (TR108 A.6) and "Mabalane kgosi ra bokome" (TR108 A.7).

The current generation of Bangwaketse does not remember the instruments played in Kanye, by Bangwaketse, but rather point them to neighbouring districts where the *ditlhaka* music has recently been revived. There is no research available on the *ditlhaka* music of Bangwaketse. However, Ballantine (1965) extensively discussed the music of the Tswana reed pipes and Phibion (2012, 2013) has recently written articles on the *ditlhaka* music of the Batlokwa and the Balete. In his notes Hugh Tracey describes the performance on the *ditlhaka* instruments. Tracey explained that the instruments "were very old pipes and the tuning was clearly awry, the old players being unable to tune them accurately" (1973, 239). The observation made by Tracey and the way participants showed little knowledge of the songs is evidence that the *ditlhaka* is one instrument that has faded away with time. However, if desired by the community, the *ditlhaka* instrumental music may be revived through Hugh Tracey's recordings.

Ditlhaka are reed pipes played by men moving in a circle and hocketting the rhythmic and pitch patterns with their entry points to produce a coherent melody as described by Ballantine (1965). The two *ditlhaka* instrumental recordings from ILAM were received with questions. It appears that some of the music from the archive might be beyond the memory of the people (long forgotten, even before recent generations heard about it). The forgotten memory might be due to the way the informants

respond to researchers during fieldwork. It appears that the participants do not only present music of their time but they explore their memories and recall more songs from the past. During the time of recollection and reconstruction, it seems that participants make an effort to retrieve songs from the forgotten past. This, in a way, suggests that 'authenticity' is justified by how long in the past the song was performed. However, even with the effort to reach far back in history, some memories remain inaccessible to the present generation if the memories are not recalled by the elderly members of the community.

Children's music: the missing link for music revitalisation.

Young and school going children are an important part of music revitalisation. They have their own range of repertoires. They learn about the past and its music from their elders at home and in school while they interact and listen to the music as it is performed in the community. As witnessed through the recollections of the Dinake, Abotsen and Morapane families, and those of the general public in Kanye, the children are a historical repository that may contribute effectively to the process of music revitalisation. In my observation of the existing recordings and the public displays of Sengwaketse 'culture', children seem to have fewer opportunities to perform their music in public because they are always sent far away from the elders to curb the noise. Sending the children far away from the elders should not be a reason to ignore the fact that, children exist as part of the community, even musically. The trend of silencing the children seems to have been carried through to the events, such as the Mmakgodumo festival, which aim to revive traditional practices.

There is, without a doubt, a major influence of television and other forms of recreation that has taken over children's playtime. However, in Kanye, most children are still seen in front of their family homes playing with one another and often singing together. Only time will tell how long that kind of play will last judging by how fast life is changing in the community of Ngwaketse. During the Mmakgodumo festival, I observed that there were not many representations of childhood games displayed, except for the skipping rope game that was performed by adults as a demonstration and without the music that usually accompanied the skipping games. It probably was a similar situation during Tracey's recording because, the few times when the children are heard in the recordings, they are under the guidance of an elder, while in natural

contexts children play without the elders directing. Although childhood play may be underestimated in such events, it is one effective way of transmitting practices and instilling them in young minds. As random and noisy as the children's play may seem, learning and sharing takes place in a free environment that is conducive to learning. It is necessary that organizers of events such as the Mmakgodumo festival should remember that a traditional community has children, as stakeholders, who have to be part of the community events.

The music of the children that is discussed in this section provides lifelong lessons that the children learn from playing with one another and they take these into adulthood. However, the interpretation of the songs is as subjective as the adult songs discussed in Chapter 2. The meaning of the words in the songs and games is adaptable to different settings. Although I did not have a chance to watch any group of Ngwaketse children play these games, the participants in this research remembered the songs and games from their childhood and explained how they were played. Most of these games can be heard in the mornings before lessons start in most pre-schools in the village. However, even with such a good initiative to teach and let the children perform traditional games and songs at an early age, are challenges related to "the English-medium code" in most preschools. The children end up learning music from outside Botswana that has become easily accessible to their teachers through the internet. The Information Technology (IT) initiatives such as these could benefit the traditional songs of Bangwaketse children. The Sengwaketse traditional songs may be collected and be available in the internet for ease of access by the teachers.

Most of the games that I use in this section were recalled and performed by the teachers during the training workshops mentioned in earlier chapters. During the workshops there were many childhood games retrieved from memory as well as by the elderly informants in Kanye. To explicate on the relevance of reviving music of the children, I discuss some of the children's play songs which I relate to the communal life of the people. The purpose of this discussion is to investigate some of the ways in which the children learn social skills through their childhood songs to justify the need to have the childhood songs recorded and revived.

Some games recalled are evidence that the children, similar to the adult world, pray for and celebrate the rain. Similar to earlier discussions where adults have songs to

pray for rain and to celebrate it, here are two games from the children's repertoire that present their contribution to that communal effort. I view the first song as a prayer.

Pula e ka na ka marothodi (It would rain)

Ha legodimo le ka bulega	If heaven was to open
Pula e ka na ka marothodi!	The rain would pour down heavy droplets

The children make reference to heaven and thus reflect an element of prayer. The statement presents a wishful longing for the possibility that heaven could open and let the rain fall. Although this is performed as a game where children run around the neighbourhood singing, it complements the manner in which elders gather to pray for rain as explained elsewhere in this chapter as part of *dikgafela* ceremony. The next game is a celebration that children perform when it starts raining. According to the participants, it was a song performed by young children when the rains began. The children would stand outside in the rain and sing the song, jumping and clapping in celebration of the rain.

Pula nkgodisa (Rain make me grow taller)

Pula nkokodi, pula nkokodi,	rain is coming! rain is coming!
Pula nkgodisa	rain, make me grow taller
ke tlaa gola leng	when will I grow taller?

The song above is a children's rain song. In the song, the children hold a conversation with the rain. The word *nkokodi* was used by children around Botswana in celebrating the arrival of their parents or guardians at home. In this song, it is therefore used in a similar context to show how excited and happy the children are to receive rainfall. The children seem to suggest that the rain will let them grow as it does with plants and they ask when they will grow taller. This conversation further illustrates the communal understanding of the effects of rainfall in the people's lives. Apart from sharing sentiments with the adult world the children are a historical bank that may internalise, interpret and mimic the lives of the people. One of the children's songs that were recorded by Hugh Tracey, (TR 109 A.1) contains historical content about the economic developments of the community.

Re tswa ko Tlhabane

Re tswa ko Tlhabane	We are from Tlhabane
Re bapatsa dilo,	we are selling some goods

O a bona rea rekisa	you see, we are selling!
O a bona ra bapatsa	You see we are advertising!

This is one of the few children's songs that Tracey recorded in Ngwaketse region, TR 109 (A.1). It is a game song where the children sit facing one another and play with stones. The stones are moved from one hole to the next one. A player who cannot keep the pace of the game often fails to move all stones in time and is therefore eliminated. This kind of play teaches the children about trade with the suggestion of selling and advertising in the words of the song. Tracey further states that "the girls knelt down in a circle passing stones from side to side to imitate the passing to and fro of goods over the counter" (1973, 240). The children learn how to promote and take goods to the consumers so that they may be bought while they keep a stock of goods. The next song may be interpreted as a moral lesson for the child that is presented through a story song.

Title: *Ba mmolaile* (they have killed him)

Sannanapo, Sannanapo,	*Sannanapo, Sannanapo,*
ba mmolaile sannanapo,	they killed Sannanapo
ba mpha lesapo sannapo,	gave me a bone, Sannanapo,
bare ke leje, sannanapo,	said I should eat it
nna ka le gana, sannanapo,	I refused, Sannanapo
ga ke je motho, sannanapo,	I do not eat human flesh, Sannanapo
ele mongwake, sannanapo,	of my owner, Sannanapo
Thebe sa Kgosi sannanapo.	Heir to the chieftaincy, Sannanapo

This is a song performed as part of a folk tale, as narrated in the article by (Tracey 1973; Rapoo 2011). Tracey recorded the story song (TR 114 A.2) at Motswedi in Zeerust (1973, 254). The singer in the story is a dog whose owner was betrayed and killed by people he had trusted as they proceeded into a bush. The dog had followed and watched helplessly as they planned and eventually killed its owner, *Sannanapo,* who was the chief's son. The dog in the story is believed to have run to the chief and sung that song to report the incident. Some of the participants emphasised the moral of the story during the discussions. Rapoo describes the importance of the story from a theatrical and performance perspective and describes it as "a story that has been used to address the issues of loss, trauma, cultural memory and collective healing" (2011, 133). During the teachers' discussions, some pointed out that killing a person would never remain a secret as information always came out through unexpected

means. Some pointed out the importance of having a dog as a pet as it becomes a loyal friend, while others scrutinized the behaviour of the dog in that story and concluded that it represents the good character that the children could look up to even in situations when they have no power over what is taking place. Other games emphasise childhood play and interaction that involves physical activity and brain development, as in the following song;

Mo itlhophele

Mo itlhophele re mmone tsotsi, Choose yours *tsotsi* so we see who it is!
tsotsi o rata mang wee tsotsi   Who do you like *tsotsi*?

This is a game for a group that requires a larger number of children to form a wide circle. Then one of the children, called a 'filler', walks around the circle in rhythm to the song, clapping and singing with the group. The walk is probably the influence behind the name *tsotsi* being used in the game. The player should have a bouncy walk and be secretive about who they are going to choose from the group. The individual has to perform a unique dance move, briefly in the centre of the circle, before continuing with the rhythmic walk to tap the next person to enter the centre of the circle. One teacher remembered how he used to silently wish that he is never picked because he was afraid of dancing in front of other people. Apart from building self confidence by performing in front of the group it improves coordination and rhythmic mobility.

During the sessions at the workshops, the teachers remembered that, in this game, the criteria for tapping the next person began randomly at the start of the game, but became more limited because no one could be tapped twice before everybody had performed. If by mistake the dancer tapped somebody who had already performed, the player had to perform again before making another attempt to tap the next person. This meant that there was a level of concentration expected, even if there were many people in the circle. The game started friendships that survived beyond playtime because the choices encouraged the different players to know more about one another. As the children are involved in physical activity, they further play games that introduce the challenges of life through their music. The next game is a reflection of how children learn to negotiate relationships with one another during playtime.

Morethe!

Hao! Hao! Hao sa mo rethe	If, If, If you do not hit that one
O tlaa sala	it is your loss!

This one is a skipping rhyme. Two players hold the skipping rope at both ends and the third goes in to skip in time with the rhyme sung by all the performers. Those waiting to skip have to wait in the line for their turn to "hit" the one skipping and then start jumping as well. As each player enters, she attempts to kick the current one out, who escapes in time to avoid the kick. The game is a physical exercise that involves agility and precise timing by all the performers in order to coordinate the action well. In a playful manner, the children learn about the concept of survival of the fittest. Although there are skipping games that may be performed by one player, this one requires at least four players; two on the rope, and two skipping, one after the other. Another skipping rhyme that was demonstrated by the participants mirrors the work songs of the adults, but further brings attention to childlike aspects such as fear of lonely places and ghosts.

Maloba ke ile kgonnye,	The other day while I went to collect firewood
ka bona sepoko,	I saw a ghost
sa nthaya sa re o tswa kae,	it asked me where I was coming from
ke tswa kgonnye,	I said I was from fetching firewood
kgonnye kae, ko motlhabaneng!	Firewood from where, from *motlhabaneng*!
Sepokopoko sa nthaya sare o tswa kae,	A real ghost asked me where I came from
ke tswa kgonnye,	I said I was from fetching firewood
kgonnye kae, ko motlhabaneng!	Firewood from where, from *motlhabaneng*!

This skipping rhyme may be played by one player holding the rope and skipping, but is more commonly played by at least three players. The discussions I held with the teachers about this game suggest that this is a children's game that helps them deal with their fear of ghosts as well as fear of going into the bush to collect firewood. The story starts as a relaxed narrative of the encounter, but is then repeated at a faster tempo and keeps accelerating in the subsequent repeats. This game generates a feeling of each player's self-expression of the fear and how fast they would try to get away from the ghost.

A conscious effort to recover and revitalise the children's music is necessary because it may benefit schools where they teach young children. Another argument that music of the children is fading away suggests that, the school curriculum should make an

ongoing effort to teach and practice children's music with the children at the different age levels. The effort will guard against possible problems; imposing historical content on different generation, not recognizing that music changes with every generation and completely replacing music of the children with the music of the adult world on the pretext that the children are being taught about their history. Arguing that the children need to be taught to embrace their traditional music without consideration of their age and context is teaching the children to view music as an object that was performed by the elders, in the past, and not as something that is age relevant to them.

Work songs: the displaced, but noteworthy heritage.

The advent of machinery and power tools has reshaped the work people do. People used to sing to support work and make it feel lighter and less tedious. With the use of machinery and tools, the work is faster, and this could be the reason why it is not necessary anymore to sing while working. However, some people in rural areas continue to perform most duties that were performed in the past, but with less, or no, musical accompaniment.

Bangwaketse seemingly continue to remember some of the chores that were performed in the past. For instance, the Abotsen brothers recalled one song that their father used to sing when curing and processing hides; *Tsa betsho* (discussed in Chapter 2). Tracey recorded some work songs that should, ideally, be revitalised by now because the actions associated with them continue to take place; *Go rema* (chopping) and threshing song. The recordings are "*S*elepe ga se a ja mosu" and "Tshetlha di kae" (TR 108 B.2 and B.3).

During the Mmakgodumo festival, different daily chores were demonstrated to those interested in learning or to those who wanted to record them. One interesting moment was when different people took turns and attempted to demonstrate *go thuga (pounding sorghum)* as performed by duos and trios. Many people who made attempts did not manage to perform the pounding that was performed as a trio. This reminded me of Mongweotsile's comment during one of the teachers' workshops when he said that "three people pound to a waltz rhythm if they are to give each other chance". Although the traditional practice does not need to be related to waltzing, it has

something in common with something else that could be explained by the Setswana name for it; *kankachi* (the word is a rhythmic representation of the trio pounding that may be equated to the waltz). In an event like Mmakgodumo people do not have to think of waltzing, but they can feel the rhythm and perform the chore more easily. Mongweotsile made reference to the waltz because he was talking to music teachers. However, one can imagine that instead of making reference to a waltz, a socially relevant solution would have been to start a song that enabled the action. The multipart music that would have supported the trio pounding therefore becomes a necessity for those who continue to perform that practice.

Chapter summary

Attempts to revitalise music from the archives cannot be viewed in isolation. It is a process that involves the interaction of many variables such as the extent of memory and recollection of the past, the emotional and material interests of the participants. For example, the participants need to be motivated to interact with the music and they need to understand the music. An understanding of the music might be generated by an individual participant or it might be a communal effort. The participants further need to remember the past and be excited about the revitalisation process and the outcomes of the project. In this way, the individual often checks the monetary incentives expected of the project before investing their skill and time. As will be observed in the next chapter, revitalisation of music from ILAM can learn from previous attempts that have been used by the people to receive the recordings.

Chapter 4

Release of the pause button: An investigation of the previous revitalization models and those displayed in the different performance contexts observed.

The first step in addressing my research issue; to study the potential for reviving the music in Hugh Tracey's collection in order to develop a programme for the ongoing revitalisation of the music, was to study the reactions of the people (in Chapter 2) and the original and contemporary contexts of music (in Chapter 3). I argued in previous Chapters (2 and 3) that, it is necessary to establish the relationship between the way music was practiced in the past and possibly new methods that may be developed for music revitalisation following repatriation. As a result of the experiences which I established in the previous chapters, it is possible to make a link between this chapter and the argument that the processes of digital repatriation and revitalisation of music from ILAM require a clear understanding of past experiences and the current social structure of the people who are to receive and work with the recordings.

As a Motswana, I have observed and taken part in some activities that I view in this chapter, as phases in the revitalisation of the Setswana traditional music[44]. I will begin by examining the Molema phase that includes both the radio recordings and the *Molodi wa pina* tour, the traditional pop music and gospel phase, the choral music phase and the President's Day celebration phase. This examination of the different phases is crucial as a form of baseline data to develop a programme for the ongoing revitalisation of the music from ILAM.

The Previous models of revitalising Music in Botswana.

When I grew up in Botswana, the only radio station (now Radio Botswana 1 or RB1) broadcast traditional music in a programme called *Dipina le maboko* (songs and poems). This was a one hour long programme on Sunday morning that still broadcasts traditional music recorded by Batho Molema during his time as an employee at the station. In December 1994, I met Molema in another revitalisation phase called

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[44] I shall classify the phases as; 1. Molema phase 2. The genre that the Batswana refer to as traditional pop music and gospel music phase. 3. The choral music phase 4. The Presidents ' Day celebrations phase. I categorize these as phases because they are distinct periods within a process of change in the music of Botswana that form part of the development of traditional music around the country.

Molodi wa pina. Molodi wa pina was to distribute music around the country as well as to learn about the music from across districts in Botswana. While at Molepolole Teacher Training college, I was a student and a member of the music ensemble that participated in the 1994 *molodi wa pina* tour of the country (MITRAMA; Mini choir, Traditional Dance and Marimba). There were several community groups from different parts of Botswana that participated in the *Molodi wa pina* tour. During the tour, each district in the country had a representative group.

Although the *Molodi wa pina* was discontinued and the radio programme continued to play the same recordings repeatedly, there are several lessons to be learnt from the two models of music revival and revitalisation. The Molema efforts on revitalising the traditional music of Botswana were national projects. Taking another look at the population that Molema had to work with for the two projects; the recording and the country tour, it is evident that large scale revitalisation projects cannot be executed by one person alone. Despite the fact that the challenges which might have ended the Molema projects have not been researched and documented, it is possible that another major challenge that faces large scale revitalisation projects, such as those by Molema, is the challenge of funding. The plans to repatriate and revitalize the music from ILAM can learn from the experiences of the two models. For instance, a large scale project of revitalisation requires a dedicated coordinator who has a direct interest in the music and a clear vision for the project. A dedicated coordinator and committee will develop innovative, fresh and exciting ideas to advance the project so that the project may continue to attract participants and audiences. The availability of resources, including funds, transport and accommodation, is another factor to consider. The availability of resources works in connection with the accessibility of the resources at the disposal of the participants. Although a large number of people might show interest in revitalising the music, few people would be willing to participate in a project if the organization seems to be unstable due to the lack of funding.

There were other small scale attempts which were observed. In another phase, there was the advent of traditional-gospel music in the country. One of the pioneers of gospel music, Phempheretlhe B. Pheto, produced his first album. The album had a

traditional rhythmic idiom[45] in most of the songs. Although the gospel album did not seem to have had a great impact on most people, a few other artists like the *Mmamoratwa* Gospel Group from Selibe Phikwe followed a few years later with a similar idea. There may have been a few more performers who followed the movement. Gospel music was flourishing at the same time as the contemporary music industry developed in the country. The contemporary music was loosely defined as Botswana traditional pop music. Contemporary artists explored the traditional music idioms and put the sounds and ideas to modern instrumentation.

The contemporary-traditional music performer might not face a large scale challenge in revitalising the music. The financial challenge of funding, though not as great as for models such as the one enacted by Molema, is experienced by these artists as well. If an artist or a group cannot hold its ground in the highly competitive music market, they fade into oblivion. The cause for such a challenge could be the consumer market and the popularity of the style, as evidenced through record sales and gate takings at performances. Some groups are able to persevere in times of financial challenges to establish their brand, while others join the market to earn a lot of money quickly. Usually, the groups lose motivation and cease to exist when the approach for quick earnings fails.

With the advent of contemporary-traditional music, choral music joined the revitalisation phase through the efforts of composers and conductors such as the late Gomolemo Motswaledi and the KTM choir, and choral composers such as Puso Phetwe and Lazarus Gadiinewe, among many others, who adopted the traditional idiom. The choral context and performance style is similar to the choral art music of Ghana[46], as observed by Dor (2005). The evidence in the article by Dor suggests that

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[45] The Setswana traditional idiom may be defined through the various music elements. The traditional rhythms might be adopted to new instruments and explored to enhance melodic fragments. Folk and strory song are often quoted or appropriated somehow. The organization of melodies, the preferred harmonies and the employed intervals might also be derived from known traditional songs. The musicians often make inferences to the events that relate to the life of an individual. Therefore, the Setswana traditional idiom can be defined through; rhythmic patterns, the language and the text, the harmonies, the melody and the instrumental or vocal choices.

[46] The Ghanaian choral music festival began in the 1920s. "Ghanaian composers have sought not only to situate their songs in the broader social, cultural, and political landscapes of their nation, but also to use indigenous materials and creative procedures that redefine their identity as African composers" (Dor 2005, 443). The similarity with the Botswana choral music is that the composers seek to use indigenous materials to create Setswana compositions while they situate the music within the broader framework of the society.

the revitalisation of Ghanaian choral music differs to that of Botswana in experience and vast repertoire. However, the use of competition as a motivating factor is similar as observed in performances by church choirs, schools and college choirs who perform for both recreation and competition. Despite the initiatives, composers who have attempted to write music for choirs also face the challenge of funding. The market for their songs is limited to a large number of composers. There are not many choirs in Botswana either. Therefore, the target market is limited. When a choir attempts to revitalise traditional music they do not have the opportunity because the competition has reshaped music performances in different ways.

Most of the time the choirs have to perform music that is written and they read the music. This excludes most of the traditional music, except for the few arrangements written by composers such as the late Motswaledi and a few others. In a bid to compete with the international community, most local choirs spend more time perfecting their skills on western music compositions. Until the people realize that there is imbalance in respect to the repertoires between local and western, it is difficult to imagine a more effective revitalisation in the choral fraternity.

Recently, another revitalisation model has been the President's Day celebrations[47]. In preparation for the events, different regions in the country hold competitions and winners proceed to the national level. The winners and runners up at different levels receive monetary awards and are motivated to register each year to perform. The recordings of the national competitions have recently been incorporated into the above mentioned *dipina le maboko* programme. This has revitalised the programme, recorded by Molema, which had been repeating songs for a long time. Such an exercise for revitalization is evidence that good ideas will create a firm foundation for possible revitalisation in the future. Even if it takes a long time before another phase of revitalisation like in the cases of Molema recordings and on the Hugh Tracey recordings to reach people, a good foundation eventually allows for new innovations. Therefore the attempts to revitalise ILAM recordings should not only align with existing patterns, but engender new ideas that may allow for future expansion and developments.

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[47] The President's Day competitions begin at regional levels and the winners proceed to the national level of competition. The national competition is held every year, at Gaborone, during the president's holidays in July.

There could have been other phases of revitalisation that I have not observed or have not mentioned here. However, it is not about the number or type of such revitalisations attempts, but about the lesson that may be learnt from each one of them in order to create a more feasible attempt at an ongoing process of music revitalisation.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that some Batswana suggested that the music was never paused; it had been playing the whole time while nobody listened. The discussion, in this chapter, about the different attempts at revitalising the music of Batswana partly bears witness to the truth about a continued music performance. On the other hand, the same attempts could be testimony that the music ceased and several attempts were made to maintain continuity of the music. The different revitalisation practices of Botswana discussed in this chapter could reveal the previous intentions of the revival and revitalisation of the music. It is possible to rate the previous and recent models of revitalisation in Botswana music as middle class phenomena[48] (Livingston 1999), or as nationalist[49] efforts (Byerly 1998) and as an interaction[50] of musical styles (Hamm 1999). Furthermore, the models observed in Botswana may be interpreted as a tourist attraction and money making venture.

After briefly studying these models of music revitalisation, it is a challenge beyond the scope of this research to evaluate how some of the models lost their effectiveness within the short period of their existence or to evaluate whether the programmes involved were not sustainable. However, in view of the response that audiences have to the so-called Botswana 'traditional pop' performances through buying their music

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[48] The revitalisation of music is a middle class phenomena both materially and cognitively. The influence and power of money, is felt on record sales, attendance in concert halls, and on the commodification and packaging of the music for audiences. The making of the Botswana traditional pop genre and the academic purposes of traditional music such as transcription, analysis and arrangements are further evidence for the middle class phenomena.

[49] It is a nationalist phenomena because of the intended communal cultural pride and identity that creates a national image through shared music. The politics and music interact for correctness and relevance as campaigners and sponsors explore the potential of national unity. There are patriotic lyrics that speak of a united Botswana.

[50] The revival is an interaction of traditional styles that is evidenced mainly in the traditional dance music where different genres are often medged in choreography. The performers embrace the aspects of the past and use them to create a version of the present. The creation of the present acknowledges the intended and unintended influences to merge styles. the interaction of styles is partly influenced by the fluid relationship created by the nationalist approach to music.

and with the appearance of more groups, motivations for the revitalisation of the music appears motivated by financial gain. The same seems true for the President's Day competitions. More people have unearthed their old instruments and joined the competition like Mongweotsile did, while others have dedicated their time and efforts to learning the traditional forms of performing music in preparation for the competition.

The evident community interaction suggests large scale projects such as Molema's model. However, with limited or no funding, it might be easier to target cultural activists in the community who may mobilize the process on a smaller scale. Some individuals who have no affiliation to community groups might be interested in accessing the music. Following the repatriation of sounds and allowing easier access to the recordings, the community requires education or awareness about the sound recordings and where they may gain access to the folk music. The issue of awareness and access lead to the problem of storing the recordings.

The problem of storing the recordings may be partially addressed by contacting associations such as the Botswana Folklore association and the *Tsosa Koma* Association. The folklore association has mainly been concerned with the continued performance of folk music while the *Tsosa-koma* association's main mission is to act as a repository of folk music where the young people in schools mainly, and the future generations, may gain access to the folk music with as little interference of borrowed items as possible.

The data gathered from models of revitalisation mentioned earlier seems to suggest that the revitalisation process requires incentives to take place at a given time. Repatriation that proposes to revitalise the music has to provide incentives. Despite my disagreement with Phibion (2012) who refutes the existence of incentives to motivate performances of *setapa*, his argument hints on the importance of providing incentives to the performers for continuity. The discussion is elaborated by the acts of sponsors and audiences who all pay to watch the events. It is unclear which incentives could be more attractive to the different generations of performers. This lack of clarity calls for an investigation into the available incentives and how effective they are in encouraging revitalisation of the music.

Mmakgodumo Festival as a revitalisation effort for different elements.

As described in the previous chapters, the Mmakgodumo Cultural Festival is an attempt by Bangwaketse to collectively recall their social history, celebrate the history and pass it on to the younger generations. The Mmakgodumo festival may be described as a collaborative act of recall or recollection (Tilmans, van Vree and Winter 2010, 106) in order to commemorate events of the past. Although I had not attended the first festival in 2013, I attended the second one and recorded most of the proceedings on video. The day was full of events that point to the past, but consciously celebrated in the present. Most of the events were demonstrations of the social life of Bangwaketse while others were a reflection of how the social life had changed in commemoration and the construction of a new social memory (ibid., 106).

It might not be easy to refer to the demonstrations at the Mmakgodumo festival as revitalisation of the past, but rather as partly objectifying the past and packaging the story for the audiences. Revitalisation at the Mmakgodumo event, just like in the competition events, is a form of repackaging the music for a contemporary generation and audience. However, the festival revives the human conscience about the Bangwaketse social experiences of the past and educates the youth. The audiences may then explore the concept of revitalising some of the practices when their conscience is revived.

Some events that took place at the Mmakgodumo 2014 festival reflected on how certain practices may be revitalised in different forms to suit the current community. For instance, the *segaba* instrument as described previously, had assumed a different role completely, but the audiences clearly approved of the new role by cheering and ululating. In the past the *segaba* was a private, solo instrument closely associated with life in the bush with the cattle and with not much dignity. At the festival, the instrument appeared on the same stage with royalty (the village chief's entry to the arena), the instrument was played to audiences of people and not to the trees and the cattle in the bush. This experience is a model of revitalisation that is possible for music that was recorded in the past if people have a chance to interact with the music, internalise it and accept that it is theirs and then find a suitable purpose for it. Therefore, there are instances where revitalization might take a long time before it shows and it thus calls for perseverance and continued interest.

Other events during the Mmakgodumo festival required more information to fill the history and knowledge gaps. For instance, some of the practices were demonstrated as short snippets that lacked in detail. One such instance, was during the demonstration of sorghum pounding (*go thuga*). The demonstration started off with one person, then two, but when the third person joined the exercise it became difficult for most people. Borrowing from Mongweotsile's explanation in one of the teacher's workshops, the gap that needs to be filled is the musical one. None of the people who participated in the pounding exercise remembered the music that used to accompany the activity, which in Mongweotsile's language would be in waltzing time. One could usher the trio pounding by waltzing consciously or even better recall some of the songs that used to accompany the activity. The activities, such as those that have lost their music with time, need to be revitalised in the context in which they were performed; with music. The revitalisation would therefore benefit the practices as well as revive the music and the sense of social musicianship.

Mongweotsile and the revitalisation of segaba/*segankure* instrumental music.

segaba is a single string traditional instrument found in most parts of Botswana. It is known as *segankure* or *sebinjolo* in other regions. The *segaba* is a bowed instrument a single string attached to a carved piece of wood. It is usually resonated with an appropriately sized empty oil can. Comparatively, it is the most documented of all the traditional instruments of Botswana by authors such as: Wood 1980 and 1985), Brearly (1989 and 1996), Schopf (2008), Phuthego (1999 and 2006). The former advocated for the revitalisation of *segaba* in the Botswana school curriculum.

Mongweotsile, as previously introduced, is a culture ambassador who is involved in different activities to revive music and cultural practices of Bangwaketse. He is a retired Botswana army captain and lives in his home village Kanye as a farmer. He was born in Kanye on the 17th March 1940. Although he participated actively in different attempts at reviving the music, in this section I explore his efforts towards revitalization of the *segaba* instrumental music.

He has been involved with the annual Botswana music camp where he teaches the techniques of playing *segaba* to the camp attendees each year since 1986. There are younger *segaba* players such as Mmoloki Matlho, who attribute their skill to his

lesson during the annual camps. Mongweotsile trains individuals who are interested in learning how to play the instrument privately. Mongweotsile has recently been training workshop participants in collaboration with the Botswana folklore association and has trained music teachers in workshops organized by the ministry of education and skills development. Mongweotsile is part of the organizing and resource team for the Mmakgodumo Cultural Festival held annually in Kanye. His participation in the seasonal competitions held by the ministry of sports and culture has further contributed to the revitalisation of the *segaba* music. His participation has inspired younger people to learn how to play the instrument as well as encourage those in competition with him to raise their standard of performance on the *segaba*.

Mongweotsile's aspirations for the instrument may be viewed as efforts towards the revitalisation of the instrument. He has worked towards adaptation of the instrument for various purposes such as, performing solo parts as part of a bigger ensemble of different instruments, commercializing the instrument by featuring on songs by contemporary artists and establishing a tuning that may assist with the transcription of the music that is played on the *segaba*. He holds a view that *segaba* music revitalisation may benefit from transcription and arrangement of folk songs. Mongweotsile's efforts to revitalise the music of *segaba* break the stereotype that music has rigid boundaries and he stresses the need to have an exchange of musical ideas across genres and instrument types. After studying Mongweotsile's method of revitalising the *segaba* music, one may conclude that worrying about the erosion of the stereotypical ideas about folk music restricts creativity and hinders freedom of expression in the music.

There are still challenges with some of the approaches that Mongweotsile explores. For instance, during the teacher's workshops, it appeared that he chose music with simpler elements and ostinatos. Although these are the most effective ways of teaching a beginner, they might be taken to be the basics of learning how to play *segaba*. At certain points during the workshops some of the techniques were taught using the rote method and not the discovery method because of time constraints. Another possible reason for the rote method could be that the teachers often did not seem to understand the concepts and they would want to memorize patterns. In an effort to revitalise the sounds of a traditional instrument, it would be beneficial to

learn the technique of playing the instrument rather than performing a drill to internalise and memorize a simple song.

The processes of transcription and arrangement of the *segaba* music are beneficial for continuity as well as preservation because the current trends in music performance explore the use of reading and writing music for performance. Revitalisation has to therefore be seen to be at par with the social developments. It will be beneficial to address revitalisation as a non prescriptive process that flexibly adapts to different contexts.

Mongweotsile's effort to reach more people through performance and transcription is an example of effective revitalisation. One such instance is the resizing of the *segaba* instrument to allow young children to hold the instrument comfortably and play. Revitalisation effort may learn from Mongweotsile's example, that the music will be homogenized whether people think it is good or bad, *so* accepting the situation may open possibilities. The availability of an elderly member of the community, such as Mongweotsile, who is involved at various levels of the revitalization process, is an opportunity that needs to be explored.

DJ Bino (Boineelo Othusitse) and DJ King (Kabelo Motlhanka).

One lesson to take from the past models that have seemed to work or have an impact on the traditional music of Botswana is that, in revitalizing or reusing the music from the indigenous past, such as the one from the ILAM archive, no one should be disadvantaged because of their setting/ venues and the intended function of the music. Differentiation and restrictive borderlines around music in any way, especially recreational music, puts the music on either pause or very low volume.

This is with particular reference to the current revived or revitalised music which was used as traditional recreational (*maitiso*) music in the past. It is evident, from the previous chapters of this thesis, that in the past, there was specific music for ceremonial and ritual purposes and the music was only heard on such occasions. Then there was music for celebration and recreation which enjoyed open access. Of late, most of the traditional rituals and ceremonies have faded away or have been replaced. The music that was associated with the faded ceremonies and rituals has become part of intangible heritage that transcends the barriers into recreational activities. The

different musicians use this kind of music to paint a nostalgic picture of the past. For instance, *setapa* which was, in the past, used as music for recreation, is recently still treated as entertainment, but for official ceremonies and communal gatherings. The developments and changes explain why people like the DJs should not be denied a chance to use the music in their context as the denial ultimately defeats the purpose of revitalising the music. Therefore, there is the need for open access to the national heritage and then people may opt to use or not use the music.

During fieldwork, many people showed an interest in using the music as inspiration for their own compositions. However, practically, only the DJs were able to interact with the music and produce something within the eight months of fieldwork. This could suggest that the initial response to the music from the archive is not always a sign of new ideas generated by the listener. On the other hand, the DJs showed interest in the music, got it and immediately started working on the music.

In this project, I worked mainly with DJ Bino (Boineelo Othusitse) who is a resident DJ at *Club el Paso* in Selibe Phikwe, Botswana. The song he chose to use is "Lereme" (TR 111 A.5). The recording was made in Gopane that is now included in South Africa under the new border agreements since 1965. However, I had decided to take along the recording because it appealed to me as Motswana and reminded me of the *setapa* style music that was not present in the Kanye recordings made by Tracey. I took along the recording to find out if people in Kanye could relate to it as I had or whether they would describe the inherent difference between music of Ngwaketse *setapa* and the music in the recording. The participants identified the song as *setapa* and the elderly members of the community remembered the song "Lereme" as a song that was popular at many *setapa* gatherings. On the contrary, revitalisation of the song "Lereme" by the DJs seemed to rely on the version of the song that they were listening to and how much it appealed to them. The DJs did not have to do extensive research on the variety of the song versions or where it originated. The *setapa* music seems to have been explored extensively in the contemporary traditional music scene. Therefore, the popularity of *setapa* is an advantage because the DJ's audiences are familiar with the *setapa* idiom and recognize the idiom on house mixes as well as on DJ compilations.

As a further step towards revitalising the "Lereme" sounds and making the sound popular with their audiences, they combined the dance beats, with snippets from the recording and then selected instrumental sounds such as marimba as effects. The mix by DJ Bino became popular with regular club attendants who gave positive feedback on social media such as twitter and Facebook. Following this vote of confidence, collaboration between DJ Bino and DJ King (Kabelo Motlhankane) was born. The "Lereme" mix was taken to another level and popularised on the local radio stations such as RB 2 and Gabs FM. If social media is anything to go by, the "Lereme" mix has crossed borders to both Namibia and South Africa recently and clips of people dancing to the mix are attached in different page feeds.

The DJ world is exciting and revitalising because it is compatible with the way people experience music in the present. More people are now experiencing music through different recordings rather than in live performances. However, the challenge with this form of revitalisation as observed in the revitalised DJ Bino version of "Lereme", the excitement and the fun with the music is not long lived. Within the few months that I spent in the field, I watched people dance with excitement to that house-mix and watched its popularity wane and give way to new mixes.

Revival before revitalisation: Children's music

As previously alluded to in Chapter 3, it is not easy to find out if the revitalisation of children's music requires incentives due to the scarcity of the recordings of the music of the children. Learners/children deserve to know and understand their history. However, children do not have the representation they deserve often because the recordings and transcriptions are done by the elderly people mimicking performances of the children. The revitalisation effort could therefore benefit from a conscious effort to include children in the foundation stages of the process. If children are recorded performing their music, the copies of children's music will be available in the future archives. The availability of the children's music will further allow for a smooth transition from children's music to the music of the adult world. As it is, the impression is that the people recorded by Tracey did not have music as young children and only became musical at adulthood. It is possible that some of the musical concepts were built in childhood and developed further in later years; the gap in understanding cannot be filled due to lack of representation of the children's music.

Another question that could arise from the effects of oral tradition in today's age is whether the children should read and write traditional music. There are many factors to consider in answering that question; a look at the common curriculum that does not only teach about music from the area where the learners are based but spreads around the country. If there is no attempt to write the music for any reason, the children will develop a thinking that African music cannot be written, a point argued for in Chapter 4 of this thesis. The reading and writing should however not take precedence over the practical aspect of music learning in Africa.

There is a need to design resource material (Tracey 1973) and these are not only transcriptions of the songs. Instead of looking at music as an object for theoretical analysis the resources should help the learners realize that they may use the recordings and learn more about the ceremonies. The stories of the past as retold by the elders may add meaning to the music through action. In most situations in schools, the learners hear a song played accompanied with a narrative about the function of the song and where it originates from while less is done to let the learners interact with the music and create their own interpretation of the music and recreate some of the activities although recreation of history is the main function of the music from the past.

The learners may be given time to interact with the music more closely to recreate their understanding of the ceremonies where the music was used. The learners' interaction with the music will not only bring the music to life, but it will re-enact history and act as another form of music representation. When I read an article written by Wood (1989) about the diversity of subject matter in Setswana songs, my initial thoughts were to wish that the songs were transcribed together with the supplied song words. I read the words, but did not know how to sing any of the songs. If they were transcribed in some way, exact representation aside, I would be able to sing the songs and explore them further. Transcription of any format that communicates the melodic and rhythmic ideas of the songs is important as part of a continued revitalisation effort. Although it has been argued at different points in this project that words are an important part of Setswana music, the musical element that goes with it is equally important lest the words turn into poetic prose. My argument to include transcription questions why it may be accepted that oral transmitted data changes with time, but

then reject the possible transformation through social negotiation in written songs. Not writing and striving to write or represent music is a way of opposing possible revitalisation in the future. I therefore integrate transcription as a vital form of music revitalisation that has its own challenges and many advantages. The process of resolving the challenges will go through the discursive interactions where different recipients may reject or accept the represented elements to shape the sound, as has been done with the orally transmitted sound.

Music Transcriptions and the benefits of different modes of transcription for a Bangwaketse / Botswana audience.

The argument throughout the research is that the opinions and decisions of the recipients are essential for a feasible return of the recordings, with an impact. As a result of the stories told by the Bangwaketse participants and as established in Chapters 2 and 3, it is possible to link this section of the chapter to the whole argument in order to partly answer the question on how to develop a model for digital return in the context of a developing country such as Botswana. This section builds a case for transcription because the different informants emphasised the need to represent their music practices for future generations. There seems to be an interest in preservation as well as the conservation of the music. Another factor that motivates my interest in the transcription of the music is the demands of the music curriculum in schools (from primary to senior secondary school). Despite the issues that might arise from transcribing traditional African music this section of the chapter aims to motivate the reasons why I still want to use different forms of notation such as the staff, tonic sol-fa and the pulse notation.

The section is sub-divided into sub-sections that provide a general review of the various possible forms of representing music that may be explored in the context of the music of Bangwaketse and that of Batswana in general. There are various forms used for the representation of music in performance, transcription, and audio recording**.** Music representation is a purposed fixity of music in a certain place and time through objects such as vinyl records, CD, cassettes, music score and many others (Ekwueme 1974; Allgayer-Kaufmann 2005; Grupe 2005). It is not surprising that attempts to represent music may be challenging. The music, on its own, is a representation of the community which is constructed of many different individuals.

This section of the chapter further examines the successes and challenges of using different forms of notation to represent the traditional music of Bangwaketse. The first sub-section presents an introduction to the use of different forms of notation used; staff and tonic sol-fa notations as well as pulse notation. The introductory discussion explores the challenges and benefits of using the different forms of notation as observed in the fieldwork data that I collected. These shall be discussed by means of the experimental transcription of two songs; "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR108 A.2) and "Dirampeetshane" (played on the *segaba* instrument and recorded during fieldwork). The section closes with a summary of the challenges and successes in the process of transcribing the music of Bangwaketse and that of Batswana as an attempt towards the continued revitalisation as informed by the various forms of representation discussed in the chapter.

A review of a few revitalisation attempts has revealed that the revitalisation process that relies on external pressure risks collapsing in the future. If the revitalisation of music is to keep diversifying there is a need for a sustainable plan that articulates clear intentions into the future. Sustainability might depend on other aspects such as dynamic programmes of action, flexible methods, a clear vision and structures for motivation. One of the methods recommended by the people who lay claim to the heritage of the music is that the music should be represented in many different forms and shared with more audiences.

The representation of music through textual means may be viewed as producing a copy of the original. The process as observed by Allgayer-Kaufmann (2005) is based on the way the people see or hear the original. For instance, Hugh Tracey represented his view of the music when he made an attempt to record and to represent the performances as closely as they occurred by moving the microphone around the different performers to record the multiple layers of sound. Despite the attempts to closely represent music, there are many factors that could affect the representation. The challenges that face music representation as observed by authors such as Ekwueme (1974) and Grupe (2005) are based on issues such as the function of the method selected, the suitability of the method of representation for the specific purpose, the accessibility of the method and a hope for the continuity of the music

represented within a changing world. Memory further mediates the interpretation of the various forms of music representation.

Memory as a form of music representation.

Representation of music through memory in the form of oral transmission has been a major form of music making and learning in Botswana and in Africa for a long time. Different generations memorized songs and transmitted them to other generations. In the process of oral transmission, the human memory recalled and reconstructed music performances. The recall process may include ideal truths, half truths about what occurred in the past or may create imagined performances to fill in the memory gaps.

Some members of the families that I interviewed bore witness to the challenges of the memory and recollection processes. For instance, the Dinake sisters explained how they were restricted to certain social events as young children, while those were the events where their father and his friends were performing their music. These restrictions, according to several other informants, may be based on gender, age or on marital status. Although this was the social structure of the time and the different members of the community were initiated into each structure at the appropriate time, in recent times, most of the social practices of that time have ceased or have been replaced by other practices. Therefore, the restrictions have slowed down, paused or stopped the transmission of music and its continuity across generations, because when practices stopped, the memory about the events began to decline.

During fieldwork, and with the help of Hugh Tracey's recordings, some elderly members of the community in the Ngwaketse were able to recall and explain some of the practices, although their recollection of the events was from the perspective of a young audience. The perspective of the young person poses a problem of reconciliation between childhood interpretation of events and the adult perspective. This challenge further brings into view another challenge for the retrieval of memory; the individuals recall moments of events around them rather than what was directly experienced by other people. Some of the events might not be recalled completely despite a trigger, especially if the person involved in the recollection exercise was not directly involved in the performance. This is well illustrated by the way the Bangwaketse could not associate with *ditlhaka* music. Hugh Tracey made the

recordings of the two *ditlhaka* songs in the Ngwaketse *kgotla* in 1959. In his field note about the recordings, Tracey observed that the instruments looked very old and they were performed by old players (Tracey 1973, 239). This observation could suggest that the *ditlhaka* music of Bangwaketse was already fading away at the time of his recording due to a lack of practice and a lack of involvement by the younger generation in learning the music.

Another challenge in using memory as a form of representing music is based on the 'signatures' that each performer articulates in performance. Each musician attempts to show a unique character in their performance that they often refer to as a 'signature'. The traditional or folk music has variations that are a result of the creativity displayed by individuals. It is a challenge because the aspirations are often based on producing music representations that reflects precisely the original product. This kind of aspiration is contrary to the character of oral tradition, especially in recreational music. Rather than the recipient, it appears that in the past, the achievement of the process of oral transmission, through memory, was more reliant on the elderly and how they interpreted the world. Therefore, oral transmission depended on the way the different generations produced their own expressions and interpretations to personalize the performances and make them believable. Furthermore, during fieldwork, the utterances from each participant reflected nuanced personal interpretations of the recordings made by Tracey. The participants who recalled songs and performed them emphasised the variation of creativity that is inherent in each individual performer. Mongweotsile, who performed the song Bangwaketse on three different occasions on the *segaba* instrument, further clarified the shifts in memory even by the same performer.

It is undeniable that memory and oral transmission served the community of Bangwaketse for a long time. A working memory, like any muscle in the body, becomes sharper with time. The challenges of the developing world have impacted negatively on the faculty to remember and on orality in general and people have become more forgetful or lazy to use their memory instead of relying on technological gadgets. The process of the brain that explores the extensive use of memory was extended by an audio form (recordings from ILAM) that has been used in my research to trigger memories from the past.

Therefore, speaking of maintaining a complete oral tradition in the music of the Bangwaketse makes the music susceptible to change. The world around the Bangwaketse is rapidly changing. The music is evidently a social experience and a social product that narrates human life encounters, the life is changing and music is consequently adapting to those changes of life while we might be holding on to and arguing about how to deal with one or two moments in music that were recorded on tape by ethnomusicologists such as Hugh Tracey. Most of the songs used in this project and recorded by Tracey had either been forgotten or have undergone changes, which is evidence that nothing in music is static. This observation calls for an attitude towards a realistic or practical continuity of the music as envisaged by the community involved. All other aspects of the social life of Bangwaketse are subtly or abruptly breaking the boundaries of human imagination through the social developments that are taking place. Therefore, views about the imaginary borderlines that have been created around methods of music transmission need to move to another level and the music may be made more accessible to more audiences in multiple ways.

Audio recordings

Oral transmission as a form of representation that the Bangwaketse have relied on for ages was augmented by Tracey in 1959 when he recorded the music on vinyl records. Hugh Tracey or any other ethnomusicologist who recorded music in the past never intended to stop or interfere with the oral traditions that existed. These ethnomusicologists, had, on the contrary, made an observation that music was changing with the times and was fading away. Following that observation, they made attempts to preserve that music. As discussed in the section above, another form of representing music is by recording the performance that is heard at a particular moment on devices such as tapes and CDs and be played at a different time. Through the object that was used to store the recording, the music may be stored, transmitted, manipulated, distributed, and transported to different places and times as a fixed object. One noteworthy point is that after the sound has been recorded, the performers who have been recorded may continue performing the music for as long as they can recall the songs. The point mentioned here suggests that recording the musical sound benefits the continuity of the music within a changing world.

Although it may be argued that the songs would have been fixed in the recording, it may be argued that only that performance has been recorded and many other performances continue to occur after that recording. Similar to the oral tradition, the audio recordings are a product of a certain performance that has been defined by the recording equipment used and its context. As evident in the recordings, Hugh Tracey made an effort to record and to represent the different parts of a performance as they occurred by moving the microphone around the different performers to record the multiple layers of sound; this is close but cannot be treated as the original version of the music.

The audio recordings are often extended through video recordings. This is an extension that has assisted the visual aspect of music making as almost imagined by the ethnomusicologists, who might argue that listening to the audio alone cannot shed some important musical and performative characteristics. The video recordings face some challenges such as the perspective of the representation that is often based on the placement of the video equipment. There are other forms of visual representation such as notation/transcription that may further extend the above mentioned forms of representation.

Visual symbolic representation.

The representation of music discussed in this section is music notation. Of all the above mentioned forms of representing music, notation has been controversial when used to represent African music. Although it might appear that some scholars have insinuated that some western forms of notation are politically incorrect and aesthetically inadequate for transcribing African music, a review of what most scholars hold as a bone of contention is the challenges of adapting one form of notation for a different style of music (Jones 1958; Garfias 1964; Ekwueme 1974; Akpabot 1976; Grupe 2005). Notation or transcription of African music is an extension of the other forms of representation such as oral, audio and video recording that have performed well, but have not reached the point of representing the music in its entirety. Using notation does not promise to complete the quest for accurate representation, but extends the existing systems to shed light on the representation further and probably open avenues for other forms of representation. Suggesting that

the music was never meant to be written is like holding on to the past of the music rather than allowing the music to develop.

Transcription, like recording on vinyl and tapes or CDs, is necessary for music revitalization. Although the transcription might not seem to be a method of revitalisation, it is an investment that will, in another generation if not the current, yield results for revitalisation. This argument may be better understood through the process of repatriating Hugh Tracey's recordings. Although these recordings were made in 1959, they have revived interest in the music in the present time. Therefore, in order to achieve a sustainable programme of revitalising the music, all possible avenues must be explored.

As part of the long term investment in transcribing the music of the Bangwaketse, there are technical challenges that I believe may be overcome. One cannot deny that a change of mindset and willingness to learn new forms, that are not considered standard, may be discouraging and often uncomfortable. However, if the learning process is based on interest and enthusiasm, it may become a success.

With this said, notation that is flexible is a sign that music has the potential to neutralize borders created by the human mind and deal with 'othering' through music representation. Therefore, the notation that explores all possible options to represent and communicate music is necessary and this is why this section of the research does not present any form of representing music as the one answer to the needs of the Bangwaketse. As a Motswana, I am rightfully placed to write music from Botswana because I understand it and have been part of most of the performances during fieldwork.

Moreover, the Bangwaketse showed a great interest in having their music written down for future reference. The school curriculum explores different aspects of traditional music. During fieldwork some music teachers argued that elements of music may be better understood if taught using the music that is familiar to the learners. For example, they argued that if learners learnt elements such as rhythm and pitch using only western music examples they will not be able to associate their music with the elements when they encounter those elements within their traditional music. A further look into the wish of the research participants in Ngwaketse points out that

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music from different places has reached the Bangwaketse and Batswana through schools and learning. Therefore, if the music of Bangwaketse could be written down it would find its place in the academic field and future generations would learn more about it. The process of writing music comes with both challenges and successes that need to be reconciled so that the music of Bangwaketse, and that of Batswana, may be represented in writing. In his article, Andrew Tracey lists a few possible purposes of transcribing music as; a reminder, a teaching aid, for structural analysis and general study of the music (1997, 1). The reasons advanced by Tracey in that article are the same among participants who expressed an interest in having the music of Bangwaketse written down.

As will be evidenced through the different forms of notation systems represented in the following section, visual representation of music may, in addition to preserving a version of the music, assist in revealing the character of the song and enhance the appreciation of the elements inherent in the music. In the song, "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR 108 A.2), for instance, the staff notation that was completed by a volunteer teacher engendered a discussion about the rhythmic structure as well as the pitch. The discussion further agrees with Akpabot who explains that a 'clever manipulation of notes and meter" (1976, 40) in transcribing African music make the task of transcription difficult. The same song represented in pulse notation led to a discussion about the audible pitches and the resulting harmonies that defined the character of the music. The discussion is further elaborated upon in each transcription below. Another point to note when transcribing music is the identity of the audience. Most of the participants who advocated for the music to be written cannot read music. However, in the same way that other forms of notation such as staff and tonic sol-fa have been taught and practiced in schools any other notation form, and in this case pulse notation, can be learnt and mastered in schools as well. The Botswana school curriculum is open to other forms of notation that may represent Botswana traditional or folk music. The important step would be to impart knowledge of the forms of notation used so that the music is not taken from the ILAM archive and frozen on paper with nobody to interpret it. An argument about how many people can read the notation systems may be countered by asking how many people own CD players, video or audio tape players the music. These counter arguments may be resolved by the flexibility and openness to any possible form of music representation. The

following discussion elaborates on the purpose and possibility of using three different forms of notation; staff, tonic sol-fa and pulse notation to represent the music of Ngwaketse and of Botswana in general.

Staff Notation and Tonic sol-fa.

The argument made in this section about using both staff and tonic sol-fa notation is partly based on the fact that schools in Botswana teach music writing and reading using mainly these two forms of notation, especially the staff notation[51]. Following the general belief that people learn from what is known to the unknown, I present a case for the use of staff and tonic sol-fa to represent the music of the Bangwaketse. The discussion then develops further to, the use of pulse notation, which I present as a possible solution to challenges that might arise when transcribing the music in the former types of notation.

Di phepa

Folk koma

Figure 4.1 "Di phepa" TR 109 A.2 by Hugh Tracey (1959)

As in the song above, "Di phepa", staff notation and tonic sol-fa may be used to represent some Setswana vocal songs which present few rhythmic and/or pitch challenges. The representation of the above song and the one that follows (*Mogoge)* will further illustrate some possible benefits of having this kind of visual representation for an audience that can read staff notation.

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[51] The Curriculum Department in the Ministry of Education and skills development is responsible for curriculum design and implementation (including syllabus design). The curriculum is assessed by Botswana Examination Council according to the assessment syllabus. The assessment syllabus for music (August 2008) is an unpublished document designed by Botswana Examinations Council in Gaborone. The assessment syllabus may be accessed on line at this site; http://www.bec.co.bw/assessment-tools/schemes-of-assessment/jce-syllabus/music-jcesyllabus-2013-final (for Junior Secondary Schools). For senior secondary schools the assessment syllabus maybe accessed at; http://www.bec.co.bw/assessment-tools/schemes-of-assessment/bgcse-syllabus

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the song "Di phepa" was usually performed by male initiates as they returned home after a long stay in the bush. It is a song that men sang as they walked home. The song does not have complicated rhythmic subdivisions and the pitch follows the speech pattern. "Di phepa" is a cyclical song that is repeated with very few changes in the rhythm (see Figure 4.1). Apart from the few alterations on the note values, all the performances of the song, including the one on Tracey's recording, follow the transcription above (Figure 4.1) above. The only change is with the removal of the dotted value to allow the two quavers to tie into a longer sounding note, while the dot is then replaced by another semiquaver to allow for the word to be completed (see figure 4.2 below).

 May become this:
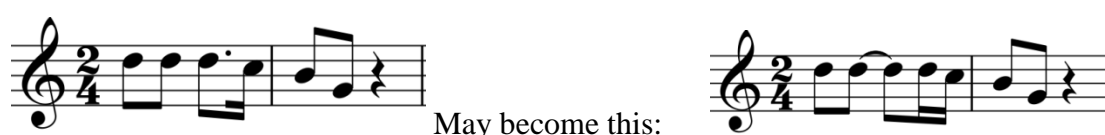
Figure 4.2 Excepts from "Di phepa"

The visual representation of the following song, "Mogoge", demonstrates a visual illustration of the two different layers of sound heard in the song as recorded by Tracey (see figure 4.3 below). This was a popular song with the participants in my fieldwork and was performed differently each time. In this transcription I used the version as heard in Tracey's recordings (TR 108 B.1).

Figure 4.3 "Mogoge" TR 108 B.1 recorded by Hugh Tracey (1959) in Kanye.

In the many versions heard during the fieldwork, the song was performed as a single melody with slight differences to the one in Tracey's recordings. Despite the difference in harmonic structure as mentioned in the previous chapters, the song was mainly performed in unison from the start to finish. (See Figure 4.4 below)
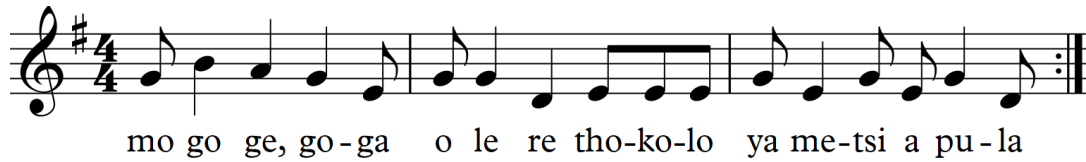

mo go ge, go - ga   o le re tho-ko-lo ya me-tsi a pu - la

Figure 4.4 "Mogoge", *recorded by the author in 2014 at the Mmakgodumo Festival.*

Seemingly, this version has been learnt by recent generations. It is possible that someone could have listened to a demonstration by a single performer while recalling, a limitation of memory in mediation as mentioned in earlier chapters. My visual representation of Tracey's recording was not easily accepted by the participants as some of them argued that there was no need to have the second line (see Figure 4.4 above). However, after a closer look at the vocal exchange and listening to Tracey's recording the song was revitalised to its earliest form as heard in Tracey's recording with two responsorial vocal parts.

The following song: "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele", as discussed in the previous chapters, was popular with most participants and it raised concerns about the ceremony where it and its accompanying dance style were performed. A few attempts were made to represent "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" in staff notation and here I attach some of those attempts for the purpose of comparison. Although these were all in staff notation, the two have notable differences, especially in rhythm or beat subdivisions.

nkgwana

as notated by: christopher mhlanga

Figure 4.5 "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" transcribed by Christopher Mhlanga 2015

The representation of the song above was written by Christopher Mhlanga, one of the music teachers who participated in the workshops that I attended. He teaches music at

Mmadinare Senior Secondary School and is interested in transcribing traditional songs for his own use as a jazz musician who plays bass guitar and for classroom teaching purposes. He agreed to make an attempt at transcribing this song which he described as a challenge and as free form music. A few other attempts were made by different research participants, but none managed to complete the whole song like Mhlanga had, which is why I use his score in this discussion.

To evaluate the above representation of the song according to guidelines proposed by Tracey (1997, 2), I played the audio clip extracted from the above illustration (Figure 4.5) for some participants to hear their views on the representation. The Sibelius audio clip elicited mixed reactions. One participant said the song had a familiar sound, but could not identify it right away as "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele". I asked if it sounded like "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele". He immediately agreed with me and pointed out that there was some distortion. Most participants showed disapproval of the way the rhythm had been represented, especially for the lead voice. At the music teachers' workshop, the teachers thought the main idea was there, but needed to be corrected by removing and replacing the triplet and by correcting come pitches that did not sound 'natural' to the ear. They believed that some pitches had changed the tonal structure of the vocal music.

Another discussion ensued on the implications of representing the harmonic structure in this kind of notation. The consensus was that if all four parts are written out where each part has a fixed pitch represented[52], then the song would lose its character and be fixed to the score. The participants described the harmonic structure as flexible as the number and types of voices differed with each performance. Some of the participants therefore suggested that the music be written for the lead voice and one non-prescriptive, responsorial part. Furthermore, the score would have to include symbols that suggest harmonic flexibility built within the traditional Setswana *koma* idiom. The concern about the traditional idiom was discussed in the previous chapters when participants agreed that one performance of *mogoge* sounded too choral and not folk-like. The issue of idioms seemed beyond the scope of this current research project.

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[52] The harmony of the song changes with every performance.

Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele

Figure 4.6 "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" as transcribed from the pulse notation.

Pulse notation.

In his article, *Transcribing African Music in Pulse Notation*, Andrew Tracey (1997) gives a detailed discussion on the purpose for transcribing music, introduces his pulse notation method and the basics of pulse notation. With the help of this article and guided by Andrew Tracey, I experimented with transcribing two songs: "Ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana pele" (TR 108 A.2) and "Dirampeetshane", which is a song played on the *segaba* by Mongweotsile and recorded during fieldwork. The field observations and recordings of the songs were very useful during the transcription as Tracey insisted on seeing and representing what was completed rather than imagining a combination of resultant sounds only by ear. Once the notation is completed, with close attention to

the music and an effort to be accurate, Tracey (1997) says it may then be converted to preferred forms of notation. Following the experience of transcription with Andrew Tracey, there seems to be flexibility and preference rather than rigidity in music notation. This development alludes to the argument in this chapter, and in agreement with Akpabot that "many problems concerning African music have been exaggerated to such proportions as to make them appear insoluble" (1976, 39). During my interview with Andrew Tracey, I realized that pulse notation makes the listener pay attention to the little blocks that build the music rather than simplifying it into larger divisions. The approach of listening to the little blocks in the music is an effective strategy to aid the performer and the listener to understand the music closely.

Figure 4.7 "Dirampeetshane" by Kobamo Mongweotsile (2015)

The way forward

In this chapter, I examined some previous attempts at revitalising the traditional music of Botswana and the reality of attempting to revitalise artefacts and songs from the ILAM archive as experienced during this research project. The chapter asserts the possibility of revitalising archival sound recordings while presenting the challenges of a short term research project such as this one in achieving positive results. This chapter attempts to understand the pre-conditions for returning and revitalising old recordings from ILAM to Botswana and to make beneficial assumptions for future efforts. Throughout the chapter I argued that the revitalisation of archival sounds is possible, but it requires a well-executed plan. The discussion emphasizes that teamwork between all stakeholders; motivation and effective coordination are a major component of music revitalisation. The chapter builds on the content from Chapters 2 and 3 in that it adds my perspective as a Motswana to the narratives of the people and to the observations made on the performances.

The forms of representing music in this chapter are not placed to compete, but they are intended to complement each other. An oral tradition may run simultaneously with the recordings on audio and video equipment as well as in transcription. This multifaceted approach will reach more and diverse audiences. It is therefore important to diversify the investment of the valuable musical 'treasures' in multiple areas with the hope for continued growth and good returns. If the investment in music is not diversified, investing in music might become a form of gambling where the players are taking a chance that the music might be revitalised someday in the future.

On the other hand, the second section explains that none of the methods of transcription promises a complete solution to accuracy in music representation. Some, like the staff notation, were designed for purposes outside Africa, but have been adapted and explored for potential use in sub-Saharan African music. Other systems, like pulse notation, were a direct reaction to the obvious shortcomings of the previous ones. However, all the good intentions could yield more positive results for the benefit of the music representation if they complement each other rather than if they were used as a tool to criticize 'the other'. The purpose of representing music through transcription should override personal attitudes and transcend all boundaries in order to lay a foundation for the continuity of the music.

Chapter 5

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Finding a way forward and a proposal for a possible model for further attempts at repatriation and revitalization.

In this chapter, a proposal for a possible model for further attempts to return and revitalise recordings from ILAM to Ngwaketse is based on the data presented in the preceding chapters. Furthermore, the strengths and limitations of the research are considered together with some suggestions for future research on repatriation and revitalisation of old recordings from the ILAM archive. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

The overriding purpose of this study was an attempt at repatriation and the revitalisation of archival holdings from the International Library of African Music (ILAM) to the Bangwaketse community of Botswana. Determining what the people of Ngwaketse thought about the ILAM recordings was necessary to reach an understanding about the reception of the recordings. To allow the people of Ngwaketse to construct their own truths and realities around the music, it was important to listen, watch and participate as they interacted with the music. The understanding is necessary to determine how digital return might or might not be the answer to revitalisation in the context of Ngwaketse, and Botswana. Furthermore, the understanding might aid the development of a model for digital return in the context of a developing country such as Botswana.

A further intention was to assess how the attempt to return and revitalise recordings from ILAM may shape future possibilities for the repatriation of more recordings from ILAM to other areas in Botswana. The data from the study has identified some reasons why traditional music of Bangwaketse ceased or slowed down, the way in which revitalisation has been taking place, and the impact of interventions, such as the Mmakgodumo festival and the President's day competitions, on the revitalisation of traditional music.

It is evident, in this thesis, as indicated in Chapters 2 and 3, that traditional Setswana music has slowed down or ceased completely in some instances. The ongoing attempts, through the President's Day competitions and the Mmakgodumo cultural

festival, attest to the need for revitalisation. While the traditional music is in need of revitalisation, there is an emerging need to understand why the music ceased or faded. With an understanding of the cause of the problem, the solution might be easier to implement.

The research, as mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, followed the examples of Lobley (2012) and Kahunde (2012). Lobley raised awareness of the recordings that he had through extensive airplay on taxis, in schools, taverns and *shebeens* in homes and on street corners (2012, 187). Lobley's article does not give further details on the processes of handing over the sounds to the people, but raises awareness about the existence of Xhosa historical recordings at ILAM. It may be said that he negotiated more for a relationship between ILAM and the local community than taking the people's music recordings to them. On the other hand, Kahunde (2012, 205) raises awareness of the Ugandan recordings through a radio programme that allowed listeners to phone and comment. The two authors managed to raise awareness about the recordings. The next question is whether the Grahamstown Xhosa community either started working with the ILAM archive after Lobley had visited or if the Ugandan recordings became accessible in Uganda. However, following the radio programmes, Kahunde went a step further and distributed the recordings to interested individuals and groups and left some of the recordings with the radio station (ibid., 205).

Most participants, during this research, agreed that some action needs to be taken about the state of traditional music that is threatening to leave the different communities without their music. Furthermore, and as observed in the traditional and folk music that people perform or listen to, the lyrics of the songs are about revitalisation. The message of the songs either encourages audiences to revive their culture or be cultural ambassadors in their regions. The content of the songs is different from the content of the songs in Hugh Tracey's recordings. The songs in Tracey's recordings make no mention of culture or revitalisation, but address social practices, while the content in the recent compositions calls for action to revive and take pride in their perceptions of a culture. In order to achieve the aspirations expressed in recent music, the communities can make contact with and receive old recordings from the archives such as ILAM. The contact, as observed during

fieldwork, comes with challenges and successes. Contact has been made by archives and is ongoing as seen in the examples of Lobley (2012) and Kahunde (2012). The research by both Lobley and Kahunde have contributed ideas about raising people's awareness of the recordings. Like both scholars, I downloaded the music from ILAM. Through media such as flash drives and CD, I shared the recordings with the interested members of the community and played the recordings in the different forums.

The challenges of repatriation observed during this research project.

The issue of repatriation is a complex one at various levels. The researcher has to determine who receives the copies during the project, even if the intention is to spread the sound to more audiences. In preparation for the project, I had made one copy from ILAM and then I multiplied the copies for the target families, preparing 10 CDs to give to the families of the lead singers and one CD to use in the schools training workshops. I kept wondering if anybody else could have led and not the people mentioned in the field notes. Another unanswered question was about the other choristers, who are not named in the field cards, who sang with them. During the short period for the research, it would not be possible to search for the names of the people in the different age regiments that performed for Hugh Tracey.

The recordings made in Kanye, by Tracey, are mainly performances by elderly people. It was important to find out if I had to target age appropriate groups with the music. Age appropriate groups are difficult to define, but in this case the songs were performed by village elders. I wondered whether to target only the elders who were young at the time of Tracey's recordings or to justify the inclusion of the younger generations who claim the heritage of the music. The initial thought of targeting only the elderly would not be able to sustain the revitalisation processes without the younger generation. Some of the ceremonies, represented in the music, were for specific ages. Should the researcher establish the specifications and try to target age appropriate audiences, even when the ceremonies are not alive anymore, in case the community plans to later revive their music and the ceremonies? However, the concerns were brought to a close because the recordings of Bangwaketse from ILAM are songs performed either before or after ceremonies. None of the songs in the recordings were intended to be performed in private. The Morapane family bore

witness that songs that were private remained so; they explained that their grandfather never disclosed the initiation songs, but hinted that there were songs used during all the stages of the initiation process.

To determine or understand how digital return might or might not be the answer to revitalisation, the digital divide has to be understood. The digital divide was pronounced among elderly participants in individual households. The return of sound recordings using the different media formats I used was a challenge. Most of the targeted families did not have suitable equipment to play those sounds, especially after the researcher leaves the field with her equipment. I carried a small CD player to allow the audiences to hear the recordings. However, most of the elderly members of the community did not have any playback equipment that they would use after the research exercise. Therefore, the challenge of digital repatriation for the Bangwaketse was the availability of all relevant technology and connections to all stakeholders. Digital technology seemed to serve a better purpose for the youth, as the music could be downloaded on their different devices and cell phones.

Itshepeng asked what would happen if the copies I gave them were misplaced or lost. He wanted to find out how they could access the music again with ease should the copies be compromised. The challenge raised by Itshepeng is about storage and accessibility. The concern further hints at the possible continued use of the recordings years after the research has been conducted. The solution to the aforementioned problem suggests a possibility of collecting and archiving music as an ongoing process. It is inquiring whether the people should continue to look to outside countries to hold their recordings or should they attempt or be assisted to start thinking about having a place where their heritage may be kept locally. In order to consider housing and accessibility of the recordings for a larger audience, the question is whether the interested people are able to travel to designated satellite archives. It is important to consider whether satellite archiving is not another way of institutionalizing the music and creating another barrier between the music and its heirs. However, with interest such as that of Itshepeng, the concern for institutionalizing the music again is annulled. The descendants of the performers in the recordings made by Tracey, and their contemporary communities, showed no objection to sharing the recordings. Apart from receiving their own copies, they had no idea where the copies of the

recordings could be deposited in order to preserve and conserve them for the future. Housing the recordings in a local satellite archive should be designed such that there are in-house musicians who demonstrate and perform the songs to avoid having a 'silent music bank'.

The successes of repatriation observed during this research project.

Although there were some challenges during the repatriation of Tracey's sound recordings to the Bangwaketse, the project was successful. The returned sound has created relationships and friendships between myself and the Bangwaketse, who claim heritage to the music. Some partnerships in music making that involved different social characters have emerged. For instance, there has been collaboration between two prominent DJs (Bino and King) that emerged through their production of "Lereme"[53]. Therefore, although the repatriation exercise might appear vaguely as the exchange of a musical commodity in which the community receives a recording and the archive receives moral satisfaction, it is more than that. The process of music repatriation has proven to mediate social and musical relationships at various levels.

I further played the music for the teachers in a workshop in Mahalapye without mentioning first where it was recorded. The teachers were from different areas around Botswana and they all identified with the music. After hearing that it was recorded in Kanye, some of them said it could have been the same music recorded in several other places in Botswana. The musical sound connected a nation rather than a small group. Most importantly and of interest to the ILAM archive, is that the Bangwaketse have received some education about the availability of their musical heritage at ILAM. Those that have the digital means of technology may be able to access the ILAM website to find out what is available in the archive.

How may the music be revitalised?
An aim to revitalise songs from the archives such as ILAM, in developing countries like Botswana, suggests that it is necessary to establish where the development of the community is heading and how the sound from the archives may be relevant in development. As observed during this research, Botswana is currently motivated by

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[53] TR 111 A.5 *selo sa ntsa rabakai (Lereme).* The Lereme song mix has been nominated In the Botswana Musicians Union Awards for best single in 2015 and Dj King nominated for DJ of the year in the same awards.

the consumer-supplier initiatives, and most people are interested in human resource development. It is a challenge to establish how repatriation and revitalisation of old sound recordings may be fitted into that national vision, but it is not impossible. Evidently, if the process of repatriation and revitalisation does not attempt to be in the context of current developments, the community will continue to construct their lives without the music until the time when the community realises how that music fits in and contributes to the developments. Although it must be said that incentives are an important aspect of revitalising traditional music, it should be noted that there are other equally important aspects that combine to aid the effectiveness of music revitalisation.

The revitalisation of music that recognises the demands of the community has to make an attempt to re-introduce the music into the lives of the people in meaningful and efficient ways. The effective re-introduction of music into their daily lives will develop the potential benefits of music in skill recognition, skill development and implementation. The reintroduction will entail music of the past being returned into people's lives outside academic fields, in order to cultivate the skills required in human resource development. For instance, from an early age the learners may be channeled professionally through the skills that they display when they perform traditional music. If a learner acquires skills in coordination and ensemble playing, they do not have to be called a musician, but they may be nurtured through music, to develop the work related skill of teamwork, for professional purposes.

In the previous chapters, it was established that providing incentives and support are necessary for the revitalisation of traditional music. Therefore, sponsorship or financial support, even if it is by the NGOs, may motivate the musicians to create sustainable self employment that complements the seasonal government efforts. The sponsorship might encourage performers to devote more time to practice and refinement of their skill. The competitions do not provide a monthly salary for the musicians and they are not always guaranteed to win when they enter competitions. Therefore, if they receive the support that is self sustaining and more reliable, it may motivate music revitalisation more than the seasonal benefits of competitions.

As argued by Phibion (2012), the provision of incentives, such as a salary, or monetary rewards is beneficial. However, the performers need general recognition

and an appropriate social status to perform with motivation. The recognition may be achieved through gaining opportunities for external travelling, gaining airtime on TV and radio, alongside other local music programmes such as *Mokaragana*[54]. These programmes nurture the talent of the youth in popular music genres. There is need for packaging and staging of traditional music that is comparable to the standards of the general market for music.

Schools remain the fundamental stage of learning that may catalyze the revitalisation and continuity of the music. Following the guidance of Hugh Tracey (1965), models of revitalisation may be established through schools.

In Chapter 2, research participants recalled social events like *khonsata* that continually revitalised traditional music. The different clubs and social gatherings of the past must be revitalised in the search for a revival and the continued life of folk and traditional music in schools. Some of the musical practices to revitalise are; folk music clubs, folk concerts, folk competitions, in, and among schools. The competitions may be improved to include instrumental performances, compositional arrangements and original compositions. The Botswana Folklore Association may further motivate an initiative of school memberships to host competitions at the level of the association. The current president and vice-presidents of the Botswana Folklore Association, Joseph Dikgomo and Kopano Mantswe, expressed a keen interest in the initiatives that work towards reviving and revitalising the folk and traditional music of Botswana.

The ongoing theme of cultural festivals such as Mmakgodumo in Botswana may be cultivated in schools through inter-regional festivals, where schools share the music from their regions under different themes. Furthermore, music fairs in schools may include categories that represent folk music and research in the different aspects of folk music. The revitalisation has to lead to further archiving and preservation of the music in accessible formats. One possible method would be to have a website that could function as a repository of folk and traditional music. In order to continually deposit entries in the archives, the music used in the already existing clubs such as drama, scout, and school choir has to be recorded. The intention of revival and

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[54] A local talent show targeting the youth in different popular music genres.

revitalisation projects in schools should be to develop innovative ways that are practical and valuable for the contemporary educator, learner, musician and performer in the community who lays claim to the music heritage. These imagined strategies are almost like experimental projects that will be evaluated and revised as necessary.

The intended revival and revitalisation of the music is not only based on the continued performance of music. Rather, the efforts of Bangwaketse revival and revitalization processes seem to promote competition, earning an income, tourist attraction and the initiation of the young generations, for continuity. Any attempt at a revival or repatriation has to understand the underlying motivation behind the performance of the music and how the motivating factors may be explored and further supported for the livelihood of the community performers. The attempt to understand the revival and revitalisation, as interpreted by the members of the community, is an ethical position that justifies why the music is kept in the archives. For instance, if the music was taken from the archives and imposed with strategies on the members of the community, the power relations between the archives and the communities would be strenuous. In her article about the repatriation of bodily remains such as that of el Negro, Rapoo observes that a respectable repatriation ensures "the veneration of the dead, maintains a connection between the living and the dead, and transmits cultural memory" (2011, 140). Although there is not much emphasis on the veneration of ILAM recordings, the other two reasons for a respectable repatriation resonate with the aims of this project. The ILAM archive wishes to return the music, see how people interact with their music so that the interaction may further bring life to the music in the archive.

My interest was in an approach that returns the music to the people, followed by a study of social patterns to see how the music may be revitalised while giving the people time to interact freely with the music in their own ways. If competition and reward have been observed to stimulate the revitalisation of the music, then maybe, that is the way to approach it. The approach in this project includes the people who had to be inspired by listening to the music in order to create new music in that particular idiom. Receiving and acting on the old sound recordings is a complicated endeavour that relies on human interest, motivation and hope for sustainability. There are some traditional musicians who might be interested in re-living the music for its

own sake, although most people during fieldwork viewed music as a commodity that is used to earn an income.

The revitalisation of the music from the ILAM archive seems to require ample time for the artists to interact with the music and to create new ideas. Most musicians and performers were able to explain what they wanted to do with the recordings, but expressed the need for more time to engage with the music. The few who acted on creating something new with the music within the time of the research mainly reproduced the music as it is on the various instruments or voices. The revitalisation that occurred within the time of the research could be described as reproduction rather than the development of new musical ideas. Such efforts at revitalisation have maintained most of the musical aspects from the past. It further seems that the revitalisation and revival of music often suggest the performance of the songs such as *dikoma* for commemorative events, rather than a continued composition of new music in that idiom.

On the other hand, there is hope that after transcribing the songs, the other composers and performers might treat the transcriptions as compositional models of the particular time which they might want to reference in their work. The access to the transcription might yield continuity with the traditional or folk melody. This approach could serve as both a folk music conservatory and an area of creativity as the folk song adapts to the changing expectations of performances in the community. As performers transfer the usage of some song melodies and lyrics, others may explore the rhythmic potential of the folk songs in their newly created music. In some way, the transcribed melodies may allow for Setswana ensemble playing that may be explored both vocally and instrumentally. Some traditional music enthusiasts showed an interest in having the karaoke and slide show versions of the music. This would allow for different people to take active part in the music as the visual aid encourages them to try and fill active roles. For the above mentioned reasons, I am inclined to believe that personal interest and a keen sense of responsibility towards one's own traditional music and practices will yield positive results in revitalisation efforts made by archives such as ILAM if done with no time constraints.

The circle of music repatriation and revitalisation

The following circle of events is an illustration of how the repatriation and revitalisation process unfolded in the Ngwaketse district of Botswana. The image of the life cycle is effective in assessing the potential impact of the repatriation and revitalisation of the old recordings. Through the life cycle, I compile an inventory of inputs in order to evaluate their impact and then display the results of the process to inform future attempts. The events in this circle occur in sequence, but a few of the stages may move in reverse.

The Repatriation- Revitalisation Project life Cycle
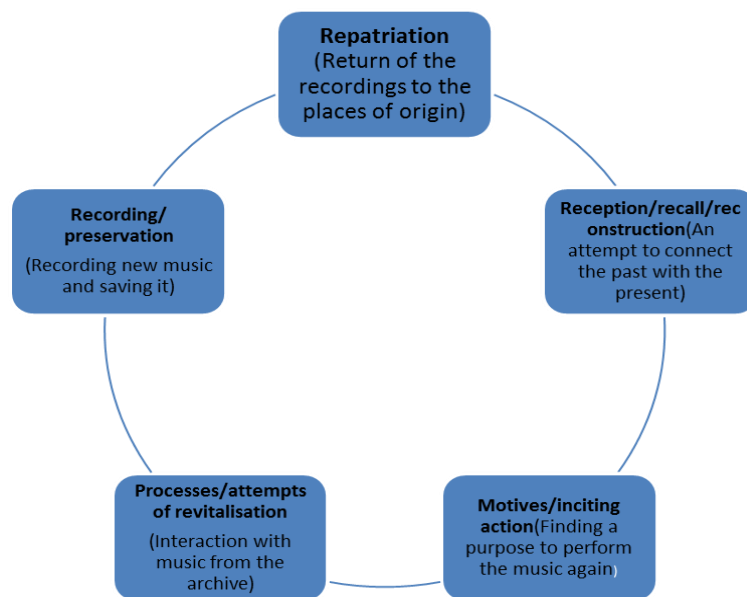
The archive has a need to return its holdings to places where they were recorded and witness the moment when the recordings weave their way back into the community. An interrelationship, therefore, exists between the archive and the receiving community; archives wishing for revival and hopefully continued music production while the receiving community might wish for easy access to the recordings for reference. The important element in the processes of repatriation and revitalisation is the intention, both to return and to receive the recordings. Having an intention results in initiatives that allow opportunities to unfold. An intent to return sound recordings will search for contacts while an intent to revitalise will search for a purpose with determination.

The people who receive the recordings recall the past and attempt to reconstruct the present. The nostalgic reactions aid recollections of the past. Therefore, an

understanding of original and contemporary contexts and the recollections of the past will equip the people returning the sound recordings. As they return and attempt to revitalise, they will need to be ready to respond to sceptics who might not have hope for the initiatives which failed in the past. After receiving the recordings, the community finds a purpose to perform the music. Once the motivation to perform is there, the revitalisation is possible.

The need for incentives in the revitalisation partly means that the exercise of revitalisation might otherwise be avoided by the recipient. It further suggests that repatriation feels incomplete if the recordings are returned and not followed through. Internal incentives such as wishes and desires are often overweighed by material incentives and rewards. For instance, people are motivated by monetary incentives if they are broke or in need of money to make a living. However, the value of an incentive changes over time, depending on factors such as social pressure and the economic demands.

The material incentives are effective because the Ngwaketse community, and Batswana have placed value on giving and receiving rewards. Both motivation and incentives are incompatible in the revitalisation of music from the archives. It is necessary to explain that the participants have to be motivated to interact with the music, otherwise providing incentives will appear as payment to make the participants do what they would otherwise not do. This apparently ethical dilemma becomes evident if the participants are not motivated and do not share an interest in the revitalisation process. In this case, the incentive comes across as a form of bribery. Providing an incentive may be a sign of commitment to the cause by the provider of incentives, although it may be an indicator of asymmetrical power relations. All in all providing an incentive may reinforce or incite an action, motivate creativity and hopefully create awareness about the music from the archive, while giving life to the music that has been on the shelves in the archives.

Revitalisation may be defined by the level of interest that people have on the music. The search for a motive or incentives is a response to social changes and demands that shaped the way the community views all the social products and processes. Therefore, nurturing the relationship between music revitalisation and the provision of incentives may augment the way participants interact with the music, because there is a

relationship between earning a living and the way people interact with the environment. Furthermore, the rate of participation in competitions throughout the year is evidence that the provision of material incentives is, currently, an effective method to motivate performance.

However, the challenges of monetary rewards do not only concern the amount given or spent on a participant, but how long the motivation may be sustained. Although some local newspapers have reported on the growth of the number of performers in the different categories, it is possible that some of the performers target the competitions and do not participate in patriotic or volunteerism performances. Therefore, a revitalisation attempt would have to explore options that work with the way people revive music currently.

A review of the digital repatriation and a possible model for Botswana.
Having an access to own music heritage is an answer to reconnection with, and possible reconstruction of music from the archives. When the community gains access to the music and interacts with it, it becomes possible to determine or understand how digital return might or might not be the answer to revitalisation. As observed, during this research, theoretically, it is possible to access ILAM's website, but in practice, the digital divide restricts the attempts of the Bangwaketse. However, when working with music recordings, despite the format the recordings appear in, they are never a digital burden. The sound can therefore be downloaded onto user-friendly media by the recipients.

Due to the digital divide, it is a challenge to develop a model for digital return in the context of a developing country such as Botswana. During fieldwork, a few people asked about databases where they could gain access to their musical heritage online. Possibly, this is a result of the reality of how many Batswana own a computer. However, The digital repatriation creates access, even if it is only to a few people. Evidently, if the recordings were returned in LP format, the effect could have been worse that the digital return. The recipients would struggle to find the right equipment to play the LPs. However, the digital return is relevant because most people have phones, iPods and other mp3 players where they can play back the music. Those with digital access can share with the community. It is as much the repatriation of knowledge about the recordings as it is the return of copies of sound recordings.

Those who can access the digital recordings online are able to reconnect with the music and with others who share the heritage. For music recordings, the digital divide is often less felt if the recipients of the recordings have playback equipment.

If the community can reconnect more interactively with the music, even online, the information that they share would 'release the pause button' on the music as the comments they make would contextualise the recordings for a wider audience beyond ILAM and the Ngwaketse district. Having access to the returned recordings, the communities can further create websites and databases where they can add, preserve and share both the recordings from archives and the new ones that they make. This suggestion advocates for interactive community databases and websites that allow comments and contributions by users.

This study is important because it provides insights into the challenges and successes of repatriating and revitalising digital sound recordings from the ILAM archive to Botswana, a developing country. No rules were imposed on the Bangwaketse about how to receive or revive their sound heritage. Instead, the people who claim the heritage of the sound recordings, and still practice some of the songs, have constructed their own version of truth about their music.

The research project provides a snapshot of how the old traditional music of Bangwaketse is conceptualized, in recent years, by the different participants in this research. The project further depicts the innate need for a continuing music culture by the Bangwaketse. Some sections of the project explain how music 'escaped' the social practices and structures of the past. After describing how the traditional music faded, the Bangwaketse communally construct different strategies to re-insert the music into their livelihoods. The different strategies referred to above situate the recordings from the ILAM as a means to advancing an ongoing revitalization.

Limitation of the present study and directions for future application.
Time was the greatest limitation in this project. The time frame for the process of revitalisation needs to be extensive, especially in situations where the sounds are still to elicit a response rather than when the recipients were already anticipating the recordings. The different policy makers (HRM, Curriculum Development) should facilitate the development of strategies that may receive, revive and revitalise

traditional music for the benefit of all and not only academics. The policies need to be flexible, diverse and accessible to the majority. Music revitalisation is not an assignment for one person. The collaborative efforts between all stakeholders; music performers and cultural custodians will effectively structure an effective revitalisation process. As the people continue to socially negotiate their lives, comparative studies with other communities and inter-sectoral studies will help to expand the knowledge and ability to revitalise the music.

Throughout the research process, a lingering question was whether it is ideal to combine repatriation with revitalisation in the Botswana context and how best the combination could be effective. Some of the questions that came out of the major question above are; when combining the two processes, is it possible that the two stand separate or one takes more time and effort than the other. Which one is controlled by the researcher and which one is mainly controlled by the community? Another question to ponder is whether it is feasible to return the recordings to their places of origin and give them back to the communities without attempting to revitalise the music or to revive it. However, for self evaluation by the archives as well as aiding the interest of the communities on their cultural heritage it makes sense to combine the repatriation with efforts to revive or revitalise the music. A continued form of introspection that I have is, whether I have returned the sounds effectively, with curiosity on what may still be done. The introspection continues beyond the scope of this project and will hopefully lead to innovative ways of effective sound repatriation.

Recommendations for future research

More recordings Tracey made in Botswana and housed at ILAM need to be returned and studied in socially constructive approaches.

More studies, into specific music performances as represented in the archived music, are required to allow further assessment that does not generalise styles and genres into one entity.

<center>**Appendices**</center>

Appendix I: Discography of Tracey's recordings

1. TR 108 A.1 *Maboko a ga Kgosi Gaseitsiwe*
2. TR 108 A.2 *Hee, ga re a nnwa ke nkgwana*
3. TR 108 A.4 *A reeng*
4. TR 108 A.4 *He Mmamoshage*
5. TR 108 A.5 *Ditshwene tsa Mmupotswane*
6. TR 108 A.6 *Maomosa rekaeleng*
7. TR 108 A.7 *Mabalane Kgosi rabokome*
8. TR 108 B.1 *Hee, mogoge goga o lere thokolo*
9. TR 108 B.2 *selepe ga se a ja mosu*
10. TR 108 B.3 *Tshetlha di kae*
11. TR 108 B.4 *hee mmalo kgaka*
12. TR 108 B.5 *Hee re a nyadiwa*
13. TR 108 B.6 *Ga a neelwe kolobe*
14. TR 109 A.1 *Re tswa ko tlhabane*
15. TR 109 A.2 *maolo di phepa*
16. TR 109 A.3 *Kgapha sa khudu*
17. TR 109 A.4 *pula*
18. TR 109 A.5 *kgomo tsa ga mme*
19. TR 109 A.6 *Phatshwa bolela*
20. TR 109 A.7 *sekokodia pula wee*
21. TR 111 B.3 *Nama ke go tlole*
22. TR 111 B.4 *Motlhala wa noga*

Songs not recorded in Ngwaketse but referred to in the thesis

23. TR 111 A.4 *sebodu ke nnenekwane*
24. TR 111 A.5 *selo sa ntsa rabakai (Lereme)*
25. TR 111 A.9 Silang Mosoko
26. TR 111 A.10 *Re tswa ko Tlhabane*
27. TR 114 A.1 *kgongwana tshweu*

Appendix II: Field recordings (audio)

Audio Recordings

	Title of song	Performers and place of performance
1.	*Bangwaketse*	Mongweotsile at Kanye (katara)
2.	*Bangwaketse*	Mongweotsile at Kanye (Segaba)
3.	*Bulang mojako*	Teachers at Lobatse
4.	*Khubamang ka mangole*	Teachers at Mahalapye
5.	*Tlholwe ke mosimane*	Teachers at Mahalapye
6.	*Mogoge*	Teachers at Lobatse
7.	*Mogoge*	Teachers at Palapye
8.	*Silang mosoko*	Teachers at Mahalapye

Appendix III: field recordings   (video)

	Title of song	Performers and place
1.	*Bo tlhangwe and Ga re a nnwa*	Abotsen brothers in Kanye
2.	*Tsa betsho*	Abotsen brothers in Kanye
3.	*Mogoge*	Mmakgodumo 2014
4.	*Dirampeetshane*	Mongweotsile on *segaba*
5.	*Re tshwere teu ya ngwao*	*Khwaere* at Mmakgodumo 2014
6.	*Malope o kare Pula*	Mmakgodumo 2014
7.	*Di phepa*	Mmakgodumo 2014
8.	*Ba mmala wa sebilo*	*Maswailathota* at Mmakgodumo
9.	*Mogoge*	Various groups at Mmakgodumo
10.	*Polka dance*	Mmakgodumo 2014
11.	*Sebodu ke Nnenekwane*	Teachers workshop in Lobatse 2014
12.	*Setapa sa bagolo, Iyele!*	Mathethe group at Mmakgodumo
13.	*Setapa sa bagolo song 2*	Mathethe group at Mmakgodumo
14.	*Phetholo maitsholo*	Tlhomo School at Mmakgodumo

Appendix IV: Photos

Figure1: Mongweotsile with the *segankure* (Photo by: G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 2: Another *segankure* player at the Mmakgodumo festival (September 2014) (Photo by: G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 3: Seatla Tshimologo with his guitar (Photo by: G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 4: *Dikgafela* **procession** (September 2014) **with** *dinkgwana* (Photo by: G. P. Mojaki)

Figure: 5 Dj Bino and Dj King (Photo supplied by Bino)

Figure 6: The Dinake sisters Ontlametse Kgabole Dinake and Lebang Madawe Dinake. (Photo by O. W. Mojaki)

Figure 7: The Abotsen brothers, Kepatilwe Mahoko and Bothata Abotsen. (Photo by O. W Mojaki)

Figure 8: Mrs Nnana Itshepeng. (Photo by G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 9: Mr Motlhabane Itshepeng (Photo by G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 10: The royal choristers Mphoentle Monageng and Goabamang Florina Mabe (Photo by G. P. Mojaki)

Figure 11: Trio pounding exercise (September 2014) **at the** Mmakgodumo **festival.** (Photo by O. W. Mojaki)

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Glossary

Borankana: a generic term for traditional dance performances in Botswana

Dikgafela: a ceremony to celebrate a good harvest and to pray for rain

Dikhwaere: Traditional choirs

Dinaka: Horns or reed pipes or for shapes of horns while dancing

Ditlhaka: reed pipes

go chikisa: to turn a partner while dancing

Kankachi: a rhythmic word for pounding done by three people

Katara: traditional guitar

Kgajane: an initiate before graduation

Kgotla: A public meeting place mostly in villages, headed by the village chief or headman.

kgotlana: Miniature public meeting places mostly in villages, headed by the appointed assistants of the chief (plural, *makgotlana*).

Khonsata: A concert where the activities of the event are decided by the audience through laying down money.

koma: ceremonial song (*dikoma* - signifying plural form).

Konkomi: A dance done by women to decorate and motivate the choreography of men in traditional dance

Mainane: Evening tales and stories

Maisantwa: name of a regiment (1904-1910)

Malwelakgosi: name of a regiment (1890-1897)

Malwelanaga: name of a regiment (1886-1889)

Masimo: the ploughing fields

Matshelaphala: name of a regiment (1876-1881)

Mmadiipone: the queen of mirrors (a nickname for Chief Bathoen's lorry

Modikano: couple dance with similar characteristics to ballroom dancing

Mogolokwane: Ululation

Mongwaketse:	A person from the Ngwaketse district (Bangwaketse - plural)
moraka/meraka:	a place where cattle a reared or kept
Mosakaso:	a dance characterized by intricate leg movement, whistling and finger snapping accompanied by music
Motswana:	a person from Botswana (*Batswana*- plural form).
Ngwaketse: reside.	A district in the southern part of Botswana where Bangwaketse
poo ya pina:	master of the song (especially the content of the lyrics)
rampeetshane:	Traditional leather sandal (and plural *dirampeetshane*)
Segankure:	A traditional bowed instrument with an oil tin resonator attached also known as *segaba/sebinjolo*.
seletso/ diletso:	musical instrument (and plural)
Sengwaketse:	the language or the way of life of Bangwaketse
Setapa:	a dance of stamping of the feet (or the venue for such a dance)
Setimamolelo:	a fire extinguisher (a traditional doctor supposed to protect the ceremony from witchcraft)
Setinkane: *mbira*	a plucked lamellaphone with some similar characteristics to the
Setswana*:*	the language of Batswana
Tantshe:	an event where dancers display their skills of dance
Tjale:	small blankets or shawls that women use to cover their shoulders in ceremonies