

The Healing Narratives: Therapeutic Potential of Traditional Lunda Poetry

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Abstract

Research in psychotherapy has shown that performing art such as poetry may be used in psychotherapy "to help people in emotional healing and personal growth. It can bring about insight, illuminate foggy issues, and bring smile to the faces of people experiencing anger, depression, and anxiety" (Anderson 1999: 256). In a related research, Jack Leedy (1973) has claimed that "poetry is one of the natural human resources for healing . . . that is available to everyone" (Leedy 1973: ix), and, like psychotherapy, it helps people to stir up, release or calm their feelings. Dr. Smiley Blanton, an American psychiatrist who used poetry in his therapy of patients for several years also argues that, "Poetry by itself will not cure you if you are suffering from a neurosis. But it will certainly make your neurosis easier to bear; and it will usually hasten your recovery if you are undergoing psychiatric treatment" (Blanton 1960: 2). It can, therefore, be argued that there is a correlation between poetry and psychotherapy. In light of these observations, I may hypothesize that Lunda poetry has healing potential. The focus of this paper is, therefore, to show that traditional Lunda sung and danced poetry has a therapeutic potential throughout an individual's life.

Introduction

Poetry has long been the fabric of life in traditional Lunda society. The rites connected with death, marriage, installation of chiefs, hunting, divination rituals, religious festival alike, are all occasions for the recitation and creation of poetry. Equally important is the poetry of everyday life: a young girl pounding cassava sings about her lover, hunters on their way back from the bush sing in praise of their bravery, a mother sings soothing repetitive sounds in order to calm her child. In short, everybody has been a poet in one way or another. However, the focus of this paper is not so much about the typology of the Lunda poetry, but rather to show how the healing potential of traditional Lunda sung and danced poetry can be incorporated into modern therapy to cure stress-related illnesses.

Brief Historical and socio-cultural Background of the Lunda People

The people whose traditional poetry is discussed in this paper are the Lunda, also known as Lunda-Ndembu of the Northwestern province of Zambia. According to historical records, the Lunda are descendants of seventeenth century emigrants from the Mwata Yamvo dynasty in the Southwestern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (McCulloch 1951; Turner 1963; Brelsford 1965; Pritchett 2001).

The Lunda practice matrilineal descent combined with virilocal marriage. They live in small, mobile villages mainly because of hunting and shifting cultivation. Their staple crop is cassava (makamba). Millet (masangu or kachayi) is grown mostly for making. Other crops include maize, rice, pumpkins, sweet-potatoes, castor oil plants and a variety of garden crops. Male hunting was traditionally very important but has declined under modern conditions. The Lunda also keep some cattle, chicken and goats. Lunda villages are usually small, compact and in circular shape, where core of matrilineally related kin live with their spouses, children and dependents. (Turner 1963)

There are two most important rites that every Lunda man or woman experiences in his or her life, which I would like to draw attention to; these are the boys' circumcision ritual (mukanda) and the girls' puberty ritual (nkang'a). As James Pritchett (2001) observes, the objective of these ceremonies is to turn boys into men and girls into women. Most of Victor Turner's description and analysis of these rituals in *The Forest of Symbols* (1967) and *Schism and Continuity in an African Society* (1957) remain true today. Thus, the following description is meant to serve as a schematic overview for those unfamiliar with Turner's work and to highlight those features of the rituals I consider useful to the understanding of the characteristic division and opposition between men and women in this matrilineal society.

Like the Chokwe, Luvale and Luchazi, the Lunda practice male rite of passage called mukanda. One of the most important functions of the boys' circumcision of mukanda is to remove boys from the authority of their mothers, in the sphere of the kitchen (chinsambu), and to bring them under the collective control of the men in the village, in the sphere of chota, the men's court forum. A girl remains mainly under the authority of her mother until she gets married.

The basic framework of mukanda is composed of separation (circumcision), transition (seclusion while the boys heal and receive training from men), and reincorporation of the initiates (atundanji; sing. kandanji) into the village community, where they are received joyously as newly born and real men.

Boys are circumcised in groups of ten or more, each year during the cold dry season (July-August) for, it is believed that a wound heals better during the cold season. Preparation for mukanda begins when the senior headman, parents and the community decide the site where the "initiation school" is to be held. Once the decision is made, the first step is to secure the services of mbimbi, head circumciser. While the mbimbi is busy organizing his assistants (yifukaminu), and preparing his nfunda, the medicine necessary to speed the healing process and protect the boys from supernatural harm, others spread the word as to when and where the mukanda will be held. The evening before the mukanda begins, boys and parents gather at the village of the headman sponsoring the event for prayers to the ancestors and the lighting of a sacred fire that will burn throughout the duration of the mukanda.

The ceremony of separation, kwing'inja or "bringing in" phase, occurs the following morning. While the mothers weep for being separated from their children, the mbimbi and his assistants emerge from the bush and then loudly and aggressively lead the frightened boys out into the woods. The initiates spend the rest of that day constructing ng'ula, a circumcision lodge, where the ritual officiants sleep. A fenced enclosure build of brushwood extends from the lodge; this is where the boys sleep with fire continuously burning all night.

The actual circumcision takes place the following morning in a designated area known as ifwila danyadi ("dying place for the uncircumcised boys"), usually a termite mound. Traditionally, the ifwila is hollowed to catch the dripping blood from the initiates' penis which should not drop on the ground. The newly circumcised boys (kandanji) rest for a few days, after which they are taken to the nearest stream to wash off the bloodstains. Thereafter, when the blood dries up, medicine made with shrubs with red fruits symbolic of fertility is applied. The penis is then wrapped in a leaf attached to fiber and properly secured. The rest of the month consists of formal lessons, during which students are heavily introduced to adult life. Any adult male known to be versed in a particular subject or proficient in a particular skill might be invited to spend a few days instructing and testing the initiates. In addition, each student has a guardian called chilombola – a young adult male assigned by the parents to collect their sons' food rations from the kawaji, a sacred trestle built on the pathway to the lodge, where parents place food each day. The chilombola also serves as the initiate's personal tutor throughout the mukanda. Lessons are punctuated with frequent beatings for responding too slowly to an instruction or command from a ritual officiant or even for a defiant or disrespectful conduct.

The end of seclusion is preceded by a final cleansing ceremony during which, escorted by makishi (masked dancers), and men, the initiates walk to the river. Afterwards they return to the secluded area where the men dress them in new clothes purchased by their families for this occasion. This culminates in the festive coming-out ceremony called kwidisha. Clad in their new attire, each initiate is carried, covered by a blanket or cloth, into the village where he is placed on a mat. During this time, the initiates receive new clothes from their parents and gifts from friends and family. The ritual officiants receive their pay in cash or kind.

The bond between mother and son is finally broken when the initiate leaves mukanda. Thereafter they are prohibited from sitting or talking together in public. A mother may not ask her son to perform women's tasks such as washing the dish, and must speak respectfully to him because he is no longer a

little boy, he has now moved into a men's world foreign to her. The initiates are also not allowed to share meals with yidima (sing. chidima), uncircumcised boys or men.

Before I move on to the female rite of passage, it is worth mentioning that the Lunda believe that Makishi are a physical manifestation of powerful spirits of the dead. These figures, wearing strange costume and large frightful masks, would appear suddenly in the middle of the night at mukanda to terrorize the initiates, sometimes chasing them in panic into the bush. According to James Pritchett (2001), the main purpose of the makishi is to emphasize the power of elders, who appear to control the makishi. Elders often humble stubborn youngsters by threatening to call forth makishi.

Some other aspects associated with mukanda and which I would like to draw attention to are the taboos that the initiates have to adhere to while at the seclusion camp and after graduation. The students or initiates are not allowed to wash with water except with ashes. They are must all sing when required to do so and any student who fails is beaten. If he cries, he must weep until he has filled a small cup with tears and will be beaten until he does so; the beatings are meant to teach the initiates endurance and discipline. Students are also told to avoid contact with fire; if the night is cold when they are sleeping they should alert the attendants (yilombweji; sing. chilombweji) to stir the fire for them. After graduation, students should never reveal such secrets as tibia of the dead – these are two short stumps of sticks meant to be used in singing. They should not reveal items used while they were in seclusion including blankets and stools they used by the fire-side.

The girls' initiation ritual (nkang'a) differs in many respects from that of the boys. As documented by James Pritchett (2001), while boys are initiated in groups in the bush, girls are initiated individually in the village. Whereas boys are subjected to hard labor and harsh discipline, girls are pampered, sung to, and relieved from doing most daily chores. Boys are circumcised, but girls do not undergo clitoridectomy like other tribes in West Africa. The determining factor to hold nkang'a is the first reported menstrual period by the girl to her grandmother. The purpose of the ritual is not to enact any physical change in the girl but, in most part, to give her a period of time in seclusion to reflect on her newly acquired capacity to reproduce. Just as mukanda for boys, nkang'a goes through three distinct stages. There is a ceremony of ritual removal from secular life, kwingija; seclusion, kukunka; and a ceremony of reintegration, kwidisha.

When a girl begins to mature – usually signified by breast development – her family begins to plan for her initiation. They first select the instructress (chilombola) who will be responsible for arranging the ceremony and for instructing and protecting the initiate. The instructress is mainly a woman who has many years of experience in this form of educational process. In addition to the instructress, the girl is provided with (kasonsweli), a young girl below puberty stage to care for the novice by tending the fire, drawing water, bringing food, and performing other such chores.

When the girl first sees her menstrual blood, her grandmother or her older sister first isolates her, usually in the kitchen (chinsambu), and restricts her movements and food. Elisabeth Cameron (1998) observes that, while in the chinsambu, anything touched by the girl's first menstrual blood is hidden because it has special potency as symbol of fertility (Cameron 1998: 51).

The nkang'a ceremony begins quietly at night with the initiate, her mother, and the attendant (kasonsweli), offering prayers to the ancestors. The next morning at dawn, the instructress escorts the initiate (mwaadi) to ifwilu dakankang'a, a place of dying, a clearing outside the village; in the center stands a muudi tree, also known as the women's tree because of its milk-like sap. The novice, completely covered with a blanket, remains awake but motionless until sunset. Throughout the day women sing and dance around the girl and her instructress. Many of the songs have provocative lyrics, discussing female sexual appetite while taunting and teasing the men, who organize their circle of dance nearby. Meanwhile, a group of men is busy constructing an nkunka, a small grass hut in the village to which the initiate is carried to begin her period of seclusion and education, which last two to three months.

During her seclusion the initiate must not speak except in soft whispers and must not go out unless she is covered by a blanket from head to toes. Her attendant remains with her throughout to attend to her personal needs; and older women visit her daily in order to teach her the restrictions and responsibilities of menstruation. They also instruct her in matters concerning sex and child birth. Furthermore, the initiate is subject to food taboos while in seclusion. She must avoid slippery foods because, it is believed that they create excessive vaginal mucus and increase the possibility of spontaneous abortions. She must not eat red foods for they cause difficult menstrual periods; and the meat from spotted animals because it leads to leprosy. She must as well avoid taking dry up milk (Pritchett 2001:

358). She is periodically given herbal medicine to make her strong, to ensure fertility, and to enhance her milk production in future when she has children.

The coming-out ceremony, *kwidisha*, begins with beating of drums, *ng'oma*, and an all-night sing and dance, primarily attended by close family members and friends of the initiate. The next morning the public joins in with songs and dances. The initiate makes her reintegration into the society by performing *hang'ana nkang'a*, a special dance she learned while in seclusion. She then sits quietly on a mat for the rest of the morning receiving presents of cloth, cash, and utensils. Both men and women dance around the initiate, singing songs encouraging her to be fertile and produce as many children as she can. Drinking and feasting continue the rest of the day until supplies dry up. The next day, life in the village returns to normal.

Poetry as Therapy

The therapeutic power of traditional Lunda poetry may be observed first in lullabies and other songs designed for children but primarily transmitted by adults. The main raison d'être of lullabies (*tumina tua kumwenesha anyna*) is to calm children when they are experiencing emotional or physical distress. It is worth noting that the idea of nannies or taking children to nursery homes is foreign not only to the Lunda but to most African people. Therefore, mothers, traditionally breast-feed their babies, carry them and sooth them, sing and even dance for them. As mothers sing soothingly, the sounds draw the attention, tranquilize the restless babies, and sometimes lead them to sleep. These kinds of songs have some kind of magical power that lulls the children to sleep. As AbdulRasheed Na' Allah explains, lullaby songs are "like a magic; they make a child who cannot speak, and who does not understand the meaning of the wordings of the songs, reacts to its performance by keeping quiet if he had been crying or even by going straight to sleep" (Na'Allah 2003: 106). Occasionally, the elder children in the family, usually female, play the role of their mothers by singing lullabies to soothe their younger siblings. It should also be mentioned that, although lullabies are primarily meant to soothe the children, they can also be used by mothers to express emotions that may be difficult or otherwise deemed inappropriate by the society. For instance, while soothing her child, mothers can indirectly comment on their own marital conditions for, traditionally, they cannot openly confront their husbands lest they are labeled disrespectful wives by the community.

On the other hand, some songs represent more the mothers' delight in playing with their children than a desire to soothe them. Here, for instance, is the verse of a long Lunda lullaby:

a a a i e e
 a a a i e e
 mwana, mwana unakudila
 nakuwana mwitu da nkunkulu
 naku pwepujola naku fumishamu

a a i e e
 a a i e e
 The child is crying
 I found you in the ear of a house-rat
 I blew you off it

One thing to which I would like to draw attention is the structure of this song. In the third line, the mother is addressing a third person about the crying child, while in the last three lines the mother is requesting that her child to stops crying because she has save him from the house-rat and that he is out of danger.

It is also worth mentioning that these children's songs are simple, natural and spontaneous, and are sung mostly by a mother or any female member of the family while rocking the child. I should also add that, like many other lullabies in Southern Africa, those of the Lunda are characterized by rhythm and cadences as well as the use of onomatopoeic utterances such as *a a a i e e* in the above lullaby.

Through poetry children are taught many aspects of adult life, in particular those which are punctuated by rites of passage. For example, at the *mukanda* initiation school, where circumcision is performed, boys sing various types of songs at both sunrise and sunset. These songs are one way for the initiates (*atundanji*) to encourage one another and express their endurance. Here is one example:

Leader: *yayo yayo*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *tata wandimbili kwalama*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *tata wandimbili kwalama*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *akwetu anengili*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *big brother, big brother*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *father lied to me that he will take me for circumcision*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Leader: *my friends have already gone*

Chorus: *ee ee*

Like lullabies, performances also provide healthy outlets for excess energy, which is found at all ages. Adolescent moonlight performances involving dances are healthy in that they help to rid performers of energy built up from repressed feelings. As the Nigerian psychiatrist, Lambo (1965) points out: "The rhythm, vigorous movements, their coordination and synchronization, tend to induce some degree of catharsis. . . . The essential psychological function of the dance, in fact, is the prevention of depression and accumulation of other psychic stresses" (Lambo 1965: 41). In the same vein, Susan Loman argues that dance/movement therapy helps individuals of all ages reconnect with their whole selves: body, mind, and spirit. When people lose touch with the body's expressiveness and have difficulty releasing feelings, stress, or tension, dance/movement therapy helps individuals to capitalize on strengths and imparts a sense of connectedness and joy in their lives" (Loman 2005: 86). In moonlight dances, Lunda boys and girls from neighboring villages come together to dance and sing late into the night. Some songs deal with courtship, while others are expressive of more intimate relationships; one such song is *nami ningiji, chibalumuka chikwata mwana*, literally "as I was trying to push my penis into the vagina, it missed and landed on the child who was sleeping by my girlfriend's side." In such a dance, the performers rid themselves of libidinal energy through lyrics and body movements that are suggestive of the fulfillment of their desires. At the end of the vigorous dance the boys and girls retire to their respective homes in full substitute-satisfaction. In a way, the fatigue helps abate their desires which can have no immediate outlet. As Ruth Monroe (1995) rightly points out, dance, like other forms of intensive physical activity, "often provide a healthy fatigue or distraction which may abate a temporary rage crisis and thus allows more enduring personality patterns to regain ascendancy" (Monroe 1955: 630).

The Lunda also sing and dance for pleasure; these dances are mainly performed on moonlight nights. To enhance the feeling of pleasure, songs are usually accompanied by musical instruments, among them *mpunga* (bugle), *ipeleli /ihululu* (flute), *mudiimba* (gong-like, placed on calabashes), *kadada* (harp), *ikukundimba* (one-stringed instrument), *chisanji /ikembi* (instrument with keys, played with thumbs), *ndamba* (ribbed board). Although dances provide some pleasure, they have a latent function which may not be recognized; that is, they contribute to individual's tension release.

Modern psychotherapy observes that humor is a powerful antidote to anxiety; it helps counter the effect of anxiety which might lead to depression. Expressing one's anxieties may also be effective in relieving them. For example, like most matrilineal African cultures, Lunda tradition requires a man to provide assistance to his sisters and their children even if he is married. But with monetization of the economy, a man who does not have enough resources is sometimes torn between the obligations to his wife and to his family of origin. And if he chooses his spouse over his extended family, his sister or mother may sing out her grievances in a poetic song to remind him of his traditional obligations. The following song is one such song:

Mumbanda Mbangala
Dishaku muheleyi wamumbanda
Dishaku ni nyaneyi
Mumbanda mbangala

A woman guinea-fowl
 Feed your sister
 Feed your child
 A woman guinea-fowl

This song, sung while pounding cassava, allows the woman to relieve her pent-up frustrations by reminding her bother or son that he should not neglect his extended family because, unlike his relatives, once things go wrong in their household, his wife will fly away like a guinea-fowl and leave him. I can add that the woman singing may also be warning men to be wary of women because they sometimes don't appreciate what men do for them. The interpretations of the song are multiple and endless; however, they all focus on the sense of unity among members of the society through mutual assistance and support.

A woman in a polygamous situation may verbalize her anguish in poetry, since tradition does not permit her to openly challenge or reproach her husband lest she is considered disrespectful and non-submissive. The following song is one such example:

Nde nde nde eyi Polu
Neyi wunasumbuli kankanga
Nde nde nde eyi Polu
Neyi wunasumbuli kankanga
Ami chinawahi e e wuntuale e e
Welele ye welele
Eee ye ye ye
Welele ye welele
Ee ye ye ye
Neyi wunasumbuli kankanga
Nde nde nde eyi Polu
Neyi wunasumbuli kankanga
Ami chinawahe e e wuntuale e e

Nde nde nde you Paul
 If you have married a young girl
 Nde nde nde you Paul

If you have married a young girl
 It is better you take me back
 Welele ye welele
 Eee ye ye ye
 Welele ye welele
 Ee ye ye ye
 If you have married a young girl
 Nde nde nde you Paul
 If you have married a young girl
 It is better e e you take me back e e

In the following poem, a woman criticizes her husband for neglecting her since he clandestinely took a second wife, younger than she; she thus urges him to take her back to her family.

Similarly, women in a polygamous marriage may resort to poetry to criticize each other; these songs are mainly sung while pounding or as is the case in this song entitled *Mumbu* (Wolf):

Yenanyi wahadikila
Yenanyi wahadikila na mumbu welanga boo oo
Wahadikila
Yenanyi wahadikila
Yenanyi wahadikila na mumbu welanga boo oo
Wahadikila

Who can share a man with a wolf?
 Who can share a man with a wolf which does boo oo
 Who can share a man with a wolf?
 Who can share a man with a wolf which does boo oo

Here an irate woman criticizes her husband's favorite wife. She is bitter about her husband's attention to his other wife, which has probably led to his neglect of her. Thus, this song is an attempt by the wife to deter her husband from loving her rival. This kind of grievance is a common cause of stress in a polygamous family. Ideally, the husband is supposed to give equal attention to all his wives, but frequently he prefers one, to the displeasure of the other. Instead of breaking down in tears or engaging in physical confrontation, the wife articulates her anger in a poem which releases her emotional tension by verbalizing and thus externalizing her frustration.

Religious poetry is also useful in coping with fears which stem from Lunda beliefs about good and evil. Like most Africans, the Lunda world is highly religious. Apart from the recognition of the Supreme God, the Lunda worship lesser gods, spirits, ancestors and various other elements that possess mythical and metaphysical powers. The Lunda treat all these deities as greater beings and look upon them for blessings and for answers to their requests.

These deities or ancestral spirits (*Akishi*) may affect individuals in several ways. According to Merran McCulloch, these spirits may punish their descendants if they consider that they are being neglected: for example, if offerings are not made to them at the appropriate time, or if the professions for which they were famous in life are not being carried on by their descendants so that their names may be remembered. To make its displeasure known, the ancestor emerges in a form of a spirit, *Chihamba*, which takes possession of the living person and causes illness or some misfortune to happen to him (McCulloch 1951). Victor Turner shares McCulloch's opinion for he expresses his judgment of the ways the *Chihamba* affects its victims as follows: "Most commonly it causes pains in the whole body, especially in the neck, and a feeling of extreme cold. It is said to induce decay in crops planted by the object of its wrath. A man who is 'caught' by *Chihamba* may experience bad luck in hunting. It may

also afflict women with reproductive troubles. The *Chihamba* manifestation is, in fact, a sort of compendium of all the misfortunes that can happen to a person" (Turner 1957: 303-304). It is worth of note that *Chihamba* manifestation is exceptionally dangerous for, while most manifestations of spirits cause misfortune, infertility or disease only, a spirit that has manifested itself in *Chihamba* can kill the person it afflicts.

When a person becomes ill and cannot be cured by ordinary herbal medicines, a diviner (*chimbanda / chimbuki*) is consulted. With the aid of a divination kit (*ng'ombu*), which comprises figurines and other symbolic objects (*tuponya*) made of wood, stone, clay, rattle, flat winnowing basket and many others, the *chimbanda* reveals the nature of affliction, whether it is related to social or interpersonal situations, ancestral afflictions (*akishi*), or the influence of witchcraft (*wuloji / wanga*), including possession by one or various harmful creatures. It should be noted that the diviner may at the same time perform the role of a healer. The most common form of Lunda divination, according to Victor Turner (1975) is *ng'ombu yakusekula*: literally, divination by shaking up and tossing objects in a basket.

If the illness is proved to be possession by a *Chihamba*, a ceremony of exorcism takes place. This may be conducted either by the diviner or by a traditional healer specialized in such cures, all the villagers participating. The 'doctor' is a man if male *Chihamba* is involved; a woman if a female *chihamba* is to be exorcized. As narrated by Victor Turner in his insightful book *Chihamba, the White Spirit: A Ritual Drama of the Lunda-Ndembo* (1962), the ceremony of exorcism begins with dances and drumming organized by the relatives of the patient, often lasting more than a day. The *Chihamba* is addressed by name in a song, which tells him that he has been recognized. The *Chihamba* responds by making the patient jerk and twitch, and the latter may work into a violent emotional state. Sometimes, the exorcism ceremony falls into two parts, with an intervening month during which the patient is subjected to many prohibitions (*yijila*), especially food prohibitions. At the close of the ceremony a stick is placed in the ground in front of the patient's hut, but neither the *Ikishi* nor the *Chihamba* resides in this stick, which is merely an indication that the spirit has been exorcized, and a place where offerings may be made if it attempts to return (Turner 1962: 1-68).

Like any African traditional society, the Lunda have occupational poetry which comprises songs on different professions. For example, the fishermen have the songs they chant on the shore. The farmers have songs specifically composed for farming activities. The hunters, the blacksmith and many others have songs they use at their works. These work-songs encourage farmers, fishermen and hunters to forge ahead with their undertaking; they also and most importantly bring joy and delight into the mind, especially after good results.

In the following paragraph, I will focus on the hunting songs (*tumina twawubinda/twawuyanga*). To hunters, the forest is an ambivalent symbol of providence and uncertainty: the same forest which provides them with meat also shelters wild beasts which can cause them great harm. Although hunting is a dangerous enterprise, men must hunt in order to provide their families with the much needed meat. Before uncontrolled hunting was prohibited by modern law, hunters recited poetry to seek the help of the spirits who, according to their world-view, control game. Seeking ancestral spirits provided confidence and hope to the hunters.

Conclusion

Although no research has thus far been undertaken, this paper has established that traditional Lunda poetry has a healing potential. Research should be undertaken to establish the actual value of Lunda performed art so as to find how it could be used in rehabilitation programs as well as in primary health programs. This indigenous and readily available resource could be incorporated in the treatment of stress-related illnesses to complement modern and often scarce drugs. As John Nkeita tells us, "poetry (along with other arts) whether it be good or bad and at whatever level of crudity and refinement exists to fulfill a necessary biological function for a symbolizing class of life, that of helping to maintain psychological health and equilibrium" (Nketia 1974: 22). In this way, singers, composers and performers of poetry could find themselves making a more meaningful and valuable contribution to the Zambian society.

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