

**ORALITY AND THERAPY IN THE *KAYAMBA* PERFORMANCE OF  
THE DIGO**

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## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

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This research project has been subjected for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the *Kayamba* performance of the Digo people, in terms of its literary aesthetics, the performance dynamics, and their impact on the therapeutic healing of the sick. *Kayamba* healing ceremony is a ritual in Digo community performed publically by both men and women in order to drive away evil spirits possessing a person. The study examines the literary techniques in the oral poems and the performance dynamics. The study utilizes ethnopoetics theory that aids in collection and analysis of the oral poetry, theory of performance that interpret the performance ritual of the *Kayamba* performance and psychoanalytic that interrogates and delves into the motives of the afflicted. The study was field based in which data was collected through various methods analyzed and interpreted. The study has applied both qualitative and quantitative methods of research design and data collection. The inquiry concludes that the oral poetry and performance dynamics of the *Kayamba* performance leads to spirit exorcism and therefore facilitate the therapeutic healing of the afflicted. The study recommends that further research be conducted on whether the *Kayamba* performance is used as a space by the Digo women as agency to gratify them against wishes such as power and material possession not granted to them by the male dominated society.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my dear son, Prudence – you have given me the joy of motherhood, my loving mother, Mrs. Paskweline Kagotho, your prayers have kept me going. All my siblings, my husband – Tom, and above all to God who is for ever merciful and loving in all seasons.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Spirit possession along the East African coastline and even globally has attracted a lot of interest especially in academic circles. It is a very fascinating area of scholarly *Kayamba* enquiry. A lot of research has been mounted in the field of anthropology, sociology, musicology, ethnography and literature in an attempt to unravel the many facets of spirit possession.

This area of inquiry is on the Digo performance during which spirit possession and exorcism are experienced. Of greater interest are the significance of the *Kayamba* oral poetry techniques and the dynamics of the performance rendered during the exorcism of the evil spirit inhabiting the afflicted person. Spirit possession is a global phenomenon experienced by many communities. A number of communities in Kenya practice ritual healing to drive away evil spirits that hold people captive through possession. They include Maasai, Taita, Kamba, Duruma, and Digo among others.

During my undergraduate oral literature field work that I conducted among the Digo people of Kwale County in Msambweni in 2016, I developed interest in the oral poetry enacted during the *Kayamba* performance. Of interest to me is the role played by the literary aesthetics in the oral poetry and the performance dynamics in the therapeutic healing of the sick.

Digo people of Kenya live along the south coast and the adjacent hinterland of Kenya. They are a sub-tribe of the Mijikenda community with whom they have a shared historical cradle and cultural practice. According to many historical records (Spear 1977; 74; 1986, Gillette 1978; Mwanngudza 1983; Wills 1986, Park 2015), they came from a place called Shungwaya in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Digo have a rich oral tradition which has a wealth of oral poetry and dances that mark many of their traditional, ethno-social activities such as marriage ceremonies, traditional worship of the deity, circumcision ceremonies and healing rituals. Healing rituals

are facilitated through *Kayamba* performances. This community strongly believes in the presence of the spirits both good and evil. During the healing ritual whose main focus is the exorcism of the evil spirits, *Kayamba* oral poetry is performed. The oral poetry, the musical instruments played and the dance are believed by the community to have therapeutic effects on the sick.

Scholarship on oral poetry and healing can be traced to classical ethnographic discourses that dealt with music in rituals of healing ceremonies in particular traditions. Works on American Indians and their application of folk music in healing is documented (Densmore (1927:3, Bauman: 1975:292). In Africa we have Zambia (Colson: 1969), Ethiopia (Lewis: 1991), Nigeria (last: 1991, Echard: 1991:64). In Kenya communities experiencing spirit possession and healing phenomenon include Maasai (Hurskainen: 2006), Luo (Whisson: 1964), Kamba (Lindblom: 1920) and Taita (Harris: 1957).

Among the Digo, performance on healing takes several stages where each stage is marked with oral poetry. While performing the healing ritual, different musical instruments are played at each stage of the ritual performance. The main musical instrument deployed is the *Kayamba*. In the first stage, the performers play the *Kayamba*. This is at the stage of appealing to the evil spirits to leave the sick. During the actual exorcising stage where the spirits have accepted to leave the sick, the community uses drums and other instruments as accompaniments.

The study therefore examines the poetic techniques and performance dynamics in the *Kayamba* Performance and their role in offering therapeutic healing to the possessed. The oral poetry is performed during the traditional healing rituals in which the patient who is possessed by evil spirit is treated through exorcism of the malevolent spirit by traditional medicine persons (*Mganga*).

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

This study interrogates the artistic techniques and performance dynamics in *Kayamba* oral performance of the Digo community. *Kayamba* Performance is a traditional healing ritual carried out in a poetic manner. It is carried out to exorcise malevolent spirit residing in the body of the afflicted person. This healing ceremony is still very relevant to the contemporary society as an alternative form of medical care. This study is triggered by the curiosity to explain the relationship between healing of the sick and plain oral poetry performance without applying any tangible medicine and so the reason to investigate its mode of delivery as regards to performance dynamics and the poetic techniques.

## **1.3 Objectives**

The research has three objectives:

- a) To investigate the *kayamba* oral poetry performance as a source of therapy for the sick.
- b) To interrogate the deployment of *Kayamba* poetics in the healing process.

## **1.4 Hypothesis**

- a) *Kayamba* oral performance is trusted among the Digo community as a source of therapeutic healing.
- b) The healing power in the *kayamba* oral performance is dependant upon how different stylistic techniques are deployed.

## **1.5 Justification of Research**

*Kayamba* healing performance is an alternative form of medical care in the Digo community. The medical aspect is achieved through the healing ritual which is rendered in a poetic manner. This study seeks to investigate the poetic strategies and the performance dynamics in this oral poetry. The findings will boost the appreciation, appeal, legitimacy and relevance of *Kayamba* performance among the Digo. This study will also contribute to scholarship in African oral literature through poetic studies and how they relate to real life situations.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

The literature review explores what scholars have written on Orality and therapeutic healing. I have demarcated the scholarship included in the literature review into different sections; the historiography of the Digo people, literature on spirit possession and healing dynamics, and finally scholarly works on oral poetry and healing among the Digo people.

### **1.6.1 Scholarly Interpretation of Orality and Therapeutic Healing**

Chiang (2008:31) distinguishes between “Music Therapy” and “Music and Healing”. She defines Music therapy as a western conventional that applies music as a device to heal people mentally, physically and emotionally. The purpose of music therapy, she adds, is to improve people’s health, wellness, and life. Traditional music and healing is found in traditional cultures of the developing countries. She reports that the many cultures in developing worlds have a strong belief in the power to heal through ritual because modern medical care is often not available or is expensive. Much of Chiang’s research is on Music and its healing and not literary and therapy.

Maccanley (1880) and Mathews (1884) both examine the application of music in healing in Native American Indian environment. They argue that diseases and death are not natural but are due to evil influence of spirits, ghost and witches. Robertson (1974) in an essay “music as therapy”: A bio cultural problem” explores the application of songs in healing and its relation to psychiatry.

The three scholars have it in common that music is applied in traditional healing as a way of bringing wellness to the sick, what they have not shown is the how? How the type of music mentioned facilitates therapeutic healing. In addition their findings are in the area of musicology.

Friedson (1996) provides a study about ritual healing in *Tumbuka*-speaking people in Malawi, in this community healing involves dancing *Vimbuza* (musical instruments) all night this

results to a trance that provides the cause and treatment of the affliction affecting the sufferer. Rouget (1985) examines the role of music and trance in therapeutic treatment in a cultural context. He explores different types of trance and how they affect treatment on the sufferer. His findings are mainly trance and its effect on the patient. Both Friedson and Rouget illustrates the importance of the possessed gaining the state of trance, since according to them that is when healing begins, they regard it as process that leads to successful exorcism but they have not looked at the oral artistic that trigger the trance.

Radin (1948:5-7) acknowledges the power and efficacy of music in healing. He argues that the folksong is a symbol of the healer's power with regards to his power over spirits and deity (Ibid 22-23). His findings are in line with Chiang's study who describes healing music as ritual and traditional music done to please the gods. Also in the same view is Steven Friedson's *'Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing (1996)* that interrogates ritual healing tradition of the Tumbuka-speaking people of northern Malawi. The healing ceremony involves dancing the spirit dance all night in an attempt to heal the afflicted but the three of them have not looked at the internal structure of the healing ritual.

Sajal (2010:10) in an essay "*Tangomas'* language: examines the role of oral literature in herbal medicine practice among the Bakossi people of Cameroon. The essay examines the use of poetic expression and dramatic dialogue to establish a rapport between man and the supernatural forces in the process of healing. Sajal's concern in this essay is on the role of orality in healing but has not examined the techniques in the said orality or even performance dynamic in the therapeutic healing.

Topan (1971: 20) explores the role of spirit songs in a spirit- mediumship cult of Mombasa. He examines the implications of the songs within the context of the rituals in which they are sung. The thesis is concerned with the spiritual impact of the deployment of oral literature in rituals but has not examined the oral performance.

Kigunda (1975) examines the application of music in healing among the Christian and the Kamba traditional healing and music. His study is mainly in music and not orature. Kiiru, in his thesis, *Perspective on Indigenous Therapeutic Interventions on Death and Bereavement in Kenya*, examines the oral poetry (dirge) and its power to offer therapeutic effects to the bereaved, after the loss of a loved one. According to him music works as a therapy to assist the bereaved persons to express the deepest human emotion that cannot be expressed through any other form. His work is so much on the strategy applied to cope after the death of a loved one. He has explored different ways of grieving as a way of relief, similar in a way, to Friedson, *the Dancing Prophets (1996)* who also interrogates ritual in terms of dancing the spirit out to heal the affected. Both of them have appraised music and dancing as a therapy but has not looked at it interns of the techniques deployed to bring the effects of therapy to those affected by spirit possession.

### **1.6.2 Digo Historiography and the Need for Therapeutic Healing**

Historiographical literature in this study on oral poetry and *Kayamba* performance is relevant because of a number of reasons. The literature confirms the existence of spirit possession and the application of orature in the therapeutic healing of the possessed. The literature justifies the application of traditional medical healthcare despite the existence of modern biomedical treatment. It also demonstrates the historical predicaments of the Digo people after their departure from their mythical cradle of origin-*shungwaya*. This predicament is in relation to their encounter with slavery, colonialism, Islamization and post independent governments that have marginalized the community.

The history of the Digo people demonstrates the environment that provides grounds for adherence to the belief in traditional healing music. Mwangundza (1983:24) looks at how the Mijikenda came to Kenya, the meaning of Mijikenda, the organization of kayas (villages), their family life, how they spent their time, and about their social organization and religion. His work sheds some light on the general background of the Digo. Johnson has provided three

traditional stories and some riddles which offer a rich background of oral history of the Digo; however, he has not done any critical appraisal of Digo *Kayamba* Performances.

Turner (1981), an authority on Digo society and its history, has documented massive cultural and historiographical information about Digo community in his two books: *The kaya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda People of the Kenyan Coast to 1900* and *Kenyan Past: Introduction to Historical Methods in Africa*. He provides a detailed and a rich account of the Mijikenda and their environment, history and economic expansion. In some aspects, he has similar concerns as addressed by Mwangundza (1983:24), the difference in their contribution is that Mwangundza looks so much at the social economic factors of the Digo while Turner explore into the history of the Digo, invasion, migration and settlement in their present location. The historiographical perspective of the two historian shed lights on the social dynamics of the community and their application of traditional healing approaches despite the presence of modern medical care in Digo land.

Gillette (1978) in her PhD thesis titled - *Test of the Concept of backwardness: A Case Study of Digo Society in Kenya* argues that history and traditions play a role in explaining backwardness of the Digo which is constrained by local conditions rather than backwardness. The Thesis interrogates why the Digo are considered “backward” and the economic and social impact of the Kamba people who have settled in Digo. Gillette attributes the application of traditional healing approaches to the notion of backwardness.

Gillette’s perspective has not interrogated the role of orality in the traditional healing of the Digo but her argument has brought in an insider/ outsider dichotomy in the study of African traditional practices like healing. Digo practice of *Kayamba* healing ceremony is an alternative healthcare to modern medicine and not an aspect of backwardness. It is the skewed resource distribution in the entire coast region that is partly responsible for the under development experienced by the Digo community. What she looks at as backwardness would be considered as a way of life in this particular community and not backwardness.

David (2010), in his PhD thesis ‘Sacred Spaces, Political Authority, and the Dynamics of Tradition in Mijikenda History’, explores the social, political, and symbolic roles of the Mijikenda *kayas* in the Coast Province of Kenya and the duality of their religious orientation- Muslim and traditional religion, however he has not talked of healing through *Kayamba* performance. Gillette and Bresnaham have shed some light on social and cultural factors around the Digo community which contribute to our understanding of the environment that compels the community to result to traditional healing.

### **1.6.3 Scholarly Works on Spirit Possession as a Tool to Elevate the Marginalized**

A key subject in the scholarly study of spirit possession is the claim that women in cultures where this practice is exists apply the ritual as a way of challenging male dominance. A number of scholars have confirmed this claim (Gomm: 1975:530, Harris 1957:433, Lewis 1966:33, Messing 1958: 345, Parka in 1972:330, Shack: 1966:56, Wilson 1967:56 and Caplan 1968). Gomm (1975:530) reports that a majority of possessed victims are mainly women, both the married and the betrothed. The betrothal is privately and secretly negotiated by parents without the knowledge of the bride. Majority of Young bride in Digo community detest arranged marriages by parents in which their opinion and consent is not sought. Roger Gomm (1975:530) reports that the young bride fakes spirit possession.

Ethno medical diagnosis interprets this ‘possession’ as the god’s objection to the bride being married to the chosen suitor. Graham Furniss and Liz Gunner (1995) in *Power, marginality and African oral literature* opines that oral Literature can be deployed as tool of significant social change states;

African oral literature, like other forms of popular culture, is not merely folksy, domestic entertainment but a domain in which individuals in a variety of social roles are free to comment on power relations in society. It can also be a significant agent of change capable of directing, provoking, preventing, overturning and recasting perceptions of social reality.



(Gomm: 1975:197) argues that The *Kayamba* dance is partly as a tool to bring back lost health and wellbeing of the community and as a way of working for the interests of women who are weak and downtrodden and have otherwise few effective means to press their claims for attention and respect in relation to economic and social marginalization. The above scholars have confined themselves to the application of spirit possession by women as agency to challenge patriarchy. This study is concerned with the aesthetics of the deployment of literary strategies in the oral poetry of the *kayamba* performance.

#### **1.6.4 Spirit Possession as a Ritual**

According to Uka (1991:45) African people believe in a host of spirits which inhabit all sorts of places. Idowu (1973:173) calls the spirits as “those entities which are almost abstract, as shades or vapours which forms a separate form of beings.”

Scholarship on spirit possession report about manifestation of spirit possession on the possessed that confirms that indeed spirit possession is a ritual (Gomm 1975:535, Boddy: 1989:145, Lewis1998:109). Included in the above citations are the enumeration of the manifestation of a possessed person which include; running amok, hitting people, fear, anxiety, and mental confusion among other symptoms. These works only provide anthropological research devoid of any literary perspective.

The application of songs and dances in the traditional healing ceremonies has been reported by a number of scholars. Caciola (2005:2928) reports that the elements of dance and music are applied by many cultures in the world. The Digo healing ceremony involves exorcism of the malevolent spirit from the body of the possessed (Caciola 2005:2928)

Dorit (1997:2) in an essay, ‘Understanding the Role of Folk Songs in Jewish-Israeli Culture: Implications for Music Therapy’ Emphasizes the importance of songs as a healing force. She argues that ‘Expressing pain and processing it through singing is often followed by a new

feeling of inner freedom that strengthens the person and allows them to make meaningful life decisions.(2).

Densmore (1927:3) while writing on the use of music in the treatment of the American Indians report that the potency in a song is not the power behind the cure for the affliction in the person but the power put in the song by the spirit. The two, Dorit and Densmore have different viewpoint on the way they look at an oral poetry, Dorit states that an oral poetry is the healing force and power behind healing, while Densmore states that it is not really the song that brings healing rather the power put in the song by the spirit, the two have appraised oral poetry but in different perspectives. The different views between the two scholars on what actually heals in an oral poetry performance leave a gap for this research to fill up. Their findings is a pointer that indeed, there is a particular style of delivery of the oral song that facilitate therapeutic healing. Their findings justify the objectives of this research which is to explore the artistic techniques and the performance dynamics in the *Kayamba* healing ritual.

In conclusion it is clear that what has been done is more on the anthropological- the study dealing with cultures, the cultural development and various aspects of mankind within past and present societies. The above literature review is devoid of literary components in the area of aesthetics and performance dynamics, as the above scholars are mainly preoccupied with discourses that are mainly historiographical, anthropological, musicological and journalistic.

The intention of this research is therefore to bring in a literary component. This research examines the deployment of poetic techniques in *Kayamba* healing poetry and its performance dynamics that contribute to the therapeutic healing.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.7.1 Introduction**

This study has utilized three theories. Ethnopoetics, Performance theory, Psychoanalytical theory. Below is the description of the theoretical approach and then a conceptual framework that guides the analysis in this study.

### **1.7.2 Ethnopoetics**

As a literary theory, Ethnopoetics focuses on the aesthetic and poetic structuring of oral art. “Its methodology and theoretical foundations lie in pragmatics, phenomenology, sociolinguistics, ethno methodological conversation analysis and the ethnography of speaking and the performance.” Anttonen (1994:113). One strand of this theory was advanced by Dell Hymes. It is based on the idea that works of verbal art are important organizations of lines and verses (Hymes 1982). Therefore, “these oral poetry and expressions are founded upon a socially constituted poetic structure that is presented both in the organization of experience as well as in the organization of reports on that experience”. (Anttonen 1994:113). According to Hymes (1982), the lines and verses are “organized in ways that are not only poetic, but also a kind of rhetoric of action in that they embody an implicit cultural schema for the organization of experience.” The implication of the above is that an analysis of verbal art cannot be interpreted or analyzed outside of the context in which it was performed. In other words, an understanding of the culture of the source community will aid in a comprehensive analysis of the collected oral text.

The theory has two main strands generated by Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes. Both strands complement each other. Tedlock’s emphasis is placed on the oral nature of texts and the dependence of the organization of the texts upon lines. When transcribing, two factors guided the activity; “The text is arranged into lines according to the pauses in the oral performance. Each New pause indicates the end of one line and the beginning of another (Anttonen, 1994:114). In addition, the transcription shows the variation in pitch, volume, vowel length

and presents the text as it was heard in performance” (Anttonen 1994:114). This strand emphasizes the importance of fieldwork- all the material studied must have been collected and Transcribed by the researcher studying it. Dell Hymes’ strand of ethno-poetics on the other hand has Emphasis on the notion that many things in an oral text revolve around a pattern number or a sacred number or some multiple of it” (Anttonen1994:114). The patterning of a song brings rhythm to a song.

Based on their findings therefore, it can be argued that the graph-logical presentation of a given poem retains certain original features that would otherwise be lost. To find the formal poetic structure of a text, the strand focuses “on the stylistic and grammatical features. The analysis is based on the principles of structural analysis in which signs and text are looked at in terms of their communication. Considering semiotic, meaning is studied in terms of the relationship between a sign and its user.

This theory will aid in literary interpretation of the performance and the methodology of transcription and analysis of the collected data/text especially on the literary strategies deployed by the artist and the mediated social concerns and the impacts they have in the healing of the afflicted in society. The conceptual-analytical framework I have deployed in this research has the following key features:

It has no room for armchair researchers (Murunga 2001) in which one theorizes without actual interaction with the materials under study. One has to get to the inside of the community. In the study of the oral poetry of the *Kayamba* performance, the researcher got integrated into the community such that its members felt free to interact and share information. In addition the researcher had prior contact with the community during undergraduate study when a similar research was conducted. Interpretation and analysis of oral texts is done within their cultural contexts: the linguistic signs and their symbolic meaning are cultural bound. The meaning in the songs can correctly be interpreted if analyzed from a cultural perspective of the source community. Bauman (1975:292) emphasizes: “Performance represents a transformation of the

basic referential uses of language. In other words, in artistic performance of this kind, there is something going on in the communicative inter-change which says to the auditor, ‘interpret what I say in some special sense; do not take it to mean what the words alone, taken literally, would convey.’ This may lead to the further suggestion that performance sets up, or represents, an interpretive frame within which the messages being communicated are to be understood, and this frame contrasts with at least one other frame, the literal one.” A researcher must be deeply involved in dialogue and interaction to understand the structural and underlying issues surrounding a phenomenon and a community (Melhuus 1995:97). In this research, the researcher got deeply involved with the community in an attempt to comprehend the intricacies surrounding spirit possession and the role of oral poetry in the healing of the sick.

Foley (1995: 48-49) posits: “to appreciate the work on its own terms, one must attend the event in the proper arena, the same place (with the same limits) in which it has always been performed and received. I actively participated and even joined the performers for my appreciation of the cultural meaning and symbolism of the performances. Ethnopoetics theory will therefore aid in documentation, transcription and analysis of performance and the oral poetry as elucidated by some of its proponents such Anttonen 994:113) and Hymes (1982).

### **1.7.3 Performance Theory**

It focuses on the visual aspects of the performance and the relationship between a performer and the audience. In most cases, two fundamental units are required in the conception of the performance: a performer and a spectator, any relation action that can be deduced from these two units can be considered a performance. The author or artist creates or defines the performance. The role of the spectator is to witness the performance.

Its main proponents are Richard Schechner and Victor Turner. This theory is helpful in analyzing the performance on healing/ therapy as rituals and drama are generally crisis oriented. Crises are moments where balance and order are threatened and must be restored. So

performance theory will help me identify the crisis and restore the much needed order. These crises are imagined by the creator of the poetics. The crises have a bearing on the lives of the spectators because they imitate their own lives. The content in the works and how it is mediated to have an impact in the healing of the afflicted is the concerns of this project.

The research will draw much of conception of performance theory as a literary framework to be applied in this study by mainly deploying the works of Bauman (1984), Turner (1993) and Schechner (1984) in their interpretations of performance theory as an approach to the study of verbal arts. Performance studies as a discipline does not narrow itself to the classical definition of performance, but looks at performance as an interdisciplinary field that studies performance as a tool to study the world. It studies artistic and aesthetic performance such as concerts, theatrical events, sporting events, ritual events among others. The ritual of spirit possession and exorcism in Digo culture and the attendant artistic events that accompany the ritual such as the songs rendition, musical accompaniments and dancing warrant the event to be defined as performance. Bauman is an American born folklorist, theorist on performance studies and an anthropologist scholar. He postulates that a rendition of an oral poetry can be considered as a performance (Bauman: 1975:292). He argues that the term performance conveys a dual sense of artist action-the doing of folk and an artistic event –the performance situation involving performer, art form, audience and setting (Bauman 1972:223). To Bauman “the touchstone of verbal art lies in a maximized use of the devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon” (1984:7). Here he explores how societies classify, and appreciate a quality performance through a performer’s creative potential in his application of words. Bauman, in addition states that performance is seen in acting as a mode of speaking. Performance is therefore seen as a central aspect of human communicative capacity that cannot be completely comprehended without a complete appreciation of the roles of language and other semiotic conduct in human life. In cultural interpretation, performance is looked as pervading almost all institutions of public expressive behavior.

The *Kayamba* performance is essentially a ritual event. Rituals in performance studies are part of performance (Schechner: 1982; 8) Schechner's idea of "as if" (1984: xiii) where rituals provide moments of realizing the imaginary to reality. The events in the *Kayamba* Performance, provides an avenue with which we can study a community on the role of their Orality in therapeutic healing. The *Kayamba* performance essentially involves the possessed person being exorcised of the malevolent spirit through rigorous procedures involving traditional medicine men and women (*Mgbwanga/aganga*).

Through invocation by the healer (*Mgbwanga*), the evil spirit induces a trance in the possessed during a stage called '*golomokpwa*' - 'this is the point in a spirit appeasement where the spirit manifests itself in the possessed person by 'coming to the head'- speaking through the person using its own voice and language (Mwalonya: 2004; 31).

#### **1.7.4 Psychoanalytic Approach**

As a theory, psychoanalysis is based on the concept that an individual is unaware of the factors that cause her behaviour and emotions. This perspective aided in my understanding of the motives behind the actions of the possessed during the healing session in the performances. Certain fears and uncertainty in characters compel them to unconsciously violate the expectation of the society. Finnegan (1992), in addressing issues of theory in the study of oral literature states that "psychological significance of fantasy and of symbolic representations (male-female relations or parent - child relationship call for application of psychoanalytic to the inflicted persons. Psychoanalytic theory seeks to explain the complex relationship between the body and mind and so brings out the understanding of one's emotions. Psychoanalysis was developed by Australian neurologist Sigmund Freud.

Psychoanalysis as a set of theoretical approach and therapeutic attention dealing with the unconscious mind can be deployed to analyse trance during spirit possession. The following tenets of the theory can be applied in the analysis of spirit possession and the mind. Human behaviour and understanding is largely determined by irrational drives that are rooted

in the unconscious- the behaviour of the possessed during trance period is irrational and indicative of a person who has mental disturbances, conflicts between conscious and unconscious material can result in mental disturbances such as neurosis, neurotic traits, anxiety and depression. Those inflicted display behaviour that are consistent with a person of unsound mind.

liberation from the effects of the unconscious is achieved by bringing this material into the conscious mind through therapeutic intervention- through well coordinated music and the use of musical instrument, the patient is enabled to release this tension by way of making demands, which when provided leads to her healing . Bourguignon (2004:557) postulate that “for women, possession trance constitutes a psychodynamic response to powerlessness by providing them a means for the gratification of wishes ordinarily denied to them”

## **1.8 Research methodology**

### **1.8.1 Introduction**

Peter Clough and Cathy Nut-brown in their book *Research Methodology for Students* states that “Research is methodology.” Methodology refers to a systematic and scientific manner in which a particular task is approached, carried out and accomplished. In this chapter, the researcher demonstrates how the data was collected and analyzed. The focus is on the relevant information to consider in an attempt to address the research questions. The nature of the research problem and theoretical orientation have led the researcher to identify relevant research design, sampling frame, research instruments, methods of collection, methods of analysis, and methods of interpretation of the material, and its presentation. In the sections that follow the project describes all these aspects. In addition, the section highlights the challenges that were encountered in the execution of the research work.



### **1.8.2 Permission to Conduct Research**

Permission to conduct research from the relevant arms of the government was sought. This was done during the preparatory visit once the research was given a go ahead.

Necessary equipment were sourced. A first aid kit was sourced, and travel arrangements taken care of, also personal items, accommodation was organized before commencement of the research.

### **1.8.3 Research Design**

This study deployed primarily qualitative methods and some elements of quantitative designs. Bruscia (2000:129) postulates that qualitative and quantitative approaches are competing claims of knowledge, with contrasted underlying philosophies. Though in qualitative research the purpose of inquiry remains broad based, the researcher formulated both research question and hypothesis. The researcher combined the two methodologies with the objective of coming up with convergence results and expanding the scope and breadth of a study (Green, Caracelli and Graham: 1987:255) The researcher mainly applied qualitative research design because of the nature of my inquiry: the role of the oral poetry in therapy in Digo *Kayamba* performance. The oral poetry connection to issues of health takes us to a level that is both cultural and personal which may change through time. An oral presentation may be therapeutically functional on an ailing individual at one time and not another, one individual and not the other, one tradition and not another. This chapter discusses the collection and analysis of relevant information to address the research question. Specifically, the relevant research design, sampling frame, research instruments methods of data collection, analysis, interpretation, and its presentation. The sections that follow describe these aspects.

### **1.8.4 Sampling Method of Data Collection**

Deliberate sampling was done in the selection of the research area and identification of informants. The initial study of the topic of healing and oral poetry through reviewed literature, demonstrated that traditional ritual healing closely related to oral poetry was found

in the coastal, Eastern and Western regions of Kenya. In the coast of Kenya the Taita and the Mijikenda are known to perform songs as part of healing of those possessed by evil spirits (Akombo, 2006:234, Judge:2003:206) Digo is a sub – tribe of Mijikenda and so the choice of coastal area. The second reason for picking on the Digo of Golini village Matuga sub County of Kwale County was because with time I developed curiosity of Digo healing ritual through my social interactions with the community members and that triggered my interest to study their oral performance and in particular *kayamba* performance.

On the selection of informants and artist, deliberate sampling was preferred in comparison to random sampling because (Lincoln and Guba: 1985:40) not every Digo person in Golini understands how healing takes place during *Kayamba* performances or not all Digo people are performers or herbalist. Using the purposive sampling method made it possible to identify interviewees, events, site and contexts that provided data that is needed and also enables a researcher to demonstrate all possible viewpoints. The interviews and observations that I made were also purposively identified.

### **1.8.5 Research Instruments**

#### a) Observation and interview

A number of methods were deployed in the collection of data. They include participatory approach, observation, interview, informal discussions; Ethnopoetics methodology in oral literature research was also applied. To identify well with the informants and artists versed in the culture and oral tradition of a community requires that the researcher integrates with the community. Once accepted he/she collaborate with the members of the community to identify the recognized bards amongst the people. This method was largely applied in the study of the oral traditions of the American Indians (Anttonen: 1994). The Ethnopoetics method of research allows data collection from a number of ways including: interviewing, writings, study of artifacts and observations. These data collection methods were aided by digital audio and video recording tools through which any important acoustic sound and visual material could

be recorded. These instruments were assembled with the objective of limiting the area of interest to those issues related to objectives of the study and to complementing each other, to add depth. To reduce biases related to single data collection methods, the data was collected through interviews and then sought to establish its relationship to the data from observations made. The information collected using the two instruments correlated without much traceable conflict and therefore valid. Sometimes observations are not recorded as seen because the researcher might have predetermined ideas about a performance that may result into some improper observations or even biases. In this study, data acquired from observations, interview the recorded oral poetry did not have any prominent conflict.

The observations were also selective: observations that had to do with informants whose interviews had been presented were given prominence. Observations made during the performances were correlated, through the interviews of the performers. This greatly enhanced reliability and validity of the research findings. The oral poetry sampled for analysis was selected purposively, so that an oral poetry was given priority if it had elements that the researcher was looking for.

An observation time table aimed at presenting details of a specific performance, at a particular date, place and time, was applied. The observation schedule provided details of the situation before, during the healing session and after the performance to confirm whether therapy had taken effect.

#### **b) Interview Schedules**

Structured interviewing, in which questions were posed to the informants the same set of pre-established questions was used. The questions were left open ended, providing room for variation of answers. The schedules included those of the performers, the healers and experts in Digo culture. This interview schedules gave data that was not observable and or personal. It also helped in reinforcing what was already recorded. Historical details of certain cultural

practices were sought from experienced individuals. (See the appendix 9 for the interview schedule).

**c) Case Study**

Bromley (1990:302) defines a case study as “systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest.” Although using case study as a research design is well grounded in the field of anthropology, psychology and other social sciences, its application in literature is not as wide spread though still a tool of gathering more data. The application of this methodological approach was important in this study because informant would provide their real life encounter with evil forces and how they got healed through the intervention of healers. In addition the method would shed more light on the significance of the oral poetry and the performance dynamics in the therapeutic healing of the informants.

In this research method, a protocol was devised as a frame of operation to guide the researcher in conducting the case study research approach. This approach was adopted from Donna (2009) in his outline of protocol in case study research (appendix 11)

**d) Review of Documents**

The researcher studied a number of documents both published and unpublished that dealt with the area of inquiry. The documents which were examined included: Dissertations and Articles in journals. These documents were acquired from the University of Nairobi library and internet data bases (Much of this material is captured in the Literature review in the introductory chapter and cited in the bibliography).

**e) Recording Tools**

Oral poetry performances, the ritual healing, spirit possession and exorcism and the deployment of music ensembles were all recorded on electronic devices including: digital camera, and audio digital recorder

**f) Analytical guide**

This is a type of a format on what to reflect on before, during and after performance. It acts as a guide on what to look for in the performance. It helps in making informed field notes, and analyzing the observation made to ensure that the researcher keeps to the set objectives. (See Appendix 4)

**1.8.6 Research Period and the Selection of the Performers and Research Assistant**

**a) Research Period**

This research was conducted in Golini village of Golini ward, Matuga sub County in Kwale county from 21<sup>st</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> of February, 2017. The research, as indicated elsewhere called for meticulous planning and collaboration, especially from the selected assistants and the actual performers. Their remuneration had to be deliberated before they could commence their work. Mobilization of the community to attend the ritual performances was given to known village gate keepers who have sufficient control over the villagers being the village opinion shapers and custodian of the community culture and customs.

**b)** Persons well known in the community were engaged in the research. They were persons of integrity, well grounded in the culture of the Digo people especially their *Kayamba* ritual performances. The researcher sought the assistant of a female expert, Bi. Kauchi Chivumba. She helped to identify the right performers and then they were inducted in the research methodology.

**i) Kauchi Chivumba (research assistant)**

She is a 68 year old retired social worker who is well versed in Digo ethnography and oral tradition. She is a resident of the area, well respected and very good at creating rapport. She played a double role; as a local assistant and a research assistant. The local community respect her and she partly act as a community gate keeper. She has played host and research assistant to a number of universities and organization researchers doing research in the area.

ii) **Swaleh Ali (informant)**

He is 66 years and hails from Golini in Kwale County. He is an authority in Digo culture and tradition. He holds a certificate in traditional medicine and is registered with the ministry of culture and social services.

iii) **Ramadhan Tajiri (informant)**

He is 64 years old, a retired teacher and a resident of Golini in Kwale County. He is a healer of the *Kayamba* ritual. He practices as a general traditional medicine man treating all types of common illness and also treats those suffering from bewitchment and psychiatry.

iv) **Mwanajuma Mwindia Mariamu (informant)**

She is 72 years of age and a resident of Golini Sub County. She treats those suffering from spirit possession. She is well versed in her trade. Apart from treating the possessed Mwanajuma is able to cure all possible illnesses associated with evil spirits e.g ancestral lineage sicknesses, strange and recurring sicknesses.

c) **Recorded oral Poetry Performances**

At least fifteen oral poems were recorded; the recordings were by group performers, and they proved to be appropriate. This was to ensure that there was variety of poetic techniques and a wider range of comparison to make. Once the songs were collected, they were transcribed, translated and subjected them to critical appraisal to assess those that adhered to the project objectives and criteria. In addition, the performance dynamics and their contribution to therapy were also examined.

### **1.8.7 Methods of Analysis of Research Materials**

The data collected from the field was transcribed and translated into the language of analysis-English. Once the data collected was processed, the researcher embarked on its analysis. The analysis involved a synoptic outline of each of the poems and identification of the concerns in

each especially concerns related to therapeutic healing. This was followed by an identification and illustration of literary strategies in the poems.

Finally the poems were subjected to an examination of the functional significance of the oral poem in relation to their effects on the patient being attended to by the healer.

A part from analysis of oral poems, the researcher studied performance critically to identify and understand the movements, symbolic implications of actions, costumes, aural, ensemble and the behaviour of the healer and the possessee in relation to the healing of the sick.

### **1.8.8 A Note on Transcription and Extra Linguistic Features**

Transcription and translation are activities that come immediately after the actual research phase. They are post research activities that should take place right in the field, to ensure the accuracy of the data. The reasons they should take place in the field is to ensure that transcribing and translation is done through the help of the experts in the language and culture it also allows for any clarification of the data, or reinforcing of some information that is not clear in the recordings. The researcher hired a native expert in Digo language and culture there are many issues that needed to be addressed when one is transcribing and translating given texts. Okpewho (1992) for instance argues that one should not correct or improve the source text.

Wanyama Nyongesa (1998:230) in unpublished paper –“Data Analysis and Interpretation in Oral literature” argues that the accuracy of transcription and translation depend on what is being transcribed, for whom, why, and the theory of language or communication that lies behind it. The researcher applied free translation of the selected oral poetry because it was difficult to transfer meaning, structure and even style from one language to another. I have also included relevant extra linguistic features and metadata in the text for ease of analysis, though I have parenthesized them. The texts, which are in Digo language were transcribed from the audio tapes and then translated into English, The language of analysis to ensure

accuracy of the transcribed translated texts. I engaged the services of an expert in Digo language and culture.

This research work was confined to the *Kayamba* performances of the community living around Golini area in Kwale County in Kenya. The choice of this area was appropriate because the area has wide range of oral artists on *Kayamba* performance and also because the researcher am familiar with the area having carried out another research in the area. The research interrogated the performance dynamics of the *Kayamba* performance and the literary approaches deployed in the oral poetry to contribute to the therapeutic potential of the genre. The next chapter explores the *Kayamba* performance dynamic and therapeutic healing process.



## CHAPTER TWO

### **KAYAMBA PERFORMANCE AS THERAPY**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is an explanation of *Kayamba* performance as therapy, and is divided into various sections. The chapter starts off by setting the context and the beliefs surrounding the *Kayamba* performance. It then goes ahead and offer an explanation on the various forms of spirit manifestations and possessions as well the exorcism process. In addition, the chapter highlights the roles of the exorcist and the person possessed by the spirits. Another aspect of the performance expounded here in is the role of music and the props that accompany it. the chapter concludes with a case study that illustrates how the whole process of the *Kayamba* performance takes place.

#### **2.2 *Kayamba* Performance: Its Context and the African Belief Systems**

Performance is an integral component of oral literature (Okpewho: 1996:7). Oral literature is actualized through performance. *Kayamba* is a healing ceremony performed by the Digo people of coast province of Kenya. It is a therapeutic ritual dance that is specifically performed during a healing rite in which the sick regain health. The dance involves traditional healers who play a vital role in exorcising evil spirit who are believed to be the cause of the sickness. During the healing session, there is a lot of vocal music performed by ritual dancers who are mostly women, and the playing of ensemble by men. It is this combination of song rendition, the dance and instrumental playing that mediate therapeutic healing to the inflicted (the possessed). In this section, I attempt a description of the performance and how healing is achieved.

The Digo community cherishes performance art and especially in the form of traditional dances. They have different categories of dances each with a given role and context. Apart from *Kayamba* performance the other dances include; *Zembe*, *Gonda*, *Sengenya*, *Chakacha*, *Marimba*, *Goma* and *Mbiru*. They are performed during different occasions such as healing,

entertainment, mourning, initiation and wedding ceremonies. It is important to examine the context of performance of the *Kayamba* dance and performance. The context of a dance cannot be separated from the performance. It is the central part of the performance. It is the canvas on which the performance operates. The context of a *Kayamba* performance is on the healing ceremony.

Many culturally related elements come into play. Spirits in this community are known to cause certain illnesses. During the *Kayamba* performance, the position of spirit is paramount. By expelling the spirit from the afflicted person, the health of the patient is restored. The *Kayamba* performance is purely about spirit possession and how they are exorcised through the deployment of music, the instruments, oral poetry and dance. All these components are synchronized and harmonized for them to mediate healing of the sufferer.

A number of scholars have dealt with the subject of spirits in African belief and the role they play in the way of life of the people. According to Uka (1991:45) African people believe in a host of spirit who inherit all sorts of places such as trees, hills, rivers, seas, oceans, and sometimes in plants and animals. Idowu (1973: 183) calls the spirits as “those entities which form a separate category of being from those described as divinities”. He defines spirit as “those powers which are almost abstract as shades of vapours which take on human shape”. The *Kayamba* dance is essentially a ritual that involves elaborate stages and coded images whose sole purpose is to heal the possessed person.

Ray (1987:87), states that “ritual means to perform offering and sacrifices and to renew relationship between the dead and the living descendant”. Ray (1987:88) argues that “almost every African ritual is an occasion in which human experience is morally and spiritually transformed. The *Kayamba* dance and performance involves a traditional healer (Mganga) who goes about his healing process through elaborate process from the time they enter the performances arena to when they exit after a successful exorcism of the malevolent spirit and return to normalcy or regaining of health of the possessed. The healer in the *Kayamba*

performance engages in the art of divination in which he invokes the spirits to reveal themselves. Saymour-smith (1986:79) defines divination as the acquisition of information through the use of magic, Ancestors and spirits to communicate with the living through divinatory process. The *Kayamba* performance is also replete with exorcism of the spirit causing the suffering of the possessed person. Spirit possession is manifested through certain symptoms which are exhibited by the possessed.

### **2.3 The Manifestation of Spirit Possession and setting of the *Kayamba* performance**

Gomm (1975:535) in his well acclaimed essay on the Digo spirit possession, “Bargaining from Weaknesses: Spirit Possession on the Kenya Coast”, enumerates the manifestation of spirit possession in the possessed person. He argues that spirit possession is not simply a matter of presenting a patient to a diviner for diagnosis.

People have first to be seen to fall into category of certain traditionally known manifestation of spirit possession. Scholars in the study of spirit possession reports manifestation of spirits possession as running amok, hitting people, fear, anxiety, general malaise, unhappiness, sleeplessness, tiredness, mental confusion, nausea, fainting, epilepsy, unusual greediness, Spitefulness, treating others with hatred, aggression towards people, oneself (hostility) to inanimate objects, Moodiness, bad temper among other symptoms (Boddy1989:145, Lewis 1998:109. Gomm: 1975:535) the patient hosting the evil spirit are exorcised of the spirit in order to remove the evil spirits in their bodies. Exorcism in this case is in a form of healing in Digo *Kayamba* performance and once the spirits are expelled the patient heals and recovers completely.

The Digo *Kayamba* performance is rendered during the day either in the morning or evening near a water body or a forest. The exorcism ritual is performed in the morning or evening because they belief that it’s easy to tame evil spirit and appease them at this time for they are less hostile. They believe that evil spirits reside in water and forests. Getting near to where these spirits resides facilitate a closer communion with them and therefore easing their

appeasement. Also with the reasoning that when the spirits leave the possessed it will be easier for them to get back to their “real home” which is in the forest or in a water body.

## 2.4 The role of the exorcist and the possessed

The exorcist interrogates the spirit with the aim of getting information on how and why it has invaded the possessed person. The exorcist does this through the help of medium called the familiar spirit. This is a friendly, all knowing spirit that negotiates with hostile demons. Once the exorcist identifies the possessing spirit, he tries to negotiate a ground of communication that will allow him to establish the conditions that must be satisfied for the spirit to depart. The spirit normally order for tangible gifts. These gifts are provided to the possessing spirit through the possessed person by the husband of the possessed or her male relatives from her maternal side through the healer. If the sufferer is not married her relatives provide the gift. The exorcist has ability to cause the spirit to free thus bringing healing to the sick person. The healer does this by calling out the evil spirit and pleading with it to leave the sick. If it still holds on to its host, the healer gives orders by shouting at it. The following oral poem illustrates this point:

### Healer pleading with the evil spirit:

Song 4 *Mwarabu Na mkuse (A Digo spirit)*

**Dancers;** *Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo*

*Mwarabunamkusenguwo*

*Mwarabunamkusenguwo*

*Mwarabunamkusenguwo*

*Yanguhawemayemuwele*

*Yarabi ananuka mavuwo*

*Yarabi ananuka mavuwo*

*Walobgwadzeyuno*

*Ananukamavun*

**Song 4** *Mwarabu namkuse*

**Dancers;** The Digo evil spirits

The Digo evil spirits

The Digo evil spirits

The Digo evil spirits

The possessed needs healing

Come out (*mwarabu mkuse*)

Please leave her

Please depart from her

Please allow her freedom

### The healer commanding the evil spirit:

**Song: Mduruma**

*Mganga: Mduruma yuya mayo*

*Mduruma yuya mayoo*

*Nganga mduruma wee yuya*

*Nganga mduruma wee yuya*

*Nyika mduruma*

*Howa navyoga tandara*

*Mbona unaihwanian bayo nyika*

*Taireni mganga*

*Taireni mganga*

*Taireni mganga*

**Song: Mduruma**

*Mganga:* *Nduruma* the evil spirit,  
*Nduruma* the evil spirit  
Your place is the dry land  
Your place is the dry land  
The *nyika* is your home

The evil spirit must leave  
Leave and go back to the *nyika*  
*nyika* is where you belong  
You belong to the dry land  
You belong to the dry land

Once the spirit causing the affliction is identified and confirmed it is made public. Diagnosis is done to get to know the particular spirit inhabiting as well as establishing a cure and the way forward for the sick. There times that the spirit is known to communicate in whispers, meaning even when the spirits voice is not heard the exorcist will still carry the day as he claims that him alone can capture the low tone the members of the community have no cause to doubt. Failure of the exorcism is never considered to happen.

The possessed person is considered to be genuinely sick, and she has not contributed in any way to be possessed or has not committed any evil to cause her illness. The community looks at her as unfortunate and regards her with sympathy and genuine concern. In her condition of possession she commands attention and care. The possessed person chants and makes demands that must be met for the possessing spirit to leave. She also works like the medium between her and the spirit possessing her as she receives the gifts on behalf of the possessing spirit. At some point in the performance she will dramatize the oral poetry and will go into a trance.

The whole process of exorcism offers the possessed an opportunity to release her heavy burdens as caused by life issues especially in reference to the married woman, also gives an opportunity to be the core concern of everyone in the exorcism ceremony. This therapy is considered as a “cure” to a struggling marriage. As a woman gets a platform to express her needs and is given audience people have reasons to take her as a patient, though some people and especially men may not always be fully convinced of some cases of possession. This position is not overtly expressed by the community. Privately men would readily volunteer this explanation. This interpretation is shared by the male informants that were interviewed.

Gomm (1975:354) while conducting research on spirit possession in southern coast of East Africa makes similar findings. It should also be emphasized here that majority of the patients seeking therapeutic attention from the healers in gender terms are married women. Details from the healers showed that cases of male patients or unmarried persons were rare. The healer pointed out that in his many years of healing he has only experienced less than eight cases of male possession while he has had to treat more than fifty women cases. He argued that men are able to sort out their issues and are hardened while women are weak when it comes to sorting out world challenges.

It would also be scandalous culturally to have a male patient suffering from spirit possession, and especially a repeated attack like it happens to women. The songs sung during this exorcism are specific to the ceremony. Not any song can be sung. Particular spirits are enticed by specific songs. Identification of the songs for particular spirits is done through trial and error approach until the spirit respond.

The idea that the members of the community view the possessed as a patient and gather in the effort to free her from the spirit, demonstrates their love and concern. This brings relief and therapy to the sick. As they gather, she becomes the core concern of the whole ceremony as they express their empathetic love, thus confirming their honour for her. They willingly participate in dancing and singing raising her esteem. This brings therapeutic effects on her. The re-assurance expels the life frustrations that weigh her down.

## **2.5 Types of Spirits**

The Digo spirits are of two types. The good, benevolent spirits (*ruhani*) and the evil spirits, malevolent (*mashetani*). The good spirits are not exorcised because they protect the host, Caciola (2005; 2928). The good spirits are actually begged to stay with the person for protection. They act as the 'sixth sense' that keeps the host informed of the future. They regard this spirit as the spirit of discernment through whom would be directed the way to go

in times of danger. Therefore the good spirit is beseeched to stay on through songs of praise. They also believe every good person has this helping spirit to alert you in the times of danger.

**Song 9**                      *Mbarawa*  
**SOLOIST**    *Mbarawa ngoma madede*  
*Mbarawa mwanamadziho wadedi*  
*Mbarawa we howadede*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Baba matari we ngomaniurembo*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Mbarawa we wee*

**Song 9**    *Mbarawa*  
**SOLOIST**    *Mbarwa* – (good spirit)  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarwa the clean spirit*  
*Mbarawa my dear one, dear one*  
*Mbarawa my helper, my helper*  
*Mbarawa we wee*

The evil spirits are destructive and unpredictable. Most of them are foreign or alien while others are local Digo spirits. The Digo people believe that diseases can be caused by outsiders. Evil spirits may originate from the Duruma people or the Arabs. They are at first persuaded to abandon their host. If they defy the persuasion, they are forced out of the sick person through invocation. This involves dancing, singing and the deployment of musical instruments and verbal acoustic. Caciola (2005:2928) reports that those elements of the dance and music are applied by many cultures in the world. The following poems illustrate the process of exorcising the malevolent spirits.

**Exorcism through Persuasion:**

*Howa navyoga tandara*  
*Mbona unaihwania bayo nyika*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mganga*

The evil spirit, please leave  
Leave and go back to the *nyika*  
Because *nyika* is where you belong  
You belong to the dry land  
You belong to the dry land

## Exorcism through Verbal Acoustics and Invocation

*Mganga: Asiyemanyakutila Adzee*  
*Ulolenguma wee mlanyika mduruma*  
*Ulolenguma wee mlanyika mduruma*  
*Dedededededeeeee,*  
*Dedededededeeeee*  
*Unanipiga bure mayoo*  
*Naihwani baba myawenu*  
*Undaniikazanimwanyumba*  
*Tandaraugombaoniulongo*  
*Dzarinaogophakuuzwa*  
*Ugombaoniulongodzariro*  
*Kuogophakuuzwa*  
*Mganga: Please listen all you people*  
*The evil spirit – kalumengala*

Must leave and go to the nyika  
Dedededededeeeee,  
Dedededededeeeee  
*Mganga:* I who knows all, including  
that which is hidden from me  
And that which is bear on my sight  
I am the expert (*mganga*) Come out, we  
deal with you  
We dare you stay any more  
Release her  
Leave her  
Depart from her

The process of spirit exorcism requires application of diplomacy for it to work. As illustrated above, the healer starts by the application of appropriate etiquette when dealing with the enemy. When diplomacy fails, he/she applies force through verbal acoustic whose effect is dreaded by the evil spirit

Nketia (1987:6256) recognizes the application of the oral poetry in a performance to exorcise the spirits causing the ailments. He reports that music has the potential to expel the evil spirits. The spirits dread the sound emanating from the musical instruments especially the music from the *Kayamba* instrument and the oral poetry. When the vocal and the instrumental music is blended and played, they have the potential to trigger trance during which the spirits declare their demands through their medium, in this case the possessed. In Digo *Kayamba* dance, different oral poem are deployed in healing ritual practices depending on the song that will awaken the spirits. The same happens in other cultures as reported by Nketia (1987:6257).

### 2.6 The Role of Acoustics and the Oral Poetry in Spirit Possession

But essentially, what is the role of music and the oral poetry in spirit possession and exorcism? Music is an integral component in the therapeutic healing of the sick.

As already pointed out, elsewhere in this thesis, spirit identifies and dread the sounds from the musical instruments especially sounds coming from *Kayamba* instrument. In addition the oral



poetry from the dancers enhances the rhythm of the music, further threatening the survival of the spirit in the body of the host.

The music and dance start from a low note at the initial stage and increases to a crescendo. When the music is at its peak; the possessed gets into a trance and makes demands as directed by the spirit. Rouget (1995:125) points out that the music during the initial stage is passive and becomes progressively more active as the sick passes from initiation phase to more advanced phases. This was observed during the *Kayamba* performance.

When the music becomes intense, the patient goes to a trance. Rouget (1985:126) support this phenomenon. It is during this trance that the spirit possessing the patient makes demands. Once the demands are met, the patient slowly relaxes and signs of healing start to emerge. The patients thereafter join in the singing and dancing.

In Digo, both vocal (oral poetry) and instrumental music are vital in the healing of the afflicted. Music whether vocal or instrumental socializes the ritual of the healing and enables the ritual to attain its full development.

### **2.7 Attendance during the *Kayamba* Ritual Healing and its Effects**

The *Kayamba* healing ceremony is attended by all the villagers in the locality. It is a communal affair that is collectively performed. Children, women, young adult and men are at liberty to attend. All their activities during the ceremony are centered on the patient. The ritual is a contest between good and evil. It is about man's struggle with supernatural forces. This contest that involves man and invisible forces requires massive support from the people. The healer is a contestant representing the living while the invisible spirits represent the evil forces that have brought disorder to the living. The attendance of the villagers is therefore important to the possessed in that it gives them comfort and assurance of healing on seeing people attending to her needs. Her recognition by the people present is a demonstration of their value for the suffering fellow villager. These concerns

and support offer the patient psychological satisfaction that facilitate her healing and release from the evil spirits.

Gender is a critical aspect of the process of music production and the spirit possession. Scholarship on music and spirit possession has demonstrated the gender aspect by reporting that the afflicted are largely women (Skultan 1987:57, King 1958:124, Gomm: 2006:322, Norton 2000:89). Majority of those afflicted in Digo community are mostly women, both married and those with an arranged marriage that they are not willing to honour. In one of the interviews, an elder reported that because women in Digo are of “little faith and easily carried away”, they result to believing in spirits.

Faced with earthly challenges especially of marital upheavals, women are unable to confront these marital anxieties. They therefore become easy target for evil spirit. Gender role is well defined during performance. The composition of the performer is largely women, who are more active than men. While the men play the ensemble while sitting down, women are aggressively active. They dance, sing chant and in certain instances assist the healer in mediating their healing function. The voices of the women provide melody sounds that are soft lyrical and smooth. These kinds of melodies drive the evil spirits away.

Scholars in spirit possession have not been able to empirically establish whether possessed women feign their illnesses. A number of scholars have reported cases of possible faking possession (Lewis: 1971:200, Ferber: 2004, Gomm: 2006:2). Roger Gomm (2006:2) states that the sorts of demands that are made by women in marriage and are refused are now voiced when the sufferer is in a trance. Husbands are publicly and culturally bound to provide the gifts demanded by the spirit. A man who would fail to provide for his wife at such a time would be alienated in the society; male relatives are also bound to take care of their female relations if they are not married.

Economic and social pressures that bring a Digo woman down are expressed through spirit possession. The woman becomes the main subject of sympathetic concern as people assemble. This

gives the woman an avenue to voice her concerns of which in a normal setting the husband and her male relatives would not have been obligated to take care of. This raises self-esteem of the patient. The public participation registers her prominent position and this makes her attain privileges like stating her demands which are seriously met and this leads to her healing. To avoid being considered uncaring by the community, the husband or the families of the afflicted have to meet the demands of the possessed.

Majority of the male informant showed some signs of doubting some of the cases of the possession, suggesting that some women would pretend to be possessed so as to win favours denied them by their husbands. To them it is a form of protest and subversion by women. It is an attempt to seek recognition by the patriarchal hegemony in Digo society that has perpetuated oppression of women. This view is widely shared by a number of scholars on spirit possession (Gomm:1975:530), Harris 1957:433, Lewis 1966:33, Messing 1958: 345, Parkain 1972:330, Shack:1966:56, Wilson 1967:56, Caplan 1968). Other scholars regard the possessed as suffering from insanity or mental disorder.

Apart from middle age and elderly, newly married women experience possession, newly married brides have been reported to experience spirit possession. Multiple interviews with those well versed in Digo culture report that young bride are in most cases married to men that are not of their choice and in their marriage, experience difficulties because of emotional entrapment. In the process, they become vulnerable to spirit which fancy young bride. Culturally, it is assumed that this spirits incite the young bride to deny the husband conjugal attention. During the trance the young bride verbalizes utterances suggestive that she is opposed to her current marital status. She also aggressively attacks the husband who is in attendance. These acts finally propel the two families to terminate the arranged marriage for the sake of the troubled couple. This view is supported some scholars (Isabelle Nabokov: 1997:298, Opler, 1958, Dube, 1970,)

## **2.8 The Musical Ensemble and performance dynamics in the *Kayamba* Dance**

The *Kayamba* performance utilizes a number of musical instruments and accompaniments. They include *Kayamba*, *Chiroti*, *chingobe* drum and *mariba*.

### **i) *Kayamba***

*Kayamba* is in the category of percussion instruments. Muchiba (2007) examines the etymology of the word *kayamba*. He traces its origin to Greek. He argues that the word is derived from the Greek word 'kyambalon' which is a Greek musical instrument of the percussion type. It is from this word that the English musical instrument, cymbal is derived. It is a raft rattle idiophone. The instrument contains seeds or pebbles which are placed between two trays or raft made from canes which are tied together to allow for ease of mobility of the seeds and the production of sounds. The two rafts are separated from one another by slats of sticks that form the sideways of the instrument. When playing, it is held horizontally between the palms of both of the hands of the players such that one raft is facing up wards while the other down. The instrument produces sound through sliding the rattle back and forth. *Kayamba* instrument is not a preserve of the Digo people. Many African communities apply it in their rituals and worship.

### **Use of *kayamba* Instrument Modern Church Worship.**

It's relevant to interrogate the use of *kayamba* musical instrument in modern Christian music and worship. The modern church in Africa has embraced the use of African ethnomusicology and other arts its liturgy. The incorporation of certain cultural elements in Christian worship is away of Africanizing Christian worship (Felix: 2007: 12). Its away of contualization of Christian worship in African environment. It is a deliberate, conscious effort at making Christianity relevant to Africans, as a way of showing sensitivity to indigenou African music and arts. The instrument main use in worship is to connect the believers with their deity and facilitate worship. Meaning it occupies the same place as in traditional healing – connecting the people to their deity and facilitate communion.

**ii) *Chivoti***

*Chivoti* is a traditional flute. It is also called (*rizumari*) in Digo. It has six finger holes. It is decorated in different colours. The top end is closed while the other end is open. The flute when blown produces different musical tunes (Senoga; 1999:160)

**iii) *Bumbumbu***

*Bumbumbu* (Drum) is also used. It is a pitched drum that accompanies a lower pitched one during *Kayamba* performance. Other instruments include *chingobe* and *marimba*. Their instruments are mostly played by men. The music produced is dreaded by malevolent spirits which scare and expel them from the possessed person. The Digo believe that *Kayamba* has the potential to project the sound into heavens connecting the spaces of the living and that of the spirit and hence attracting the attention of ancestors who come to their aid.

Certain elements of the oral poetry bring about healing of the afflicted. They include rhythm, pitch tempo and volume (these elements are discussed in chapter four under textual analysis). These are brought about by the organization of the oral text. The songs have ability to hypnotize a patient into a trance which leads to healing. The tempo of the songs starts from a slow pace which increases as the music is played. At its crescendo, the patient gets into a trance and start making demands and once the demands are met, the patient relaxes and the melody in the music is lowered.

The dynamics is in relation to the vocal and instrumental music. *Kayamba* performance is so intense to an extent of becoming violent. The purpose of the session is to trigger a patient to declare the spirit possessing them. To encourage trance the dancers sing loudly but rhythmically while the music ensembles play as loudly as possible. The speed and rhythm of the songs constitute a trigger for a trance. The faster the acceleration of the tempo, the higher and louder the intensity of the oral performance. Once the malady afflicting the host is expelled, the music is slowed and the volume and intensity reduced. The sounds of the *Kayamba* fuel the trance and also stabilize when played slowly. It is the rhythm, melody and the repetition of particular notes when combined with vocal sounds that expel malevolent spirits away.

## 2.9 Costumes, Props and Colour Symbolism in *Kayamba* Dance

### a) Costumes

The participants of the *Kayamba* dance are dressed in different apparels with different hues depending on their role in the dance and the symbolic meaning of the colour of their costumes. The patient possessed is initially adorned in white *shuka* which is symbolic of good spirit (*ruhani*). The patient changes into different costumes depending on the suspected spirit as the dance progresses. Black *shuka* is symbolic of evil spirit (*pepo mdigo*), Red *shuka* represent evil spirit from *Duruma* community while Blue *shuka* stand for malevolent spirit called *mlungu* which are mostly found in the sea.

The Women dancers perform in red scarf full of decorations and beadwork laces at the seam. The jingling of the beads are said to chase away evil spirits. Red scarf also enhances shoulder movement and therefore contribute to the elegance of the dance. The black dress is symbolic of sad moment where a member is possessed and oppressed by the evil spirits. ‘*Chisingu*’ is a headband made from beads that look like a round ring and worn on the head by the healer.

A mat, made of raffia, is spread at the centre of the dancing arena where the sick and the healer sit. They sit and walk on it barefoot, Symbolic of its purity and sanctity, being the abode of the supernatural forces. Next to the dancing arena is an imitation of a forest and the sea. They stand for the dwelling or spirit habitations, as presented in the imitation in the form of a huge cooking pan with water and aquatic twigs inside the container. The image of the forest and sea is presented by the plants and water. This image represents the places where the evil spirit would go to after they are driven away from the possessed person.

The patient is also administered with traditional medicine; a black concoction of herbals mixed with the soil. The healer holds *Ndonga*, a kind of bottle gourd used by the traditional healers to store and display medicine in Digo community.

## **2.10 Legitimization of *Kayamba* Healing: The Coastal Traditional Healers**

The *Kayamba* dance and healing is an institution, well entrenched in the traditional dynamics of the Digo community. It is a highly recognized and respected cultural practice whose practitioners are remunerated by those they attend. Their treatment is syncretic. They heal using both traditional medicine and exorcism of the evil spirits. The government has recognized this practice by issuing the healers with practicing licenses. One such group is Amani Traditional Healers based in Ngodoni Sub County in Kwale County. The group which is nineteen years old has a membership of twenty healers. The gender is mixed though there are only three female healers. The group is registered with the ministry of culture and social services. It is a well known association. Conventional doctors in the area refer their patients to this herbalist when unable to treat patients they are attending to. They explain that for patient they are unable to treat, the cures lies in traditional medicine. Though there are many such associations in the entire coastal region each group occupies its own niche or area of operation.

The group is not entirely specialist in spirit exorcism, they also deal in the administration of herbs or traditional medicine when their patients do not exhibit signs related to spirit possession. Apart from Amani traditional healers, there are other groups that are involved in Digo ethnomedical care or alternative medicine. They include; Godoni Traditional dance troupe and *Igiza ziwani* group.

## **2.11 Apprenticeship in the Training of Exorcists**

The acquisition of this trade is through apprenticeship. It is also hereditary, though in some cases those interested are trained but after paying a fee. Some join this trade by chance. One of the healers, Swale Ali, explained how he joined this profession.

“My own personal experience of is a testimony of why we result to alternative medical care. I was possessed by evil spirits, I developed a strange sickness where modern hospitals attempted a cure in vain, and then I tried the herbal therapy through a medicine man. Though the symptoms gradually went down but I did not heal. I only got completely healed after a ritual healing was performed on me. Though the ritual healing is taken by many as the last option it has proved over the years as a

successful way of treatment especially when one suffers from a ‘strange’ disease. Through my interest and admiration of ritual healers I reached a point that I decided to train as a ritual healer through apprenticeship.”

## **2.12 The Digo Spirit Exorcism: A Case Study**

### **a) Introduction**

I now turn into a detailed presentation of a healing session that I attended. This took place on the morning of Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2017. All the preparations and arrangements were in place. I had interacted with the community members sufficiently and was now part of them. The important components of this ritual had been assembled. There were women dancers, a female exorcist and her two assistants, eight male instrumentalists, audience, and the possessed who was a female.

### **b) Background Information of the Possessed**

The possessed, Mariam Mutta Suleiman (not her real name) is a 52 years old mother of five, married to Mohamed Dzole Suleiman. They both hail from Tsimba Ward in Msambweni, Kwale County. They are of limited education, having only reached at primary level of education. Their marital life is riddled with perpetual feuding mainly caused by unfaithfulness, financial imbalance and interference by their in-laws.

On a number of occasions that Mariam would seek refuge in her parents’ home. Their differences would then be settled. Mariam confessed that indeed the accusations leveled against her by the husband were partly true. She admitted that she has been unfaithful to the husband. She justifies these extra marital affairs by accusing the husband of being unable to provide for her needs such as clothing and cosmetics. She also bitterly complains about Digo arranged married in which the husband was chosen by her clan.

Mariam Mutta had visited various hospitals seeking treatment. She had been suffering from various illnesses whose symptomatic were stomach pains, hallucination, some element of mental illness in



which she would beat everybody in sight, fainting, spasm and convulsion. The conventional doctors had given up on her and advised her to seek alternative treatment from Traditional doctors.

This prompted her husband to seek the assistance of the healers or *Waganga*. He visited Mwanajuma Mwandia, a healer and exorcist and after preliminary diagnosis the husband was informed that his wife was possessed by evil spirit and needed exorcism for her to heal. Arrangements were made in which payments were agreed upon. The healer and his performers of Igiza Ziwani troupe and healers were now ready to carry out the ritual of spirit exorcism or *Kayamba* and necessary paraphernalia were sort for the ceremony.

Slight changes were done to accommodate this researcher. Instead of the ceremony being conducted next to the sea or in a forest where it is believed spirits inhabited, it was conducted in the healer's homestead under a tree. In addition it was conducted during the day. In ordinary circumstances it is done early in the morning or at night. To confuse the evil spirits, a model forest and sea were created within the performance area. The forest was made of twigs planted on the ground under a huge baobab tree. A huge aluminum container with sea water mixed with aquatic plants acted as the sea.

The performance started at around 10.00 am on 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017. Everything was ready for the ritual; dancers, instrumentalists, the possessed person, audience, the healer and his assistants. The sick (called *Muwele*) is shepherded to the centre of the area where the performance is to take place. At the centre is a raffia mat on which stands a wooden bench (*Chigodi*). The sick is covered with a black cloth when entering (symbolize possession by an evil spirit called '*Mwanamlungua*') on sitting down the black veil is removed and replaced with a white one. On sitting on the stool, the possessed woman, now covered on the shoulder above with her head bending, is surrounded by men, women and children.

The healer, dressed in headband (*chisingu*) made from beads that look like a round ring, commences the ritual healing ceremony while sitting opposite the sick woman facing her. Next to the sick are

two women who sandwich her, whose job is to nurse the sick woman and keep company. Next to her is a container with sea water full of aquatic plants and mixed with medicinal herbs. Under a tree that stands behind the 'theatre' is an imitation of a forest. Inside the 'forest' is a small chick, medicinal concoction wrapped into a ball and pierced with a sharp stick and some eggs.

The ritual starts with slow pace of the playing of the *Kayamba*. The dancers sing while seated. The atmosphere created is tense, solemn and gloomy. This atmosphere is indicative of the tension gripping the participants. All focus is on the possessed woman. She looks haggard and her face is partly covered with a veil whose colour will change as the ritual progress until the particular spirit inhabiting the sick is identified. The performers who are women start dancing. The pace of the dance is low but the speed will increase gradually depending on the level of response from the spirits which is detected through the behavior of the sick.

The singing commences as the instruments are played. Meanwhile the healer burns incense and makes the possessed inhale it as a preparation for undergoing spirit appeasement ceremony (*Dzifukizafuso*). Burning of essence is said to invite the spirit which fancy aroma of burning essence. There is chanting by a few dancers. The singing is led by the soloist while the rest act as the chorus. At different stages soloist changes. A dancer, the healer or the spirit can act as the soloist. There is also intermittent ululation, done when signs of recovery of the patient are detected. The pace and tempo of the dance, the singing and the *Kayamba* playing is increased but are well blended, harmonized and synclonised for effect. This is done to induce trance.

When a patient is in a trance, the spirit speaks through her. This happened on that day. When the music and the singing were so intense, the sick woman suddenly started to shout and make demands. The healer got closer to her and started the invocation.

She wanted to know what the spirit wanted. She is busy seeking the identity of the spirit inhabiting her. The dancers are on the other hand calling upon the spirits to leave the sick alone. There is no response from the patient. The white veil is removed and replaced with a blue one. Still there is no

response despite making incoherent gestures. The music is still playing. The sick woman is making slight movement of the head but when talked to by the healer, she does not respond. The blue veil is replaced with a red one and the dancing, singing and *Kayamba* played are intensified. Singing and the ensemble playing continues. The singing reaches a crescendo; the sick woman abruptly makes violent moves. She throws her hands in the air and shouts for perfumes, *lesso* and a horse.

The mood now changes to excitement. The sick is in a trance (*golomokpwa*). She is now held by the spirits which are making demands. Perfume is brought and is smeared on her head and limbs. Medicinal water (*vuwo ra chifudu*) is also sprinkled on her head using a special flywhisk (*mwingo*). She lies prostrate on the ground writhing in spasm. The healer takes out containers that have powdered herbs and apply on her body. The sick wakes up and relaxes on her seat. At this juncture, the healer brings a ball of wet mud with a stick pierced through it and the small chick. The ball of wet mud is actually a concoction of medicine. She holds them and pleads with the sick woman to accept them. Particular Spirits love chicks as a delicacy. The sick woman receives the two items, stands up and makes quick steps heading to the nearby bush. She is quickly followed by everybody.

On reaching the fringes of the bushes nearby, she drops down and lay flat on the ground. The healer who followed her catches on her and lays the container that had sea medicinal water next to the sick woman. She starts spraying her with the sea water and while assisted by a male assistant applies a black concoction on her limbs, shoulders and face. This is a way of anointing and protecting her against unwelcome evil forces. She then wakes up slowly while assisted by the healer and join the dancers in the singing and dancing.

She is on her way to recovery. She is now shepherded back to ritual arena. All present are in celebratory mood. At last the evil spirit has been quieted and appeased. They can now rest in peace. Normalcy has returned to the village. When the ritual ended those present dispersed. The now healed woman and her family members led by the husband trooped to the inside of the healers house. The fee for exorcism was cleared and the Mariam and her family left for home.

c) **Performance Subtext and Women Agency in *Kayamba* Ritual Healing.**

The above section demonstrates the elaborate performance ceremony conducted by the parties involved that leads to the eventual healing of the sick person. Indeed the possessed body gestures and facial expressions and the excitement in her, tell of a person who has fully regained her health.

But Behind the ritual healing is a hidden subtext propelled by the Digo woman who deploys *Kayamba* performance as an agency to voice her displeasure with her marital upheavals. To the ordinary Digo person, *Kayamba* performances are the usual ethno cultural expressions that bring back elusive good health to the sick. The men folk interpret exorcism differently. Multiple interviews with Digo men on the subject of woman and rebellion through *Kayamba* performance give credence to the many studies conducted on other cultures and even in Digo, on how women deploy spirit possession and exorcism to challenge men hegemonic control on them. The men argue that women involvement in spirit possession is a deliberate way of seeking attention from men, which is ordinarily denied.

The Digo woman operates under the control of the husband. She has no economic or social power in the affairs of the family. Gomm (1987) in his well argued essay “Harlots and Bachelors: Marital Instability among the Coastal Digo of Kenya” demonstrate that many marriage breakages are turning wives into harlots and men into bachelors. Women are freeing from men in search of elusive freedom.

Gomm’s views are also supported by Ayuka Aendo (1987). In his essay, “Marriage instability and domestic continuity in Digo”. He voices concerns over the rate at which Digo man is faced with unstable marriages because the woman is in constant desire to free her marital life and starts her own life or remarry. Her dominance in spirit possession ritual ensures her control in cultural reproduction (Plancke: 2011).

Some women stick in the marriage but engage in spirit possession and exorcism as a way of seeking more attention and economic gains from their husbands who are compelled by societal demands to

meet the cost of exorcism and the demands made by their husbands. This view is supported by a number of scholars on spirit possession and exorcism (Gomm: 1975, Carine: 2011, Lewis I.M: 1971, Boddy: 1989, Bourguignon: 1968).

In the next chapter, I turn to the literary strategies deployed in the textuality of the songs to demonstrate how the strategies play a significant function in reviving the health wellbeing of the possessed.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE POETICS OF THE *KAYAMBA* PERFORMANCE AND THEIR DEPLOYMENT IN RITUAL HEALING

This section provides a synopsis of the songs, their content and a literary analysis of the oral poetry. The content of the poetry informs the stylistic strategies deployed by the artist. An examination of the thematic concerns and the literary strategies employed will demonstrate the functional and aesthetic aspects of the poetry that contribute to the healing and therapeutic potential.

The oral text is central in the *Kayamba* healing. This chapter offers a stylistic interrogation of the application of literary strategies whose functions are to navigate the therapeutic healing during the Digo ritual healing in the *Kayamba* healing ceremonies. The oral poems are embellished and ornamented with numerous stylistic approaches that illuminate their role in the therapeutic process. The songs address the spirit through both the coaxing and soothing music from the sung text. Benolevolent spirits are provided with a space to connect the healer and the patient. In addition, the oral text creates a site for negotiations between the evil spirit and the healer on what is demanded for the sick to heal during the trance. There are particular features of the *Kayamba* oral poetry that directly contribute to therapeutic effects on the patient. These features are realized during performance and can also be identified in the text of the oral poetry. The oral poetry is unique mainly because they are rendered during the healing ritual of a patient who is afflicted by evil spirits.

#### 3.1 A Synopsis of the *Kayamba* Oral Poetry

In this section my intention is to provide a brief synopsis of the oral poems. I have provided a brief summary of the fifteen poems. The poems are presented chronologically. From the introductory poem that invites all the participants to the concluding poems sung after normalcy returns to the village.

The first poem, *'Taireni'* is an introductory song that invites those in attendance to actively participate in the healing of the sufferer before them. It calls for the medicine-man to heal the sick and the wisdom of the tribe to prevail.

The second poem *'Mwarabu'* is an allusion to the good Arab spirit which is known to bring cure to the afflicted according to Digo mythology. It protects Digo from spirit attacks or pleads with evil spirit to dismount from the sick. The song invites the spirit to bring healing. The song pleads with the medicine person to come and heal the sick. He is being asked to come and mediate on behalf of the afflicted.

The third poem, *'mnazi unayumba'* touches on a key agricultural plant that has both economic and cultural symbolism in the life of the coastal inhabitants. During healing both fauna and flora are brought into attention. The sick claims that the coconut is shaking and that the spirits are attacking her. These utterances represent her state of mind. She demands 'lesso', horse and perfume.

The fourth poem *'mwanamkuse'* is about a malevolent Digo spirit called *'mwanamkuse'*. It's being ordered to come out of the afflicted body. Once it leaves the healer now 'smells' the cure. There is ululation from women dancers. The Dancers threaten to apply fire to attack the spirit if it fails to depart.

*Mwamhowae*  
*Mwamhowae*  
*Mwamhowae*

We light up the fire against you  
We ask you to leave  
All women! Hoyee!!!

The fifth poem *'Ngoma'* is about the sick that is still in a trance. She hallucinates. She talks about music being played inside and outside the house. She rhetorically asks:

*Ngomainapigirwa nyumbani?*  
*Ngomainapigirwa nyumbani ?*

What is happening outside the house?  
What is happening outside the house?

Poem number six, '*mkwaphi*' is in reference to the possessed. She is still in a trance and she claims to be eating meat, a male Digo delicacy to the possessed. According to Digo mythology, some spirit hunt for beautiful women whom they attack and make them marriage partners.

'*Nenda Pwani*' is a poem that further explores the intimate relationship that is common in spirit possession. Though this may not come out clearly, further examination of the hidden subtext points to an intimate relationship that the possessed is involved in as displayed in the body language but is euphemistically framed.

*Nendapwani*  
*nkavulenguwonangoma*  
*Hayalolanikavulenguwo*  
*nkavulenguwonangoma*  
*Hayalolanikavulenguwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*

I am going to the coast  
 To strip naked  
 Look at me I strip naked  
 To strip naked  
 To strip naked  
 Look at me, I am stripping  
 Look at me, I am stripping  
 Stripping, stripping, stripping  
 Look at me, I am stripping

*Nambirwamkwaphianaryanyama*  
*Wee howanaryanyama*  
*Nambirwamkwaphiananzaiko*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*nyama*  
*nyama*

I am told that I am eating meat  
 Eating meat  
 Eating meat  
 I am told that I am eating meat  
 I am mixed in thoughts  
 Meat! Meat! Meat!  
 Meat! Meat! Meat!

This call for intimacy is followed by frantic wriggling of her body, symbolic of a romantic struggle with an invisible lover-spirit. The undressing of the sick woman is a way of cleansing herself of her defilement by the evil spirit marking a clean break with the spirit world.

The possessed says:

'I am mixed in thoughts'. This is symbolic of the victim being in a romantic ecstasy.

The eighth poem, '*fundi*' or herbalist is a song in praise of the medicine man. This song points to the application of a combination of Digo ethnomedical care to the afflicted by apply not only the



method of spirit exorcism but also deployment of traditional herbs, especially water lilies that are believed to encompass medicinal potency in Digo traditional therapies.

*Fundi Fundinga onyundo*  
*Chukuamikobaukatunde*  
*Mauwapangani, fundi naaje*  
*Naajeakatundemauwa*  
*Naajeakatundemauwa*  
*Naajeakatundemauwa*  
*Naajeakatundemauwa*

Skillful men, experts, experts  
 Pick up your tools of trade  
 And pluck up the water lilies  
 And all that you need for treatment  
 And all that you need for treatment  
 And all that you need for treatment  
 And all that you need for treatment

The song ‘*mbarawa*’ refers to a Digo spirit known to insulate a Digo against evil spirits. It is being exalted. It is referred to as the helper and companion:

*Mbarawa ngoma madede*  
*Mbarawamwanamadzihowadedi*  
*Mbarawa we howadede*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Baba matari we ngomaniurembo*  
*Kala namalingerekugulaugangaheee*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*

*Mbarawa* the clean spirit ma de dede  
*Mbarwa* the clean spirit  
*Mbarawa* my dear one, dear one  
*Mbarawa* my helper, my helper  
*Mbarawa* we wee  
 I praise you, praise, praise you

‘*Zumira uganga*’ and ‘*zira ya mkangaga*’ are two songs in praise of *Marera*, a known spirit exorcist and whose participation in the healing brings a gender dimension in the *Kayamba* healing ceremony. Her healing prowess is praised. The power and potency of a traditional healer are metaphorically exalted:

**Song no. 10 *Zumira ni uganga***  
*Mchetu ni marera aredza rero*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Mlungu eee rero*  
*Mlungu eee rero*

**Song no.10*Zumira ni uganga***  
 The skilled woman is Marera  
 She delivers and delivers  
 And heal, heals completely  
 You are the fountain of water lilies  
 And beauty and treatment  
 You are the lake of all mystery  
 All the mystery  
 All the mystery

These songs emphasize the gender dimension in Digo *Kayamba* song. Healing is not a preserve of men. Women are also involved in Digo ethno medicine, a fact explained by their duality in gender power relation in marital matrix which is partly matrilineal and patriarchal (Gomm: 1972:7)

‘*Mwana mlungu*’ is a song roughly translated as ‘child of God’. It is addressed to the sick who is being comforted and consoled by the dancers. The song brings in another dimension to causation of illness in Digo ethno epidemiology-witchcraft.

***Mwana mlungu***  
**Healer** *Howe mwanamlungu*  
*Howe mwanamlungu*  
*Howe mwanamlungu*  
*Howe mwanamlungu*  
*Wahenda lobgwa we*  
*Pore we nkaziya mlungu*  
*Mwana mlungu wahenda lobgwa we*  
*Lobgwa we pore we nkazi ya mlungu*

**Mwana mlungu**  
**Healer** The possessed is bewitched  
The possessed is bewitched  
The possessed is bewitched  
The possessed is bewitched  
You will receive healing  
You will receive healing  
You will be well its god’s doing

The mentioning of God in the last verse suggests the Digo believe in a deity that is superior to evil spirit. It is at this stage that the sufferer experiences a trance. In the trance the evil spirit through its host demands a horse, perfume and a lessa (a woman garment won round the waist).

*I want ‘marashi’, (perfume)*

*I want ‘farasi’, (horse)*

*I want lessa (I want lessa)*

Trance experience in spirit therapy is the apex of the healing process. Once the demands are made and fulfilled. The sick heals.

‘*Mvula*’ is a song that signals restoration of normalcy after a period of agony anguish and misery in the hands of nefarious, callous and beastly spirits. It calls for rain to fall. The song

refers to both fauna and flora and water masses. It calls for their return to normal life. Rain is symbolic of regeneration, productivity, renewal, and growth.

**Song no. 12 *Mvula***

*Oh Mvula nainyena inyenavoya*  
*Mlungu mvula nainye*  
*Mlungu mvula nainye*  
*Matoro waambwa umuganyi*  
*Navoyamlunguvugula*  
*Ugangazani wee*  
*Matoronguoyangunavoya*  
*Mlungumvulanainyee*  
*Ano mayo heee*  
*Ano mayo heee*  
*Ano mayo heee*

**Song no 12 *Mvula***

Oh may the rain fall, Oh may the rain fall  
God the plants should not complain  
God the plants should not murmur  
That the plants should not whisper  
Saying that you are not the provider  
That the people may have a place  
To bring their cry-in the forest and in  
God that they bring their cry-in the forest  
and in the sea  
Revive the plants  
Revive the sea  
Revive your mystery, ooh, god

This is followed by ululation that marks a complete recovery of the patient.

Soloist: *Akinamama hoiyee*  
*Akina mama hoiyee*  
*Akina mama hoiyee*  
*Akina mama hoiyee*

Soloist: All women hoiyee!!!  
All women hoiyee!!!  
All women hoiyee!!!  
All women hoiyee!!!

'*Mduruma*' is a song that refers to an evil spirit from Duruma, ethnic group, a sub-tribe of the nine Miji Kenda tribes. It is a category of exotic spirit that is responsible of evil attack. According to Digo medical epidemiology, foreign spirits especially from their neighborhood are responsible of spirit attack. The order by the herbalist for the evil spirit to leave is promptly obeyed. The evil spirit announces his dismount from the sufferer:

Am leaving, I release her  
I depart may the experts  
*Waganga* are calling me at *Nyika*  
I need to leave,  
I need to go back to *Nyika*

"*Ruhani*" is a song in praise of the most reliable of all the good spirit. After of the evil spirit have been exorcised, *Ruhani* is requested to stay.

*Ruhani* take over and drive away  
The evil spirits, Drive to the sea  
Drive to the forest and to the plain

### 3.2 Concerns in the *Kayamba* Oral Poetry and Therapeutic Healing

I explore the concerns in the *Kayamba* oral poetry that inform literary strategies that convey them. The central concern is restoration of health. There are other related concerns that are embedded in the subplot of the poems. They include healers and their trade, spirits, supernatural forces, exorcism and communal undertaking in which they gather in times of crisis and collectively tackle issues at hand.

Functional roles of the *Kayamba* oral poetry rendered during the healing ritual are the therapeutic intervention. This therapy is subjected to the possessed. Those involved in the healing are struggling with invisible forces that have power over life and death. The evil spirits are appeased and mollified so that they release the sick from bondage. This is well echoed in the song text:

#### **Song no.1 - Taireni**

*Taireni wee mafundi*  
*Taireni wee waganga*  
*Taireni wee*  
*Taireni wee*  
*Taireni wee*  
*Navoya komana mlungu mwema*  
*Wee waganga taireni*  
*Wee mafundi taireni*  
*Taireni wee wee wee*  
*eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee*

#### **Song no.1 - Taireni**

Listen, ooh listen, all experts  
Listen, ooh listen, all healers  
All listen  
All listen.....  
Traditional healers listen  
Traditional herbalists listen  
Those wise in traditional wisdom listen  
(*Waganga*) listen to me  
Listen wee wee wee  
*eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee*

In the above oral poetry, the soloist is addressing those present, pleading with them to listen, to pay attention to her. She is calling upon the traditional healer to listen to him. The main concern here is about healing. The soloist praises the traditional healer by describing them as “those wise in traditional wisdom.”

*Kayamba* Spirit possession and exorcism is an enterprise. An enterprise whose practitioners (healers) draw their income from. It is an enterprise with structures that make it thrive. This enterprise is ethno medical in nature, though the healers', according to the informants, charge is affordable. It is not comparable to private clinics or government hospitals. This is because they seem to understand the nature of their clients and their purchasing power. The healers feel they have a divine responsibility to heal members of the community.

The evil spirits such as '*Mduruma*' and '*Mrabumkuse*' are responsible for illnesses inflicted on their victims. There are also human friendly spirits such as *Mwarabu* and *Ruhani* who shield the Digo from spirit attack or negotiate and mollify evil spirits from attacking their benefactors. On the other hand are the medicine men and women who mediate between the possessed and the evil spirits. This is done through appeasement that focuses on material reward and verbal pleading. If both fails, force is applied in which the healers order the evil spirit to leave. Spirits dread voices emanating from healers. They therefore obey these voices and abandon their victims.

#### DIGO

*Howa navyoga tandara*  
*Mbona unaihwania bayo Nyika*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mganga*

#### ENGLISH

The evil spirit must leave  
 Leave and go back to the *Nyika*  
 Because *Nyika* is where you belong  
 You belong to the dry land  
 You belong to the dry land

The process of healing is not complex. All that is required is to play music through singing and playing musical instruments. The blending of this music creates a mystic force that hypnotizes and drives the patient into a trance. During the trance, the spirits are able to declare their demands through their host who is now in control.

The supremacy of their gods and spirits are reflected in the songs. Their deity is much superior to the evil spirits.

DIGO  
*Chuwo cha mtume*  
*Namuombea mungu*

ENGLISH  
Pray about this trade  
I pray to god for the Mwarabu

The concern of gender identity is not explicit in the poems. A number of scholars as argued elsewhere in this thesis have explored the extent to which women negotiate for space through spirit possession (Gomm 1975:535, Boddy: 1989:145, Lewis1998:109). Their demands for gifts, the attention they are given by the society and their spouses point to a desire to be recognized.

Theme of erotic fulfillment is connoted in the oral poetry as illustrated in the songs below:

***Nendapwani***

*nNkavulenguwonangoma*  
*Hayalolanikavulenguwo*  
*nNkavulenguwonangoma*  
*Hayalolanikavulenguwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*  
*Hayalolamadzigavuwo*

**I am going to the coast**

To strip naked  
To strip naked  
To strip naked  
To strip naked  
Look at me, I am stripping  
Look at me, I am stripping  
Stripping, stripping, stripping  
Look at me, I am stripping

*Nambirwamkwaphianaryanyama*  
*Wee howanaryanyama*  
*Nambirwamkwaphiananzaiko*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*Chifyu change mgalankurya*  
*nyama*  
*nyama*  
*nyama*

I am told that I am eating meat  
Eating meat  
Eating meat  
I am told that I am eating meat  
I am mixed in thoughts  
I am mixed in thoughts  
I am mixed in thoughts  
meat! meat! Meat!  
Meat! Meat! Meat

The act of stripping nude connotes seduction by the spirit. ‘When she is mixed in thoughts’. There is a link between trance and expression of desire (Louise: 2010:53, Lewis: 2003). There is sufficient evidence realized both in the bodily behaviour of the possessed woman and textual evidence as shown in the oral poetry quoted above. This can psychoanalytically be interpreted as the woman’s unrealized and unfulfilled romantic desire by her husband. The trance triggers what is in the unconscious mind to expose itself through the utterances of the sufferer. Her act is a way of protesting.

The above concerns in the oral poetry are conveyed through literary strategies which include repetition, antiphony, metaphor, personification, apostrophe, and idiophones among other strategies. The next section interrogate the deployment of style in effective therapeutic healing

### **3.3 Style in relation to ritual healing**

The texts under study represent a creative phenomenon which is of importance in the therapeutic healing of the afflicted in the Digo society. Finnegan (1992:123) in addressing issues of style in oral text argues that knowledge of the social and literary context of the songs is important. She adds that Stylistic features may have layers of meaning which one may not be able to interpret if a scholar relies on the translated text alone. The researcher has therefore applied the ethnopoetic theory to aid in the interpretation of the oral poetry. Hymes (1982:26) one of the proponents of the theory opines that for an effective interpretation of the songs, both the original text and the translated should be studied for effective interpretation. I have presented both the Digo songs and the translated text for illustration. Studies in the causal relationship between trance during spirit possession and the oral poetry rendered during the performance ritual have demonstrated that the oral poetry contribute in the therapeutic healing of the sick (Becker: 2004, Berliner: 1975, blacking; 1985, Boddy: 1994, Crapanzano: 1973, Emoff: 1982, Jannzen: 2000).

Finnegan outlines a number of literary strategies in a given oral text (Finnegan: 1992:163). They include repetition, imagery (symbolism, euphemism metaphor, personification,), prosody and special literary language or register.

The following sub-section interrogates the deployment of some of the above stylistic strategies in the oral poetry. The section examines the presence of the literary styles in the poems and their significance in the healing of the trancer.

### 3.3.1 Repetition

The most outstanding, predominant and identifiable literary quality of Digo healing songs is repetition. The literary repetition is at different levels. These include; lexical, syntactical and phonological patterning.

#### a) Lexical repetition

Most often, the soloist repeats words she has previously sang while the chorus re-echoes the same words:

**SOLOIST** *Mbarwa* – (good spirit)

*Mbarawa ngoma madede*

*Mbarawa mwanamadziho wadedi*

**Chorus**

*Mbarawa we howadede*

*Matari we ngomaniurembo*

*Baba matari we ngomaniurembo*

*Kala namalingerekugulaugangaheee*

*Matari we ngomaniurembo*

**SOLOIST** *Mbarwa* – (good spirit)

Mbarawa the clean spirit ma dedede---

Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede---

*Mbarwa* the clean spirit

*Mbarawa* my dear one, dear one

*Mbarawa* my helper, my helper

*Mbarawa* we wee

I praise you, praise, and praise you

The word *mbarawa* is repeated a number of times. *Mbarawa* is a benevolent spirit that protects individuals against evil spirit. The repetition of the word therefore is an urgent appeal to the good spirit to respond to the request of the singer. In addition the repetition brings rhythm and musicality to the poem. In another poem, '*Mduruma*,' the word *Mduruma* is repeated five times. "*Mduruma*" refers to a Duruma evil spirit from Duruma ethnic group, a sub tribe of the Mijikenda.

***Mduruma***

***Mganga: Mduruma*** *yuya mayo*

*Mduruma yuya mayoo*

*Nganga mduruma* *wee yuya*

*Nganga mduruma* *wee yuya*

*Nyika mduruma*

***Mduruma***

***Mganga: Nduruma*** the evil spirit,

*Nduruma* the evil spirit

Your place is the dry land

Your place is the dry land

The *nyika* is your home



The repetitions in the above poem prompt the evil spirit to leave the sick. It is clear from the repetition in the poem that a certain spirit is the target and this intensity coerces the spirit to leave. The song, 'Mbarawa' is in praise of the Digo spirit. The morale and conviction of the good spirit to drive the evil spirits out of the sick are enhanced when praised. The healer communes with the spirits, both good and evil. It is this repeated flattery of the good spirit that emboldens them and gives them power to confront the evil spirits during the invocation period.

On the other hand, the presence of the healer and the continued praise heaped on him by the performers provides a sense of security and comfort to the possessed that is now hopeful of regaining her health. This song is sung in praise of the good spirit in the Digo spirit world where evil and benevolent spirits are found. In their world outlook, they believe that good spirits can mediate between them and the evil spirits. In song 11 similar repetition in praise of the healer is realized

**Song no 11 *Ziya ra mkangaga***

*Mkangaga ee mayo ziyae*

*Mayo ziya ramatorona*

*Mambo mkanga gaano mayo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

**Song 11 *Ziya ra mkangaga***

You are the fountain of water lilies

And beauty and treatment

You are the lake of all mystery

All the mystery

All the mystery

All the mystery

All the mystery

Okpewho (1992:71) and Nketia (1955:104) recognize the significance of repetition as a literary device in orality: Repetition is no doubt one of the most fundamental characteristic features of oral literature. It has both aesthetic and utilitarian value. In other words, it is a device that not only gives a touch of beauty or attractiveness to a piece of oral expression, stresses

the intended meaning, which in this case is to pressurize the possessing spirit to leave the body of the afflicted.

It also serves certain practical purposes in the overall organization of the oral performance for example in the poem above it creates intensity and enhances the rhythm. Further, Nketia (1955:104) states that repetition is not monotonous, neither is it done due to barrenness of thought on the contrary, they may have a musical mode of meaning or they may be a means of emphasizing a point.

**b) Phonological patterning in the oral poetry**

Phonological patterning is the foremost form of repetitions deployed in the Digo oral poetry of the *Kayamba* subgenre of Digo orature. As a literary tool, it is employed to achieve rhythm and harmony that are instrumental in the therapeutic healing of the possessed. They include alliteration, assonance and rhyme. Translation of the Digo *Kayamba* oral poetry into English diminishes the richness of the phonological repetition.

An examination of these phonological patterns in the *Kayamba* oral poetry points to a heavy borrowing from the rich phonological and prosodic features in the Swahili poetry of eastern Africa though the poetry is not strictly metrical when juxtaposed with Swahili poetry. East African Swahili poetry is replete with phonological patterning and metre as observed by Finnegan (1977:168). The poem ‘mwarabu’ is an example of the poem with repetitive phonological patterning

**Sing 2 Mwarabu**

**Soloist:***Mwarabu namuombea mungu*

*Chuwo cha mtume*

*Mwarabu namuombea mungu*

*Chuwo cha mtume*

*Namuombea mungu*

*Chuwo cha mtume*

*Namuombea aliepagawa apone*

**Chorus** *Aliepagawa apone*

*Pepho mwarabu*

*Namuombea mungu*

*Namuombea mungu*

*Chuwo cha mtume*

*Chuwo cha mtume*

## Song 2 Mwarabu

**Soloist:** I pray for Mwarabu spirit

I pray to god about your trade

I pray for Mwarabu spirit

I pray about this trade

I pray to god for the mwarabu

This trade of the prophet

That the afflicted will be set free

**Chorus:** The afflicted will be set free

Mwarabu spirit

I pray to god

I pray to god

The prophet's trade

The prophet's trade

An examination of the above song in Digo version depicts a song replete with a number of sound patterns such as alliteration, assonance and rhyme. Alliteration is found in the following verses. They are in bold and underlined.

**Mwarabu namuombea **mungu** sound /m/**

**Chuwo **çha mtume** sound /tʃ/**

**Mwarabu namuombea **mungu** sound /m/**

**Chuwo **çha mtume** sound /m/**

*Namuombea mungu*

**Chuwo **çha mtume****

*Namuombea aliepagawa apone*

**Chorus** *Aliepagawa apone*

*Pepho mwarabu*

*Namuombea mungu*

*Namuombea mungu*

**Chuwo **çha mtume****

**Chuwo **çha mtume****

Assonance is also present in the following verses in the repetition of the vowel sound /a/:

Namuombea **aliepagawa **apone** sound /a/ in line 7**

The poem also contains end rhyme. They are emboldened and assigned similar letters

**Mwarabu**

**Soloist:** *Mwarabu namuombea mungu* **a**

*Chuwo cha mtume* **b**

*Mwarabu namuombea mungu* **a**

*Chuwo cha mtume* **b**

*Namuombea mungu* **a**

*Chuwo cha mtume* **b**

*Namuombea aliepagawa apone* **c**

Chorus	<i>Aliepagawa apone</i>	<b>c</b>
	<i>Pepho mwarabu</i>	<b>d</b>
	<i>Namuombea mungu</i>	<b>a</b>
	<i>Namuombea mungu</i>	<b>a</b>
	<i>Chuwo cha mtume</i>	<b>b</b>
	<i>Chuwo cha mtume</i>	<b>b</b>

The above poem has a near regular rhyme scheme as demonstrated above. Its rhyme scheme is abababccdaabb. The last two lines contain a rhyming couplet.

In another oral poem, 'mbarawa' phonological patterning is also realized:

**Song 9 Mbarawa**

**SOLOIST** *Mbarawa ngoma madede*  
*Mbarawa mwana madziho wadedi*  
*Mbarawa we howadede*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Baba matari we ngoma niurembo*  
*Kala namalingere kugula uganga heee*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Matari we ngomani urembo*  
*Matari we ngomani urembo*  
*Baba matari we wee weee*  
*Haya howee hee matari*  
*We ngoma niurembo*  
*(The instruments go loud, louder with dancing)*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*

**Song 9 Mbarawa**

**SOLOIST** *Mbarwa* – (good spirit)  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarwa the clean spirit*  
*Mbarawa my dear one, dear one*  
*Mbarawa my helper, my helper*  
*Mbarawa we wee*  
*I praise you, praise, praise you*  
*Matari the spirit, your skill*  
*Is admirable is beautiful*  
*I wish I had the power to achieve*  
*Your strength your skill your art*  
*(The instruments go loud, louder with dancing)*  
  
*Hoiyee matarihoiyee*  
*Hoiyeematarihoiyee*  
*Hoiyeematarihoiyee*  
*Hoiyeematarihoiyee*

The above poem is replete with alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. For the alliteration the sounds are underlined and in bold as indicated below

**SOLOIST** *Mbarawa ngoma madede*  
*Mbarawa mwana madziho wadede*  
*Mbarawa we howa dede*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Baba matari we ngoma niurembo* 5  
*Kala namalingere kugula uganga heee*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Mbarawa we ngoma niurembo*  
*Matari we ngomani urembo*  
*Matari we ngomani urembo* 10  
*Baba matari we wee weee*  
*Haya howee hee matari*  
*We ngoma niurembo*  
*(The instruments go loud, louder with dancing)*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee* 15

Hoiyee matari hoiyee  
Hoiyee matari hoiyee

**Rhyme:** the presence of rhyme is realized in the following lines

Line 1, 2 and 3 : madede, wadede, Dede

Line 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 : Niurembo/niurembo/urembo/niurembo/urembo/niurembo

Also in lines 14-17 hoiyee / hoiyee / hoiyee/hoiyee

The rhyme scheme of this poem is also regular as shown below. Rhyming sounds are assigned similar letter of the alphabet

Song 9	Mbarawa	
SOLOIST	Mbarawa ngoma <u>madede</u>	a
	Mbarawa mwana <u>madziho wadede</u>	a
	Mbarawa we <u>howadede</u>	a
	Mbarawa we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>	b
	Baba matari we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>	b
	Kala <u>namalingere kugula uganga hee</u>	c
	Mbarawa we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>	b
	Mbarawa we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>	b
	Matari we ngomani <u>urembo</u>	b
	Matari we ngomani <u>urembo</u>	b
	Baba matari we <u>wee wee</u>	c
	Haya <u>howee hee matari</u>	d
	We ngoma <u>niurembo</u>	a
	Hoiyee matari <u>hoi</u> yee	c
	Hoiyee matari <u>hoi</u> yee	c
	Hoiyee matari <u>hoi</u> yee	c
	Hoiyee matari <u>hoi</u> yee	c

The rhyme scheme of the above poem is aaaaacbbbcdacccc. This pattern confirms the richness of *Kayamba* poetry in phonological patterning. The rhyme brings in the beauty and entertaining bit of the oral poetry, thus encouraging participation by all even those who do not understand the real meaning of the ritual like the young children. **Assonance** is realized in the following lines as marked

	<b>Assonance</b>
SOLOIST	<u>Mbarawa</u> ngoma <u>madede</u>
	<u>Mbarawa</u> mwana <u>madziho wadede</u>
	<u>Mbarawa</u> we <u>howa dede</u>
	<u>Mbarawa</u> we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>
	<u>Baba matari</u> we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>
	<u>Kala namalingere kugula uganga hee</u>
	<u>Mbarawa</u> we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>
	<u>Mbarawa</u> we ngoma <u>niurembo</u>

'a' and 'e'  
 'a' and 'e'  
 'a' and 'e'  
 'a', 'o' and 'e'  
 'a', 'o' and 'e'  
 'a', 'o' 'e' and 'u'  
 'a', 'o' and 'e'  
 'a', 'o' and 'e'

Matari we ngoma ni urembo  
Matari we ngomani urembo

'a', 'o' 'i' and 'e'  
'a', 'o' 'i' and 'e'

The above illustrations of phonological patterns demonstrate the application of prosodic and phonological forms in *Kayamba* oral poetry. The use of these sound patterns has enormous literary significance that are both aesthetic and utilitarian in nature (Okpewho: 1992: 72). A number of literary scholars have made a number of observations concerning the functional and aesthetic implications of the repetition of sounds in poetry.

Ruth Finnegan while examining phonological features in Akan dirges acknowledges the presence of tonal phonological patterns (Finnegan; 1977: 163). According to Cuddon (1998:742), repetition may consist of sounds of particular syllables and words, phrases, stanzas, metrical patterns, ideas, allusions, refrain alliterations rhyme and assonance. Gbolo (2010:342) while examining functional and aesthetic value of repetition of sounds report that they enhance the rhythm and structural unity of the poem. The repetition of these sounds allows the participation of the audience in the rendition of the poems since the ritual is a communal affair. The memorability of the oral poems is also enhanced.

In addition to the application of phonological patterns, linguistic characteristics such as prosodic features are applied with the intention to create a melody suitable to a particular spirit. These features are difficult to represent the graphological for they are effectively realized when rendered orally.

During the rendition of the *Kayamba* text, the tempo changes gradually until it reaches a crescendo and climax when the sick person is healed. The role of the tempo in Digo music is to drive the spirit away and awaken the sick to achieve a trance. Trance is achieved when all aspect of the performance are collaborated. These include the ensemble (the musical instruments), the dance moves and the enactment of the song text. The repetitive melodies in the oral poetry and its textual content have the potential to invite a particular possessed person

to the dance arena through the persona possessing the sick person. The *Kayamba* oral poetry deploys different melodies to entice different spirits to heal the afflicted.

This is done through trial and error methods in which different melodies are tested until when the spirit responds. These repetitive melodies, lexicon, syntax, prosodic elements and phonological patterns contribute to the healing of the sick when collaborated with other elements of the ritual such as ensemble, dancing and the content of the songs.

**c) Syntactic repetition**

This refers to the repetition of the phrases in the poems. There is extensive deployment of syntactic structures in all the poems. Gbolo (2010:143), Argues that syntax is applied in oral poetry to “establish structural unity”.

In *Kayamba* poetry syntax is generally used not only for structural unity but also to enhance the meaning of the poem, enhance rhythm and memorability of the poems when rendered orally. The following poems will illustrate the above functionality of the poems.

**Song 2 “Mwarabu”**

*Namuombea mungu*  
*Namuombea mungu*  
*Chuwo cha mtume*  
*Chuwo cha mtume*

*I pray to god*  
*I pray to god*  
*The prophet’s trade*  
*The prophets’ trade*

The above syntactic repetitions refer to the soloist asking God to intervene in the protection of the good spirit “Mwarabu”. These repetitions enhance the structural unity of the poem, advance the theme and rhythm of the poem. Other poems with syntactic repetitions include:

**Song 4 “Mwarabu namkuse”**

**Dancers;** *Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo*  
*Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo*  
*Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo*  
*Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo*

**Dancers;** The Digo evil spirits  
The Digo evil spirits  
The Digo evil spirits  
The Digo evil spirits

**Song 7 Nenda pwani**

*Nenda pwani  
Nkavule nguwo nangoma  
Hayalola nikavule nguwo  
Nkavule nguwo na ngoma  
Hayalola nikavule nguwo  
Hayalola madzigavuwo  
Hayalola madzigavuwo  
Hayalola madzigavuwo  
Hayalola madzigavuwo*

I am going to the coast  
To strip naked  
To strip naked  
To strip naked  
To strip naked  
Look at me, I am stripping  
Look at me, I am stripping  
Stripping, stripping, stripping  
Look at me, I am stripping

**3.3.2 Use of idiophones**

In the *Kayamba* oral poetry, a number of idiophones have been injected in the poems to affect rhythm, vividness and emphasize meaning in the poems as illustrated below.

**Mganga:** *Navayako mana mlungu mwema  
Wee waganga taireni  
Wee mafundi taireni  
Taireni wee wee wee  
eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee*

**Mganga:** Traditional healers listen  
Traditional herbalists listen  
Those wise in traditional wisdom listen  
(Waganga) listen to me  
*eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee*

The use of repeated the sound /e/ as a linguistic unit at the end of the poem emphasize the message in the poem-that all should listen to the herbalist. The healer is pleading with those gathered to listen to him. In another poem, ‘*Mwarabu namkuse*’. The bard makes use of ideophone ‘hee, hee, hee,’

**Chorus:**  
*Wee ananunkamavuwo  
Wee ananunkamavuwo  
he, ananukamavuwo he  
Ananukamavuwo he  
Ananukamavuwo he  
Ananukamavuwo he  
hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee*

**Chorus:**  
With the herbals, heal her  
With the herbals, heal her  
With the art heal her  
With the expertise heal her  
With your power heal her  
*hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee  
hee, hee, hee*

The above idiophones not only conclude the poem but also enhance its rhythm. According to Opkewho, idiophones “are not like normal words to which meaning are readily assigned. They are simply sounds used in conveying a vivid impression. In short an ideophone is an



idea –in sound (Opkewho 1992: 92). Nketia on the other hand, in his study of the Akan dirges refers to them as end particles (Nketia 1955; 75). Agyekum (2007:51) observes that idiophones are employed in oral text to achieve a number of effects. There are mainly used for rhythm and not meaning since they cannot be translated. This assertion does not apply to the use of ideophones in *Kayamba* poetry. In some instances, the meanings of idiophones are clear.

### **3.3.3 Imagery**

In my examination of imagery, I interrogate the imagery deployed in the songs and how they bring in therapeutic healing to the sick. Imagery has the potential to awaken the sick especially when what is familiar is mentioned to them. Some of the categories of imagery applied include personification, symbolism, metaphor, euphemism and apostrophe.

#### **a) Personification**

In Digo oral poetry, nonhuman things, ideas and object are given human attribute. The world of spirits, the fauna and flora operate on the same plane. To understand the *Kayamba* poetry knowledge about the ethno cultural and sociological background of the community is important (Finnegan: 1992: 163). Spirits inhabiting the world of the Digo people are assumed to be human beings.

In these oral poems, personification is mainly applied when addressing both evil and good spirits. The spirits are addressed as though they are physically present. For evil spirits can be persuaded to leave the sick and go back to their place of origin. If they defy the request to leave, then through invocation, the healer orders them to leave. In the poem “*Mwarabu*” the good spirit is addressed as though it were a human being. It is being requested to intervene and rescue the afflicted that has been invaded by evil spirit. The singer prays to God to take care of the good spirit.

**Soloist:** *Mwarabu Namuombea mungu*

**Soloist:** I pray for Mwarabu spirit

In another poem “*Ruhani*”, the soloist is pleading with *ruhani*, the good spirit not to abandon the people in their hour of need.

***Ruhani***

*Wee zamra, zamra, zamra*  
*Soma chambaweweu mwalimu soma*  
*Kama weweu mwalimu soma wee*  
*Nachuochangu cha bwana*  
*Ruhani cha hilalahilala*

***Ruhani***

*Ruhani please stay*  
*Your place is here with us*  
*be with her, order any evil*  
*spirit to leave, release her*  
*Your place is here for you *Ruhani**

*Ruhani* the good spirit is addressed as if he were a human being. Through this address the people are assured of protection against evil spirit. Giles (1987) in her study of spirits in East Africa recognizes the superiority of *Ruhani* in the spirit world of the people living in the East African coastline. She says: In the spirit hierarchy, *ruhani* spirits are the highest, most powerful, and most honorable spirits of the *kiarabu/kiislamu* (Arabic/Muslim) category.

The symbolic world of the latter is associated with Islam, Koran, the Middle East (and sometimes North East Africa), urban, coastal and cosmopolitan characteristics (as opposed to rural village culture), the Arabic language, and, in many cases, with the sea (the Indian Ocean) (pp.245). Evil spirit causing the affliction in the body of the sick are at first coaxed to abandon the sick person. But if they defy, they are commanded to leave. The following poem is about evil spirit who is treated as human being.

***Mduruma***

*Mganga: Mduruma yuya mayo*  
*Mduruma yuya mayoo*  
*Nganga mduruma wee yuya*  
*Nganga mduruma wee yuya*  
*Nyika Mduruma*  
*Howa navyoga tandara*  
*Mbona unaihwania bayo nyika*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mganga*  
*Taireni mgang*

***Mduruma***

*Mganga : Nduruma the evil spirit,*  
*Nduruma the evil spirit*  
*Your place is the dry land*  
*Your place is the dry land*  
*The nyika is your home*  
*The evil spirit must leave*  
*Leave and go back to the nyika*  
*Because nyika is where you belong*  
*You belong to the dry land*  
*You belong to the dry land*

In the oral poem above, the healer, after failing to drive the evil spirit from the possessed through persuasion, is now ordering the evil spirit to leave immediately. Through this invocation, the power of the healer is felt. The evil spirit leaves but not before making demands through its host, the sick person. Floral, celestial and aquatic imagery are also deployed in the poem. Plants, the forest and the sea are given human attribute as reflected in the poem below.

**Mvula**

*Oh Mvula nainyena inyenavoya*  
*Mlungu mvula nainye*  
*Mlungu mvula nainye*  
*Matoro waambwa umuganyi*  
*Navoyamlunguvugula*  
*Ugangazani wee*  
*Matoronguoyangunavoya*  
*Mlungumvulanainyee*  
*Ano mayo heee*  
*Ano mayo heee*  
*Ano mayo heee*  
*Ano mayo heee.*

**Mvula**

Oh may the rain fall,  
 Oh may the rain fall  
 That the plants should not complain  
 That the plants should not murmur  
 That the plants should not whisper  
 Saying that you are not the provider  
 That the people may have a place  
 To bring their cry-in the forest, the sea  
 To bring their cry-in the forest, the sea  
 Revive the plants  
 Revive the sea  
 Revive your mystery, ooh, god.

The divine God is being asked to provide rain so that the plants don't 'complain', 'murmur' or 'whisper'. Rain will bring life to the sea and forest where the people will take their cry, and suffering as a refuge to offer healing. The above personifications unite the human and the non human and demonstrate their dependant on each other. In addition, the above text has a religious imagery. After the possessed has healed, her life is bound to return to normalcy. The healer and performers seek God's intervention asking him to bring life to plants:

That the plants should not complain  
 That the plants should not murmur  
 That the plants should not whisper

Plants being their source of food are represented by coconut. The mention of the sea and the forest is a symbolic reminder of the very important social religious and economic spaces that are harmonized if spirits are tamed. The songs utilize aquatic images that are within the people's environment. These images are associated with oceanic imaginaries and landscapes.

The mention of the sea, water lilies and coconut provide mental pictures of the fine weather of the coastline. These images are familiar to the sick and therefore provide an avenue to relate with them.

**b) Symbolism**

Odaga (1981:31) while interrogating the functions of literary techniques in orature posit that creativity of the oral artist is important in appreciating the didactic value of orature. The *Kayamba* oral poem has a number of symbolic representations. These symbols are in harmony with the sociological and cultural life of the source community. Spirits are symbolically presented in the poems. Some spirit such as *mbarawa* (poem no 9 ), *Mwarabu*(no.2) and *ruhani* (no 14) symbolize good spirits that mediate with good spirit while on behalf of the sick, while spirits like *Mduruma* (13), and *Mrabumkuse*(no 4) represent evil spirit. In the poem “*fundi*” ‘water lilies’ represent the herbal cures administered to the sick

*Fundi Fundingaonyundo*  
*Chukuamikobaukatunde*  
*Mauwapangani, fundi naaje*

‘Skillful men, experts, experts  
 Pick up your tools of trade  
 And pluck up the water lilies

During the exorcism ceremony, traditional herbal medicine is used alongside exorcism. The use of the water lilies shows the community’s fidelity to their tradition. The mention of healers such as ‘*Marera*’, the skilful healers is a mark of recognition and confidence in Digo ethno medicine. The healers symbolize the old, the tradition, the cure and the solution to human maladies.

*Mchetu ni marera aredza rero*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Mlungu eee rero*  
*Mlungu eee rero*

The skilled woman is Marera  
 She delivers and delivers  
 And heal, heals completely  
 Accept the healing today  
 Accept the healing today  
 Accept the healing  
 Accept the healing

The mention of 'marera', a woman herbalist is recognition of women in community's medical care. Taboo topics in the poems have been euphemistically been referred to through use of symbolism. Aleksandr Gura in essay "coitus in the symbolic language of Slavic culture" explores the use of symbolism to refer to taboo topic such as sex (45). He says that "usually coitus is referred to with euphemisms and other substitutes that can be both neutral and expressive, or even humorous. He gives the images of a "sting" or a "bite" as the more popular symbols of sex"

The *Kayamba* poetry has utilized symbolism to refer to the subject of coitus encounters. In a poem "*Mkwaphi*" a number of verses symbolically represent sexual images in this poem, "*Mkwaphi*", the possessed woman is in a trance. During trance the victim is gripped by the evil spirit and it is believed that the evil spirit engages its host in a conjugal escapade. The woman utters words indicative of this romantic encounter with the evil spirit.

This is presented in a euphemistic manner bearing in mind the kayamba healing ritual is attended by all including the children and again with the knowledge that the concerned person gets the message who is in this case the husband, who is expected to take his role, this would lead to healing and also prevent future attacks by the malevolent spirits. She starts by saying that she is "eating meat" followed by "I am stripping naked. Finally she says that she is "confused in thoughts". This refers to the spirit's seduction as it progresses until the wooing is complete.

### c) **Metaphors**

The *Kayamba* oral poetry has metaphors embedded in them. They not only embellish the poetry but they also communicate the poetic messages vividly. Examples are bound in a number of poems: In an attempt to force evil spirits in out of the afflicted, the soloist says "We light up the fire against you." This connotes the violence that they are going to expose the spirit to if it fails to leave the body of its victim. "Fire" here stand for violence

*Chinapepeta ooh howa*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

We know you are in her

We tell the spirit to leave

**We light up the fire against you**

We ask you to leave

(Poem no 3)

The application of this imagery scares away the evil spirit and leaves the sick. In another poem “*zile ya mganga*”, the healer is praised and described as the “lake of all mysteries”. This is an indication of how healers in this community are respected and revered. The metaphor gives confidence and hope to the afflicted.

**Poem 11 *Ziya ra mkangaga***

*Mkangaga ee mayo ziyaeeee*

*Mayo ziya ramatorona*

*Mambo mkanga gaano mayo*

***Ziya vamotorona mambo***

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

*Ziya vamotorona mambo*

**Poem 11 *Ziya ra mkangaga***

You are the fountain of water lilies

And beauty and treatment

**You are the lake of all mystery**

All the mystery

All the mystery

All the mystery

All the mystery

Schenb (2007: 98) argues that “This plotting of images is really the special language of all humans: communication happens not through words but by images created with the assistance of nonverbal as well as verbal techniques.” Therefore, it is evident that the *Kayamba* performance not only employ the use of imagery to spice up the poems but also to reflect the nature of their environment so as to facilitate comprehension of the poem as well.

**d) Euphemism**

There is a sub text in the stanza below. The possessed woman is declaring her undressing. She is heading to the sea-the abode of the evil spirits. She says that she is mixed in thoughts indicative of her being in the physical world and the spirit world at the same time; she talks of gifts that she is enjoying from the spirits intimate embrace with the spirit seductive advances and eventual healing. These images connote conjugal fulfillment probably denied to her by her husband due to marital incongruence. Some scholars in the study of spirit possession have

pointed out that spirits engage in romantic encounters with their victims (Lewis: 1989: xiii, Jones :1949 ), in the songs there are images that are suggestive of romantic encounters between the spirit and the sick woman especially when she reaches a trance. Her behavior especially the ways she wriggles her body and her verbal utterances are indicative of an intimate relationship with the spirit. This is reflected in the following lines;

### **Song 7 Nendapwani**

<i>Nendapwani</i>	I am going to the coast
<i>Nkavulenguwonangoma</i>	To strip naked
<i>Hayalolanikavulenguwo</i>	To strip naked
<i>nkavulenguwonangoma</i>	To strip naked
<i>Hayalolanikavulenguwo</i>	To strip naked
<i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i>	Look at me, I am stripping
<i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i>	Look at me, I am stripping
<i>Nambirwamkwaphianaryanyama</i>	Stripping, stripping, stripping
<i>Wee howanaryanyama</i>	Look at me, I am stripping
<i>Nambirwamkwaphiananzaiko</i>	Look at me I am stripping,
<i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>	I am told that I am eating meat
<i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>	I am mixed in thoughts
<i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>	I am mixed in thoughts
<i>Nyama, nyama</i>	meat! meat! meat!
<i>Nyama, nayama</i>	

### **3.3.4 Apostrophe**

Apostrophe is a figurative aspect of language in which a speaker or a person addresses an absent person or non-human interlocutor. The *Kayamba* oral poetry is replete with this literary device. The speaker is mainly addressing the spirits.

In the poem *mwarabu mkuse*, the dancers, addressing the evil spirits they request it;

<i>Yarabiananukamavuwo</i>	Please leave her
<i>Walobgwadzeyuno</i>	Please depart from her
<i>Ananukamavuno</i>	Please allow her freedom

In another poem, *Ruhani*, the soloist pleads with *Ruhani*, the good spirit not to abandon them.

The spirit is request to stay and protect them against alien spirits

*Wee zamra, zamra, zamra*

*Soma chambaweweu mwalimu soma*

*Kama weweumwalimu soma wee*

*Nachuochangu cha bwana*

*Ruhani cha hilalahilala*

*Ruhani please stay*

Your place is here with us

If be with her, any evil

Spirit leave, release her and depart

Your place is here for you Ruhani

The literary function of the apostrophe is to concretize the presence of the spirit causing illness. The face to face encounter with the spirit is an assurance that they are hearing and will respond. These ensure the afflicted that she is on her road to recovery once the spirit agrees to unchain her.

### 3.3.5 The Use of Antiphony

The performance aesthetics and functionality of Digo healing songs are most often enhanced by the soloist interpreting the healing process and so leading the song and calling the others to respond. This is rendered antiphonally and dialogically. The structure of the song allows this verbal collaboration. Its brevity allows the singers to memorize and recall the lines with ease. These frequent vocal interactions between the soloist or lead singer and the chorus, illustrate the communal collaboration in the singing. The call and response style also give the lead singer time to observe how the possessed is behaving and so can insert or create new lines to as the situation may demand, all of this geared towards healing.

Finnegan (1977: 253) define antiphony as “repetition of two phrases between soloist and chorus while Nketia (1962:28) calls it call and respond form. This call and responsorial form in *Kayamba* oral poetry is of different forms. One form involves the soloist who introduces the oral poem and the chorus responds. In another form, the lead singer introduces the song and joins in the choral respond. A good example is the song “*mwarabu*”. In this song both the lead singer and the chorus join in the response.



**Dancer:** *Ooh yoyo mwambe yoyo*

*Kutanimohochidzungo*

*Chinapepeta ooh howa*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

*Mwamhowaeeee*

**Chorus/Dancer:** *Anomayohoiyee–hoiyee*

*Ano mayo hoiyee–hoiyee*

*Ano mayo hoiyee–hoiyee*

**Dancers :** She smells of your presence

Set her free, ooh -- herbalist

We know you are in her

We tell the spirit to leave

We light up the fire against you

We ask you to leave

We ask you to leave

**Chorus/dancer** All the women *hoiyee–*

All the women *hoiyee - hoiyee*

All the women *hoiyee - hoiyee*

Antiphony is a powerful form of collaboration between the lead singer and the chorus. It has a number of literary significance. It allows flexibility of the singing, give room for popular and communal participation by all, makes the song musically embellished and finally it mollifies the patient and strengthens her will to heal.

### **3.4 The Role of Aesthetics in Therapeutic Healing**

The oral poems, when sung or chanted play a number of roles. They have both the aesthetic value and also play a role in advancing the themes of the text. The healer uses artistic strategy to communicate to the spirits thus acquiring a platform to navigate healing. When the healer makes appeal or commands to the spirit, he does not use everyday language but uses poetic expression and dramatic dialogue to navigate healing. Spirits which are difficult to deal with are driven out through invocation in which the singing is intense and commanding. For those

spirits who seem to comply they are persuaded to leave by applying soothing tunes of different melodies.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

As demonstrated in the above section that the *Kayamba* song offers therapeutic healing to the afflicted through the textual rendition of the oral poetry. In the section, I have explored how literary strategies have been deployed to bring back the wellbeing of the sick person through the textual techniques that are tailored towards healing of the patients. The following subsection is a summary of the challenges encountered in this process.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings based on the data collected, processed and analysed. The chapter provides the conclusion of the study and recommendation on further research.

#### 4.2 Challenges Encountered During the Research

Quite a number of challenges were encountered while carrying out the field research, for example some of the informants had limited education and could only converse in Digo language little of which the researcher could comprehend. A translator was hired. I also had under estimated the cost of research project during budgeting, the amount almost doubled the initial cost. Extra trips to the performance sites were made where certain clarifications were required.

Some of the electronic equipment malfunctioned causing extra expenditure in the editing of the voices in the audio data collected. The cost of processing of the data shot up because the expert I had contracted to transcribe and translate the data found it challenging and so extra transcribers and new translators with better competence of both the local and research languages and expertise had to be employed. This was to facilitate quick, efficient and effective data collection and analysis so as to complete the work within the time frame offered for this research work. The researcher also had to bear with the personal changes in dietary habits, weather conditions as well as cultural differences and practices. However, the interest of the research work made it easier for the researcher to acclimatize with the variations in general, and by the end of the day I came up with the following findings;

### **4.3 Summary and Findings**

This study set out to interrogate the artistic technique and performance dynamics in Digo healing poetry and their role in the therapeutic healing of the afflicted during the Kayamba spirit possession and exorcism. Since this was a study with an inter-disciplinary trajectory that touches on a number of field of knowledge such as Anthropology, Musicology, Ethnology, Psychology, Medical sciences among others, the research intended to only examine the intersection of literature and the other disciplines- a study of performance dynamics and the application of aesthetic strategies in the performance oral poetry of the kayamba therapeutic healing ritual.

The objectives of the study were to interrogate the Kayamba poetry performance and their deployment of artistic technique of the Kayamba poetry in the therapeutic healing of spirit possessed persons. The scope of the study was limited to a study of the *Kayamba* performance among the Digo of Golini sub-county of Kwale County in Coast region of Kenya.

The finding of this study will contribute to scholarship in African folklore and also provide additional knowledge to relevant members of public on the significance and legitimacy of kayamba oral performance of the Digo community as an alternative medical care in the Digo community.

On literature review, a corpus of data was reviewed in an attempt to examine the knowledge gap in my area of research. An examination of Digo historiography was interrogated to locate the intersection of history of the community and the cradle of the kayamba performance and its therapeutic healing during exorcism.

Further review of available literature explored the scholarly study of Orality and healing in which the contribution of oral poetry in ethno medical care was examined. Works that treat

spirit possession and exorcism as agency for women seeking to interrupt male dominance in patriarchal arrangement were also interrogated in relation to application of oral poetry.

The study applied theories of performance, Ethnopoetics and psychoanalytic in its execution of the problem at hand. Ethnopoetics, a theory whose cradle is traced to the study of American Indians folklore was found appropriate because it is well grounded in the ethnography of the community under study. The theory privileges the literary aesthetic of oral poetry in its original language by studying the way it's rendered and the aesthetics in the poetry before translation. This theory challenges the application of western theories in the analysis of translated Orality. It argues that a translated oral text cannot retain its context and aesthetics and should therefore be studied in its ethnographic form.

Performance theory on the other hand aided this research in the interpretation of the kayamba performance as a verbal art. The kayamba performance and its ritual of spirit possession and exorcism, its attendant artistic events that accompany the ritual such as songs rendition, musical accompaniment and dancing are the events to be defined as literary performance. This position is supported by Schechner (1982:8) who postulate that rituals in performance studies are part of performance in which the ritual provides moments of realizing the imaginary reality. Further performance theory interpreted the events in the kayamba dance as an avenue in which ethno medical curatives were achieved through Orality.

To correctly interpret the motives behind the actions of the possessed during the healing session, and the underlying connotative semantics in certain verbal utterances, psychoanalytic theory was deployed. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied while conducting the field research. This is because of the nature of the inquiry. Purposive sampling method of data collection was applied in the selection of research area, informants and artists.

The field research site was Golini village of Msambweni in Kwale County. Once the permission to conduct research in the area was granted by the relevant local county administrators, and identification of performers finalized, the *kayamba* ritual healing performances were arranged and a schedule of performances generated. A number of performances were mounted involving different performance troupes. It is during the performances that research instruments were put into use. The research instruments included application of observation, participation by the researcher during performances, case study, ethno methodological approach and interviews. In addition the study involved library research and internet browsing of data bases.

During the field research, two categories of data were collected: data on performance dynamics and data on oral poetry of the Kayamba rendered during the performance. Processing of the data involved transcription and translation of the oral songs. Analysis dwelt with interpretation of the data by the examination of the performance dynamics and aesthetic strategies deployed. The analysis partly involved the application of Ethnopoetics approach in which the identification of the aesthetics emanated from the oral songs in their transcribed form. This was especially in elements such as lexical, phonological and syntactic repetitions. The oral poetry was transcribed from the recorded audio and video sources and later translated into the language of analysis-English.

The poems were later subjected to a critical analysis of the artistic techniques present in the poems and their functional implications in the healing of the afflicted. Artistic strategies instrumental in the healing include the use of figurative language, antiphony, repetition of syntactic, phonological and lexical elements in the poem. The performance dynamics and artistic qualities when deployed in the *Kayamba* healing ritual were found to effect healing on the patient. The public is called to attention after confirmation that the sick person is suffering from spirit possession. The confirmation is done by the traditional healers after conducting

elaborate ethno medical diagnosis. The manifestation of spirit possession is well documented. These manifestations assist the healer to confirm the possession, carry out the diagnoses confirm the cause of the illness and bring healing to the sick.

Traditional healers have power over evil. They have the potency to drive evil spirits away. Spirits that are easy to appease are persuaded to leave while those that are resistant and malignant are ordered to leave the host through verbal invocation and intense kayamba playing. The evil spirits dread voices and sounds emanating from musical instruments, especially the kayamba playing. It's these sounds whose intensity and volume are believed to cause the evil spirits to flee from their host.

The texts of the oral poetry allow communication between the evil spirit and the healer. The communication is in form of poetic expression and dramatic dialogue effected through singing. The aesthetic elements in the songs impact on the evil spirits and the possessed leading to trance and eventual demand pronouncements. When the demands are fulfilled, the patient heals. The hypothesis of the study were that the *Kayamba* oral poetry of the Digo is embedded with artistic techniques that play a role in therapeutic healing of the possessed person. The hypothesis two was that the performance dynamics in the healing ritual also facilitate healing. The performance dynamics and artistic qualities when deployed in the *Kayamba* healing ritual were found to effect healing on the patient.

The coordination and synchronization of these elements of performance and artistic techniques were responsible for the inducement and appeasement of the malevolent spirit and so facilitating exorcism. This research therefore ascertained that the artistic techniques and performance dynamics are of great significance in the therapeutic healing of the possessed personsick person.

#### **4.4 Recommendation for further research.**

This research confined itself to a study of performance dynamics and artistic techniques in the *Kayamba* performance and oral poetry. While in the field, a number of male informants privately and confidentially explained that women were involved in spirit possession as a way of protesting their marginalization by the largely patriarchal power hegemony in Digo society. This position is shared by some scholars especially in the field of anthropology and musicology (Gomm: 1975:530, Harris 1957:433, Lewis 1966:33, Messing 1958: 345, Parkain 1972:330, Shack: 1966:56, Wilson 1967:56 and Caplan 1968). A close reading of the collected oral poetry of the Digo has elements of protest discourses but euphemistically and symbolically stated. This study recommends that further research be mounted on the elements of women marginalization in the performance and oral poetry of the *Kayamba* performance.



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

These were questions directed to different individuals in the kayamba oral performance that is, an interview schedule for experts, healers and artist.

<u>Biographical information</u>	Age----
	Gender--
	Level of education--
	Profession--
	Place of resident and contact
	Provide A brief history of the Digo in relation to the <i>Kayamba</i> dance
	What is the Cultural importance of the performance?
	What is the Connection between the performance and healing?
	What is the Impact of the wording in the performance to the sick?
	What heals? The melody or the wording?
	What is the Qualification for the healers?
	How are they (artists) selected?
	What is the meaning of the name <i>Kayamba</i> ?
	What are the functions of the <i>Kayamba</i> instrument?
	At what stage of the performance are they played?
	Who plays the instruments?
	Are there other instruments used?
	What is the general setting of the performance?

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO THE ARTISTS

Biographical details		▪ Age----
		▪ Gender--
		▪ Level of education--
		▪ Profession--
		▪ Place of resident--
		▪ Contacts--
Questions	1.	How do they acquire the art?
	2.	1. How are they trained?
	3.	Why is the dance called <i>Kayamba</i>
	4.	What is the genesis of the <i>Kayamba</i> performance?
	5.	Of what Significance are the costumes?
	6.	What is the Significance of the colour of the costumes and the props?
	7.	On which occasion is the dance performed?
	8.	Where is the dance performed?
		What is the composition of the audience?



## APPENDIX 2 PROTOCOL DURING PERFORMANCE

<u>GUIDELINES ON WHAT TO LOOK FOR DURING THE PERFORMANCE</u>	
1.	The general setting as regards to the following;
2.	Composition of the audience in terms of <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>i. Gender</li><li>i. Age</li></ol>
3.	The healer and his paraphernalia
4.	The singers/artist
5.	The setting/ mood/atmosphere of the dance
6.	Stages in the performance and their significance
7.	The costumes and their symbolic meaning
8.	The significance of the aural in the healing process.

### APPENDIX 3

#### DIGO WORDS RELATED TO SPIRITS POSSESSION AND EXORCISM

*Mwanamlungua*: a type of 'Digo' spirit whose colour during exorcism ceremonies

(*Kayamba*) is black

*Nguwo*- means clothes

*Chigodi*- this is a seat used by one whose evil spirits are being appeased-trancer

*Dzifukizafuso*: it means burn and inhale incense as a preparation for undergoing a *Kayamba* spirit exorcism ceremony

*Kujifukiza fuso /golomokpwal* it means Trance- during this period, the spirit manifests itself in the possessed person by 'coming to the head'- the possessed becomes the host in whose body the spirit resides.

*Kayamba*: it has two meanings:

1) Traditional instrument made of a flat case of sticks enclosing Seeds which is held in both hands and shaken rhythmically; *Kayamba*.

2) Healing ceremony involving singing and dancing during which spirits are appeased or exorcised. *Kayamba* is not allowed during the month of Ramadan, since it is said to contradict the teachings of the Qur'an;

*Muwele*: person whose spirits are being appeased;

*Mwingo*: (**mi**) kind of whip made of horse hair used to sprinkle water Head of a spirit-possessed person to make the spirit happy during a

*Kayamba* spirit appeasement ceremony;

*Pepo*] (-) evil spirit: general term used for spirits (not of people) which bring Trouble; these are of five basic types depending on their origin and the Language they speak during ***Kayamba*** ceremonies:

*Phunga*: to perform a traditional dance (***Kayamba***) to appease evil spirits

*Vuwo ra chifudu*: this refers to medicinal water sprinkled on the head of a possessed person During a *Kayamba* spirit appeasement ceremony to make the spirit Happy.

## **APPENDIX 4**

### **ANALYTICAL GUIDE**

How is kayamba performance setting different from other settings of oral performances?

What special features appear in the delivery of the kayamba performance?

What role do the instruments play in the performance, how are they are played and who play them.

How is gender representation in the performance, and the role of each gender.

What are the common artistic strategy used in the performance?

What role do artistic strategy play in a performance?

What kind of costumes are used in the performance?

Taking note of the types of poetry work.

**APPENDIX 5 : Songs in Digo and****English****SONGS IN DIGO**

**Song 1 Taireni**  
**Soloist) :Taireni wee mafundi**  
 Taireni wee waganga  
 Taireni wee  
 Taireni wee  
 Taireni wee  
**Mganga:** Navayako mana mlungu  
 mwema  
 Wee waganga taireni  
 Wee mafundi taireni  
 Taireni wee wee wee  
 eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee

-----  
**Song 2 Mwarabu**  
**Soloist:Mwarabu namuombea mungu**  
 Chuwo cha mtume  
 Mwarabu namuombea mungu  
 Chuwo cha mtume  
 Namuombea mungu  
 Chuwo cha mtume  
 Namuombea aliepagawa apone  
 Chorus/soloist Aliepagawa apone  
 Pepho mwarabu  
 Namuombea mungu  
 Namuombea mungu  
 Chuwo cha mtume  
 Chuwo cha mtume

-----  
**Song 3 Mnazi unayumba**  
**Possessee : Niphani chilolo nrorere mayo**  
 Mnaziunayumba ,naihwanibaba  
 Howa wanigondomola mambo  
 Yoyo nlole mayo mnazi  
 Yoyo nlole mayo mnazi  
 Unayumbanaihwani baba hawu  
 Unayumbanaihwani baba hawu  
 Unayumbanaihwani baba hawu  
 Unayumbanaihwani baba hawu  
 Wapimarashinafarasi  
 Hebu nipeleso  
 (Possessed woman speaks She makes demands)  
**Song 4 Mwarabunamkuse(A Digo spirit)**

**SONGS IN ENGLISH**

**1 – Taireni**  
**Soloist)** Listen, ooh listen, the herbalist  
 Listen, ooh listen the medicimen  
 All experts listen to me  
 All experts listen to me  
 All experts listen to me  
**Mganga:** Traditional healers listen  
 Traditional herbalists listen  
 Those wise in traditional wisdom listen  
 (Waganga) listen to me  
 eeeeeee, eeeeeee , eeeeeee

-----  
**Song 2 Mwarabu**  
**Soloist:** I pray for Mwarabu spirit  
 I pray to god about your trade  
 I pray for Mwarabu spirit  
 I pray about this trade  
 I pray to god for the mwarabu  
 This trade of the prophet  
 That the afflicted will be set free  
 Chorus /soloist That the afflicted will be set free  
 Mwarabu spirit  
 I pray to god  
 I pray to god  
 The prophets trade  
 The prophets trade

-----  
**Song 3 Mnazi unayumba**  
**Possessee:** Give me the mirror woman(to mganga)  
 (In a trance) I look at the coconut plant  
 Coconut plant, coconut plant  
 The coconuts tree is shaking,  
 Shaking, shaking, shaking  
 I am being called by my father  
 The spirits are attacking me  
 Oh herbalist ooh herbalist  
 Where is the perfume and horse ?  
 Give me lessso  
 (Possessed woman speaks She makes demands)

**Song 4 Mwarabu na mkuse**  
**Dancers;** The Digo evil spirits  
 The Digo evil spirits

<p><b>Dancers;</b>      <i>Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo</i>  <i>Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo</i>  <i>Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo</i>  <i>Mwarabu na mkuse nguwo</i>  <i>Yanguhawemayemuwele</i>  <i>Yarabiananukamavuwo</i>  <i>Yarabiananukamavuwo</i>  <i>Walobgwadzeyuno</i>  <i>Ananukamavuno</i></p> <p><i>Chorus/soloist</i>  <i>Walogwadzeyunoo....</i>  <i>Ananukamavuo</i>  <i>Walogwadzeyuno</i>  <i>Ananukamavuo</i>  <i>Ananukamavuo</i>  <i>Ananukamavuo</i>  <i>Ananukamavuo</i></p> <p><i>Wee ananunkamavuwo</i>  <i>Wee ananunkamavuwo</i>  <i>he, ananukamavuwo he</i>  <i>Ananukamavuwo he</i>  <i>Ananukamavuwo he</i>  <i>Ananukamavuwo he</i>  <i>hee, hee, hee</i>  <i>hee, hee, hee</i>  <i>hee, hee, hee</i>  <i>hee, hee, hee</i></p> <p><b>A Dancer</b> <i>Ooh yoyo mwambe yoyo</i>  <i>Kutanimohochidzungo</i>  <i>Chinapepeta ooh howa</i>  <i>Mwamhowaeeee</i>  <i>Mwamhowaeeee</i>  <i>Mwamhowaeeee</i>  <i>Mwamhowaeeee</i></p> <p><i>/Dancer Chorus: Ano mayo hoiyee–</i>  <i>hoiyee</i>                    <i>Ano mayo hoiyee–hoiyee</i>                            <i>Ano mayo hoiyee–hoiyee</i>                    <i>Ano mayo hoiyee–hoiyee</i></p> <p><b>Song 5</b>  <b>Possessee:</b><i>Ngomainariranyumbani</i>  <i>Ngoma inapigirwa nyumbani</i>  <i>Ngoma inapigirwa nyumbani</i>  <i>Kunokonze kunani ngoma</i>  <i>Inapigirwa      nyumbani,      nyumbani,</i>  <i>nyumbani</i>  <i>inapigirwanyumbani,      nyumbani,</i>  <i>nyumbani</i></p>	<p>The Digo evil spirits  The Digo evil spirits  The possessed needs healing  Come out wee (<i>mwarabumkuse</i>)  Please leave her  Please depart from her  Please allow her freedom</p> <p>Chorus/soloist Ooh people, the possessed needs  Healing, healing, healing  Herbalist,-- the afflicted smells your cure  Herbalist,-- heal the afflicted  Herbalist,-- the afflicted smells your cure  Herbalist,-- the afflicted smells your cure  Herbalist,-- the afflicted smells your cure</p> <p>                                  With the herbals, heal her  With the herbals, heal her  With the art heal her  With the expertise heal her  With your power heal her                                    hee, hee, hee  hee, hee, hee  hee, hee, hee  hee, hee, hee</p> <p><b>Dancers :</b> She smells of your presence heal her  Set her free, ooh -- herbalist  We know you are in her  We tell the spirit to leave  We light up the fire against you  We ask you to leave  We ask you to leave</p> <p>Chorus/dancer All the women <i>hoiyee–</i>  <i>hoiyee</i>  All the women <i>hoiyee - hoiyee</i>  All the women <i>hoiyee - hoiyee</i>  All the women <i>hoiyee–hoiyee</i></p> <p>-----  -----</p> <p><b>Song 5</b>  <b>Possessee: Ngomainariranyumbani</b>  The music is playing right inside the house</p>
--	---

<p><i>inapigirwanyumbani, nyumbani,</i>  <i>nyumbani</i>  <i>Ngomainapigirwanyumbani</i>  <i>Kunokonzekunani</i>  <i>Ngomainapigirwanyumbani</i>  <i>Inapigirwanyumbani</i>  <i>Inapigirwanyumbani</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Song 6 Mkwaphi</b>  <i>Naryanyama wee ryanyama</i>  <i>Naryanyama wee ryanyama</i>  <i>Naryanyama wee ryanyama</i>  <i>Naryanyama wee ryanyama</i>  <i>Nyamaeerero</i>  <i>Nyamaeerero</i>  <i>Nyamaeerero</i>  <i>Nyamaeerero</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Song 7 Nendapwani</b></p> <p><i>Nendapwani</i>  <i>nkavulenguwonangoma</i>  <i>Hayalolanikavulenguwo</i>  <i>nkavulenguwonangoma</i>  <i>Hayalolanikavulenguwo</i>  <i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i>  <i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i>  <i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i>  <i>Hayalolamadzigavuwo</i></p> <p><i>Nambirwamkwaphianaryanyama</i>  <i>Wee howanaryanyama</i>  <i>Nambirwamkwaphiananzaiko</i>  <i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>  <i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>  <i>Chifyu change mgalankurya</i>  <i>nyama</i>  <i>nyama</i>  <i>nyama</i></p> <p><b>song 8 Fundi</b>  <b>DANCERS : Fundi Fundingaonyundo</b>  <i>Chukuamikobaukatunde</i>  <i>Mauwapangani, fundi naaje</i>  <i>Naajeakatundemauwa</i>  <i>Naajeakatundemauwa</i>  <i>Naajeakatundemauwa</i>  <i>Naajeakatundemauwa</i></p> <p><b>CHORUS</b> <i>Naajeakatundemauwa</i>  <i>(Naaje, naaje, naaje)</i>  <i>(Akatundeakatunde)</i>  <i>(Naaje, naaje, naaje)</i>  <i>(Akatundeakatunde)</i></p>	<p>The music is playing right inside the house  So what is happening outside  The music is playing right inside the house  The music is playing right inside the house  The music is playing right inside the house  So what is happening outside  So what is happening outside  What is happening outside  It is playing inside the house  It is playing inside the house</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Song 6 Mkwaphi</b>  I am eating meat oh ohoh  I am eating meat oh ohoh  I am eating meat oh ohoh  I am eating meat oh ohoh  I am eating meat today  I am eating meat today  I am eating meat today  I am eating meat today</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Song 7 Nendapwani</b></p> <p>I am going to the coast  To strip naked  To strip naked  To strip naked  To strip naked  Look at me, I am stripping  Look at me, I am stripping  Stripping, stripping, stripping  Look at me, I am stripping</p> <p>I am told that I am eating meat  Eating meat  Eating meat  I am told that I am eating meat  I am mixed in thoughts  I am mixed in thoughts  I am mixed in thoughts  meat! meat! meat!  Meat! Meat! meat</p> <p><b>song 8 Fundi</b>  <b>Dancers</b> Skillful men, experts, experts  Pick up your tools of trade  And pluck up the water lilies  And all that you need for treatment  And all that you need for treatment  And all that you need for treatment</p>
--	---

(Naaje, naaje, naaje)  
 (Akatundeakatunde)  
 (Naaje, naaje, naaje)  
 (Akatundeakatunde)  
 Naajeakatundemauwa  
 Naajeakatundemauwa  
 Naajeakatundemauwa  
 Naajeakatundemauwa

-----  
**Song 9 Mbarawa**  
**SOLOIST Mbarawa ngoma madede**  
*Mbarawamwanamadzihowadedi*  
*Mbarawa we howadede*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Baba matari we ngomaniurembo*  
*Kala namalingerekugulaugangaheee*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Mbarawa we ngomaniurembo*  
*Matari we ngomaniurembo*  
*Matari we ngomaniurembo*  
*Baba matari we weeweee*  
*Hayahoweheematari*  
*We ngomaniurembo*  
*(The instruments go loud, louder and*  
*louder with dancing)*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*  
*Hoiyee matari hoiyee*

-----  
**10 Zumira ni uganga**  
**SOLOIST Zumira ni uganga rero**  
*zumirani*  
*Ugangazumirani ugangaheeee*  
*Zumira ni uganga rero zumirani*  
*Ugangazumirani ugangaheeee*  
*Ugangazumirani rero*  
*Ugangazumirani rero*  
*Ugangazumirani rero*  
*Ugangazumirani rero*  
*Rero, rero, rero*

*Mchetu ni marera aredza rero*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Hee zumirani uganga*  
*Mlungu eee rero*  
*Mlungu eee rero*

And all that you need for treatment  
 CHORUS Come and pluck up the water lilies  
 Come- Come --Come  
 pluck up the water lilies  
 Come- Come --Come  
 pluck up the water lilies  
 Come- Come --Come  
 pluck up the water lilies  
 Come- Come --Come  
 pluck up the water lilies  
 Come pluck water lilies come, come  
 Come pluck water lilies come, come  
 Come pluck water lilies come, come  
 Come pluck water lilies come, come

-----  
**Song 9 Mbarawa**  
**SOLOIST Mbarwa – (good spirit)**  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarawa the clean spirit ma de dede*  
*Mbarwa the clean spirit*  
*Mbarawa my dear one, dear one*  
*Mbarawa my helper, my helper*  
*Mbarawa we wee*  
 I praise you, praise, praise you  
 Matari the spirit, your skill  
 Is admirable Is beautiful  
 I wish I had the power to achieve  
 Your strength Your skill Your art  
*(The instruments go loud, louder and louder*  
*with dancing)*  
 Hoiyee matari hoiyee  
 Hoiyee matari hoiyee  
 Hoiyee matari hoiyee  
 Hoiyee matari hoiyee

-----  
**Zumira ni uganga**  
**SOLOIST (Accept the art of healing today)**  
 (Accept the art of healing today)  
 (Accept the art of healing today)  
 (Accept the art of healing today)  
 (The art of healing today)  
 (The art of healing today)  
 (The art of healing today)  
 (The art of healing today)  
 (The art of healing today)  
 Today, today, today!

<p><b>11 Ziya ra mkangaga</b>  <i>Mkangaga ee mayo ziyae</i>  <i>Mayo ziya ramatorona</i>  <i>Mambo mkanga gaano mayo</i>  <i>Ziya vamotorona mambo</i>  <i>Ziya vamotorona mambo</i>  <i>Ziya vamotorona mambo</i>  <i>Ziya vamotorona mambo</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>12 Mwana mlungu</b>  <b>Healer</b> <i>Howe mwanamlungu</i>  <i>Howe mwanamlungu</i>  <i>Howe mwanamlungu</i>  <i>Howe mwanamlungu</i>  <i>Wahenda lobgwa we</i>  <i>Wahenda lobgwa we</i>  <i>Pore we nkaziya mlungu</i>  <i>Mwana mlungu wahenda lobgwa we</i>  <i>Lobgwa we pore we nkazi ya mlungu</i></p> <p><i>Possessed: nataka marashi,</i>  <i>Nataka farasi</i>  <i>Nataka leso</i></p> <p><i>Mganga Mwanamlungu wee,</i>  <i>nyamalanyamala</i>  <i>Mwanamlungu wee mgayi mayo</i></p> <p><i>Possessed: Mayo waniamba ndakupha</i>  <i>Mkobanamwana wandonga</i></p> <p><i>Mganga: Nyalamwanangu we mgayi</i>  <i>mayo</i>  <i>Nyalamwanangu we mgayi mayo</i>  <i>Nyalamwanangu we mgayi mayo</i>  <i>Nyalamwanangu we mgayi mayo</i>  <i>Mayo waniambiandakupha</i>  <i>Mkobanamwanawandonga</i>  <i>Mayo waniambiandakupha</i>  <i>Mkobanamwanawandonga</i>  <i>We mayo lolendima we mayo</i>  <i>We mayo lolendima we mayo</i>  <i>We mayo lolendima we mayo</i>  <i>We mayo lolendima we mayo</i>  <i>Tserera tserera</i>  <i>Tserera tserera</i>  <i>Tserera tserera</i>  <i>Tserera tserera</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>13 Mvula</b>  <i>Oh Mvula nainyena inyenavoya</i>  <i>Mlungu mvula nainye</i></p>	<p>The skilled woman is Marera  She delivers and delivers  And heal, heals completely  Accept the healing today  Accept the healing today  Accept the healing  Accept the healing</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Ziya ra mkangaga</b>  You are the fountain of water lilies  And beauty and treatment  You are the lake of all mystery  All the mystery  All the mystery  All the mystery  All the mystery</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Mwana mlungu</b>  <b>Healer</b> The possessed is bewitched  The possessed is bewitched  The possessed is bewitched  The possessed is bewitched  You will receive healing  You will receive healing  You will be well its god's doing  You will be well its god's doing</p> <p><i>Possessee: I want 'marashi',(perfume)</i>  <i>I want 'farasi',(horse)</i>  <i>I want leso (I want leso)</i></p> <p>Mganga: Take comfort, take comfort  All will be done for you</p> <p><i>Possessee: I asks for – Art of healing</i>  <i>I asks for art of medicine men</i></p> <p>Mganga Take comfort  Take comfort  Take comfort  Take comfort  May the spirit release you  May the spirit release you  May the spirit release you  May the spirit release you</p>
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<p><i>Mlungu mvula nainye</i></p> <p><i>Matoro waambwa umuganyi</i>  <i>Navoyamlunguvugula</i>  <i>Ugangazani wee</i>  <i>Matoronguoyangunavoya</i>  <i>Mlungumvulanainyee</i>  <i>Ano mayo heee</i>  <i>Ano mayo heee</i>  <i>Ano mayo heee</i></p> <p><i>The instruments play loudly</i>  <i>The Kayamba play the loudest)</i></p> <p><i>Soloist:      Akinamama hoiyee</i>  <i>                  Akina mama hoiyee</i>  <i>                  Akina mama hoiyee</i>  <i>                  Akina mama hoiyee</i></p> <p><i>Chorus        Hoiyee</i>  <i>Hoiyee</i>  <i>Hoiyee</i>  <i>Hoiyee</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>14 Mduruma</b>  <i>Mduruma yuya mayo</i>  <i>Mduruma yuya mayoo</i>            <i>Nganga mduruma wee yuya</i>            <i>Nganga mduruma wee yuya</i>  <i>Nyika mduruma</i></p> <p><i>Howa navyoga tandara</i>  <i>Mbona unaihwaniana bayo nyika</i>  <i>Taireni mganga</i>  <i>Taireni mganga</i>  <i>Taireni mganga</i></p> <p><i>Haya wee rero Kalume ngalaaa</i>  <i>Dede wee heenaihwaKalumeNgalaaa</i>  <i>Dede wee heenaihwaKalumeNgalaaa</i>  <i>Uya nyika</i>  <i>Uya nyika</i>  <i>Uya nyika</i>  <i>Uya nyika</i></p> <p><i>Asiyemanyakutilla Adzee</i>  <i>Ulolenguma wee mlanyika mduruma</i>  <i>Ulolenguma wee mlanyika mduruma</i></p> <p><i>Dedededededeeeee,</i>  <i>Dedededededeeeee</i></p> <p><i>Unanipiga bure mayoo</i>  <i>Naihwani baba myawenu</i></p>	<p>The spirit set her free  The spirit set her free  The spirit set her free  The spirit set her free  The spirit depart from her  The spirit depart from her  The spirit depart from her  The spirit depart from her  -----</p> <p><b>Mvula</b>  Oh may the rain fall, Oh may the rain fall  That the plants should not complain  That the plants should not murmur  That the plants should not whisper  Saying that you are not the provider</p> <p>That the people may have a place  To bring their cry-in the forest and in the sea  To bring their cry-in the forest and in the sea  Revive the plants  Revive the sea  Revive your mystery, ooh, god</p> <p><i>(The instruments play loudly</i>  <i>The Kayamba play the loudest)</i></p> <p><i>Soloist:       all women hoiyee</i>                    All women hoiyee                    All women hoiyee                    All women hoiyee</p> <p><i>Chorus        Hoiyee</i>                    Hoiyee                    Hoiyee                    Hoiyee</p> <p>-----</p> <p><b>Mduruma</b>  Mganga        Nduruma the evil spirit,  Nduruma the evil spirit  Your place is the dry land  Your place is the dry land  The <i>nyika</i> is your home</p> <p>The evil spirit must leave  Leave and go back to the <i>nyika</i>  Because <i>nyika</i> is where you belong  You belong to the dry land  You belong to the dry land</p>
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<p><i>Undaniikazanimwanyumba Tandaraugombaoniulongo Dzarinonaogophakuuzwa Ugombaoniulongodzariro Kuogophakuuzwa</i></p> <p><i>Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka Kalumengala uka</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>RUHANI</u></b></p> <p><i>Waja ee jine Rohani naja, naja Jine rohani naja Zamira wanangu wanaliamkwetu majini nauliza waswalia kwetu Kwetu majini rohani najeezama Kwetu majini rohani najeezama Kwetu majini rohani najeezama Kwetu majini rohani najeezama Wee zamra, zamra, zamra Soma chambawewe mwalimu soma Kama weweumwalimu soma wee Nachuochangu cha bwana Ruhani cha hilalahilala Mwana pephe kataki pephe kataki DANCERS :Ni zani wee jinni samba Maulana, maulana, maulana, maulana Jinerohonilakidetia Tawandaleo, Tawandale Tia tawandawajalianenda Kaoweziwanimtotojawine Njoowendeukaoweziwani Njoowendeukaowemwituni Njoowendeukaoweziwani Jinemarohani wee marohani Songambebe, songambebe Konilakonpkwamwalimu Bara marohaniunintongole Marohani wee jinemarohani Sonngambebe</i></p>	<p>Leave her evil spirit Depart from her evil spirit Depart from her evil spirit Go back to the nyika, Go back to the nyika) Go back to the nyika Go back to the nyika</p> <p>Please listen all you people The evil spirit – <i>kalumengala</i> Must leave and go to the nyika</p> <p>Dedededededeeeee, Dedededededeeeee</p> <p><i>Mganga</i> I who knows all, including that Which is hidden from me And that which is bear on my sight I am the expert (<i>mganga</i>)</p> <p>Come out, we deal with you We dare you stay any more Release her Leave her Depart from her</p> <p>Whoever who has never known how The possessed are set free Please come and see The spirit releasing its possessed</p> <p>The spirit leaves, The spirit releases The spirit departs The spirit leaves, The spirit releases The spirit departs The spirit leaves, The spirit releases The spirit departs The spirit leaves, The spirit releases The spirit departs</p> <p>SPIRIT am leaving, I release her I depart may the experts <i>Waganga</i> are calling me at Nyika I need to leave, I need to go back to nyika</p> <p>Don't want to be interrogated Because, what I will say, is not true</p>
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	<p>I am leaving I am releasing I am departing I leave I the Duruma Spirit Back to nyika I go Where I have a home to say I go back to nyika <b>RUHANI</b> That you may reveal to us what is the cure for the affected Affected in body mind and soul All of us are in different places The young ones and the youth are in the training The old in their homes come in this gathering Ruhani please stay Your place is here with us If be with her, any evil Spirit leave, release her and depart Your place is here for you Ruhani</p>
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## **APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEWS:**

### **PERFORMER/EXPERT IN DIGO CULTURE**

#### **BIO DATA**

Name	Swale Ali
Age	66 years
Gender	Male
education	limited level of education
Profession	ritual healer
Place of resident	Golini
Contacts	0704757115

**RESEARCHER:** *Provide a brief history of the Digo in relation to Kayamba performance.*  
The *Kayamba* performance is as old as I can remember. It started from shungwaya, our cradle. Over the years we have practiced this ritual healing. Even with the introduction of Islam did not deter the community from seek treatment from our healers.

**RESEARCHER:** *How did you acquire the skills?*

**SWALE ALI:** I acquired the skill of healing through apprenticeship from a female professional ritual healer. Elder sister Hakim, had recurring demonic attacks and got total healing through this female healer, her name was Kabuu, now deceased.

**RESEARCHER:** *What is the connection between the performance and healing?*

**SWALE ALI:** The performance and especially the singing and dancing chase away the evil spirits, not to forget the role of the instruments that enrich the whole performance.

**RESEARCHER:** *How do people select this form of treatment yet we have other alternatives types of medical care?*

**SWALE ALI:** my own past experience when my got gripped by evil spirit can explain your question. My sister's experience of evil spirit is a testimony of why we result to alternative medical care. She was possessed by evil spirits, she developed strange sickness where modern hospitals attempted a cure in vain, then she tried the herbal cure through a medicine woman

where the symptoms gradually went down but no total cure, she only got completely healed after a ritual healing was performed on her. Though the ritual healing is taken by many as the last option it has proved over the years as a successful way of treatment especially when one suffers from a 'strange' disease. Through the experience of my sister I developed interest and admiration of ritual healers. I reached a point that I decided to train as a ritual healer.

**RESEARCHER:** *Why are the performances done near a water body or a forest?*

**SWALE ALI:** Evil spirits are known to reside in waters and forests and so the proximity to either the waters or the forest or both as it is believed the act of exorcism will be much easier as they are likely to flee from the possessed to their place of 'normal' residence.

**RESEARCHER:** *What are the changes that have taken place in those performances as time passes by?*

**SWALE ALI :**The changes that have taken place are so minimal compared to the original performance that were done years ago, one of the changes is the place of the performance, we have the performances happening away from the rivers and forest though with symbolic items to bring out the same setting.

**RESEARCHER:** *You have a legal document connected with your healing professional, say something about it.*

**SWALE ALI:** The certificate was awarded to me after several successful ritual healing were witnessed.

The certificate was awarded to me by ministry of Social and Culture then to allow me transact my business freely and also for building much needed faith and confidence from the sick that come to me for healing.

**RESEARCHER:** *How is the future of these performances?*

**SWALE ALI:** The performance has a bright future, in that the young people are eager to take over from the old, the younger children who are acting as spectators today will tomorrow be the performers.

**RESEARCHER:** *Who come for this type of healing?*

People of all ages and especially the female gender. I also treat people from other communities such as Duruma people from Nyika

**RESEARCHER:** *How would you rate the success of this healing?*

**SWALE ALI:** Quite a success bearing in mind that I deal with stubborn and strange cases where every other method of healing has failed. No patient has come to me and failed to obtain at least some healing to a certain degree.

**MOHAMMED JUMNA: EXPERT IN DIGO CULTURE**  
**BIO DATA**

NAME	Mohammed Jumna
Age	46years
Gender	Male
Education	–primary education
Profession	farmer, has a skill in playing <i>Kayamba</i> for healing, expert in Digo culture
Place	resident – Golini sub county
Contact	0704757115

**RESEARCHER:** *Why is it that the healer kept on covering the possessed with different coloured shukas?*

**JUMA:** This is because different types of spirits are enticed by different colours, so the healer keep on using different colours of shuka to see which appeals to the spirit so as to appease it to an extent of departing from the possessed.

**RESEARCHER:** *The women singers kept on varying their tunes, what effect did that have to the healing?*

**JUMA:** The tone variation has a lot to do with the healing for the are those spirits that detest loud voices and they are those ones that get appeased, so as the tone variation happens an observation is concurrently made on the possessed to see how she responds, and if signs of relief are noted the volume is increased to facilitate the healing.

**Researcher:** *What drive members of the society to this type of healing?*

**JUMA:** Basically ritual healing is taken as a last option after both medical care and herbalist have failed.

It has proved to give results as the possessed who receive either get completely healed or show signs of improvement, and are able to continue with normal life.

**RESEARCHER:** *Most people around this place are Muslims and yet they belief in exorcism of evil spirits, how can one explain this?*

**JUMA:** They confess Islamic faith and so required by their faith to detach themselves with such traditions but yet they have to seek this method of healing for it is the only one known to cure the possessed otherwise they will be faced by death threat, though it is good to note that for the strict Muslims the exorcism is somehow done secretly to avoid being considered a pagan.

## INTERVIEW OF A RITUAL HEALER

### BIO DATA

Name	Mwarachuma Chapa
Age	67 years
Gender	Male
Education	limited level of education
Profession	ritual healer
Place of resident	Golini
Contacts	072878092

**RESEARCHER:** *Provide a brief history of the Digo in relation to Kayamba performance.*

**Mwarachuma:** I acquired the skill of healing through apprenticeship from a male professional ritual healer, *Mganga*. My mother had recurring demonic attacks and got total healing through this male healer, his name was Mwana Juma from Tiwi location but , now deceased.

**RESEARCHER:** *What is the connection between the performance and healing?*

**Mwarachuma:** The performance and especially the singing and dancing chase away the evil spirits, not to forget the role of the instruments that enrich the whole performance.

**RESEARCHER:** *How do people select this form of treatment yet we have other alternatives types of medical care?*

**Mwarachuma:** my own mother's past can explain your question. Her experience during the spirit attack is a testimony of why we result to alternative medical care. She was possessed by evil spirits, she developed strange sickness where modern hospitals attempted a cure in vain, then she tried the herbal cure through a medicine man where the symptoms gradually went down but no total cure, she only got completely healed after a ritual healing was performed on her. Though the ritual healing is taken by many as the last option it has proved over the years as a successful way of treatment especially when one suffers from a 'strange' disease. through my interest and admiration of ritual healers I reached a point that I decided to train as a ritual healer.

**RESEARCHER:** *Why are the performances done near a water body or a forest?*

**Mwarachuma:** Evil spirits are known to reside in waters and forests and so the proximity to either the waters or the forest or both as it is believed the act of exorcism will be much easier as they are likely to flee from the possessed to their place of 'normal' residence.

**RESEARCHER:** *What are the changes that have taken place in those performances as time passes by?*

**Mwarachuma:** The changes that have taken place are so minimal compared to the original performance that were done years ago, one of the changes is the place of the performance, we have the performances happening away from the rivers and forest though with symbolic items to bring out the same setting.

**RESEARCHER:** *You have a legal document connected with your healing professional, say something about it.*

**Mwarachuma:** The certificate was awarded to me after several successful ritual healing were witnessed.

The certificate was awarded to me by ministry of Social and Culture then to allow me transact my business freely and also for building much needed faith and confidence from the sick that come to me for healing.

**RESEARCHER:** *How is the future of these performances?*

**Mwarachuma:** The performance has a bright future, in that the young people are eager to take over from the old, the younger children who are acting as spectators today will tomorrow be the performers.

**RESEARCHER:** *Who come for this type of healing?*

**Mwarachuma :** People of all ages and especially the female gender. I also treat people from other communities such as Duruma people from Nyika

**RESEARCHER:** *How would you rate the success of this healing?*

**Mwarachuma:** Quite a success bearing in mind that I deal with stubborn and strange cases where every other method of healing has failed. No patient has come to me and failed to obtain at least some healing to a certain degree.



### INTERVIEW OF A RITUAL HEALER

Name	Ramadhan Tajiri
Age	64yrs
Gender	Male
Education	Retired Teacher
Profession	Professional – former healer now retired
Resident	Golini sub-county, kwale county
Contact	0714201777

**RESEARCHER:** *What is the connection between the performance and the healing?*

**RAMADHAN TAJIRI:** The connection between the healing and the performance is a combination of elements; the faith, the melody, the instrumentation and the techniques used in the dance and the voicing of the selected words.

**RESEARCHER:** *What kind of sickness is cured in a performance?*

**RAMADHAN TAJIRI:** In most cases ritual healing deals with so called rare and strange sickness, most patients will first seek modern medical care if it fails to give the results they will seek for a doctor that uses herbal medicine and if it fails they will result to ritual healing as the last option.

**RESEARCHER:** *What exactly heals?*

**RAMADHAN TAJIRI:** Different techniques applied in the song soothes particular spirits

Every possessing spirit has the melody that soothes it, at the beginning different tunes of melody are played to see what the possessing spirit identify with. When it is discovered a lot more is played to appease the spirit.

**RESEARCHER:** *What are the roles of different ages and gender in a performance?*

**RAMADHAN TAJIRI:** The men play the instruments while the women sing and dance, youth and children are spectators.

**RESEARCHER:** *Why is the performance named after a particular musical instrument?*

**RAMADHAN TAJIRI :** Because the *Kayamba* instrument is the one used most of all the instruments, as it nature of the tune it gives is known to soothe, please and appeals to the spirit such that through variation in shaking it spirits respond and are triggered to leave there making exorcism possible.

### **EXPERT IN KAYAMBA PERFORMANCE**

Name	Mwanajuma Mwindia Mariamu
Age	72 years
Gender	Female
education	limited level of education
Profession	ritual healer
Residence	Golini
contact	0733110400

**RESEARCHER:** *Provide a brief history of the Digo in relation to Kayamba performance.*

**MWANAJUMA:** It brings healing in different aspects, physically, emotionally and even socially. Ritual healing is known to heal stubborn cases of healing where other types of healing have failed.

**RESEARCHER:** *What was the significant of the items that you gave to the possessed during the performance that is the chick and the herbal concoction?*

**MWANAJUMA:** The chick is a gift to the possessing spirit so that it may accept to depart from the sick, while the herbal concoction is for the sick to be smeared with to send away the evil spirits.

**RESEARCHER:** *How can you judge the success of today's performance?*

**MWANAJUMA :**Today's performance was a great success as we witnessed a real case of someone who was completely possessed and almost mad but we saw her regaining her senses after the exorcism and taking food and water without mixing them with soil or cow dung as she has been doing for the last few weeks.

**RESEARCHER:** *What is the purpose of anointing the patient?*

**MWANAJUMA:** A patient is anointed so that the evil spirits do not attack the person again. It is like a mark put on her that will repel the evil spirits.

**APPENDIX 7: CONSENT FORMS**

**CONSENT DOCUMENT**

This is my/our proof of the consent to have our work of art recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name of the performance:

- (i) Kayamba - mdido
- (ii) " - Kuluani
- (iii) " - Mwarabu
- (iv) " - mluu
- (v) " Jine Bahari (Kutolewa)








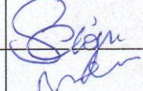
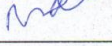

Done by a group called Godeni Traditional Dance Troupe

Performance No.: .....

Performance done in Ward - Tsimba Gishu

Performance done in County - Kwale

Date: 23/02/2017

No.	Name of the Artist	Phone Number	Signature
1.	Swaleh Ali Mwanatama	0704757115	
2.	Juma Kuzimu		
3.	Mwarachuma Chapa	0728374363	
4.	Chizi Luyi		
5.	Mwachangoma Chapa	0728786092	
6.	Rama Pande Tajiri	0704201777	
7.	Mwanasha Bendago		
8.	Said Chigutu		
9.	Mesaid Salim Berani		
10.	Mejmac Mwana	0728292247	
11.			
12.			

Name of the researcher: Hellen Kagotho

Name of the Institution: University of Nairobi

## CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... Mwarachuma Chapa .....

Ward ..... Tsimba Gohu .....

County ..... Kwale .....

Signature ..... [Signature] .....

Date ..... 22/02/2014 .....

Phone Number .. 0728374363 .....

Name of the researcher: Hellen Kagotho .....

Name of the Institution: University of Nairobi .....



# CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is my/our proof of the consent to have our work of art recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name of the performance:

- (i) Mwasabu
- (ii) Mungu
- (iii) Mudumbe
- (iv) Sudani
- (v) Chizuka

Done by a group called igiza ruzizi group

Performance No.: .....

Performance done in Ward Tsimba/Kabini

Performance done in County Uasin

Date: 22/2/07

No.	Name of the Artist	Phone Number	Signature
1.	MWANAJUMA MWINDIA		
2.	Mohamed Azole	0718561917	
3.	Juma Ngudo	0704680163	
4.	Mariam Mutta	0788110400	
5.	Mesaudi Mwachidagaya	0712917602	MESA
6.	Mbwana Changoma	0728786092	
7.	Omari Mwarachuma	0728374363	chuma
8.	Halima Tsetse	0713928090	
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			

Name of the researcher: Hellen Kagotho

Name of the Institution: University of Nairobi

# CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... Ramsdhanu Tajiri .....  
Ward ..... Tsimba - Gohini .....  
County ..... Kwale ✓ .....  
Signature ..... [Signature] .....  
Date ..... 23rd February 2017 .....  
Phone Number ..... 0714 201 777 .....




## CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... JUMA NGUNDO .....  
Ward ..... TSIMBA GOLINI .....  
County ..... KWALE .....  
Signature ..... ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ .....  
Date ..... 22/02/2014 .....  
Phone Number ..... 0704 680 163 .....

## CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... Swaleh Ali Mwamatamy.  
Ward ..... Tsimba - Golini  
County ..... Kwale  
Signature .....   
Date ..... 23 - 2 - 2017  
Phone Number ..... 0704757115



## CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... MIRIAMU S. MUTAH .....  
Ward ..... ISIMBA GOLINI .....  
County ..... KWALE .....  
Signature ..... [Signature] .....  
Date ..... 22/02/2017 .....  
Phone Number ..... 0788 110 400 .....

## CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name ..... MUWANJICHA MURANDA .....  
Ward ..... ISIMBA GOLINI .....  
County ..... KWALE .....  
Signature ..... MUWANJICHA .....  
Date ..... 22/02/2017 .....  
Phone Number ..... — .....

h  
CONSENT DOCUMENT

This is a proof of my consent to have this oral interview recorded, printed and to be used for learning purposes or for cultural heritage.

Name MOHAMED DEOLE  
Ward ISIMBA-GOLINI  
County KWALE  
Signature Moungu.  
Date 22/02/2017  
Phone Number 0718 561 917



**APPENDIX 8: PICTORIAL**



**THE POSSESSED**



**THE HEALER**



**THE HEALER IN THE ART OF HEALING**



**THE SETTING-WATER IN A SUFURIA-  
SIGNIFYING A WATER BODY, SELECTED  
PLANTS-SIGNIFYING FOREST**



THE POSSESSED



THE HEALER



THE HEALER, THE POSSESSED AND THE PERFORMERS



THE SETTING, SUFURIA WITH WATER, SIGNIFYING WATERBODY, PLANTS AND SELECTED LEAVES SIGNIFYING A FOREST



COLOURED RIBBONS, SIGNIFYING DIFFERENT SPIRITS (RED, BLACK AND WHITE)



STOOL, TO BE USED BY THE HEALER AND THE RAFIA





Certificate/legal document (acquired through the ministry of social and culture) that permits the healer to perform his duties.



Swaleh Ali and the Researcher



Halima Tse tse and the Researcher



Ramadhani Tajiri and the Researcher



Saum Swale and the Researcher



Group of the performers and the researcher



The researcher taking notes of the main points of the performance



Performance in progress





The researcher consulting with the research assistant



Performance in progress



The gifts offered by the healer to the spirits so as to depart from the possessed



The possessed recovering from trance





The possessed going into trance



The possessed making demands e.g asking for marashi, lesos etc



Anointing of the possessed after healing



The possessed taking water after exorcism



The possessed now healed is relaxing after a successful exorcism