

**INTERPRETATION OF MEANINGS EMBEDDED IN NON-DISCURSIVE SYMBOLIC  
COMMUNICATION OF KAMABEKA CULTURAL DANCE OF BABUKUSU  
COMMUNITY OF BUNGOMA COUNTY, KENYA**

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**ABSTRACT**

*In most cultures of the world, indigenous cultural dances do communicate non-discursively. The meanings thereof are usually culture bound hence need an individual with the cultural background knowledge of the dance in question to be able to understand the communication behind the dance. With a focus on kamabeka dance, the main objective of this study was to interpret the meanings embedded in the non-discursive communication of kamabeka cultural dance of Babukusu community of Bungoma County, Kenya. This is a step towards dissemination of African knowledge to the global village since currently is saturated with western knowledge. The study was guided by the theory of semiotics and communication by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz (1993). The target population comprised 25 kamabeka dance troupes and 25 kamabeka dance troupe leaders who were purposively selected pursuant to the data obtained from the register in the ministry of culture and sports in Bungoma County. However only 8 out of 25 dance troupes which accounts for 30% were selected for logistical convenience. Only 11 out of 25 leaders were sampled owing to a point of saturation which was reached by the 11<sup>th</sup> respondent. This accounted for 44% of the total population. Data collection methods comprised interviews, participant and non-participant observation. Data collection instruments and tools comprised interview schedules for dance troupe leaders and observation schedules for dance live performances, field notebook and a tape/video recorder and still photographs. Recorded videos of kamabeka dances were also obtained for analysis. Qualitative data obtained was organized in topics of discussions analyzed descriptively and presented in prose and photographs. It is hoped that the findings of this study shall, provide resource material for reference and beef up the existing pool of knowledge as well as stimulate further research in the area of ethnomusicology and related disciplines.*

**Key Words:** *Kamabeka* dance, Bukusu, culture, Symbolic communication, Expressionism,

**INTRODUCTION**

In most traditional indigenous cultures of the world, dance is a product of human behavior. Dance is therefore informed and shaped by the social cultural, economic and philosophical practices of a people of a particular society (Lomax, 1959). This means that dance is an entity that is constructed based on the lifestyle of a group of people which entails social practices such

as birth and naming ceremonies, initiation, marriage and burial rites. These practices are also governed by the code of ethics that spells out the dos and don'ts within a particular society. This also includes socio-economic practices that inform the day today lifestyle of a particular people.

### **Performance dynamics of dances of Africa**

Indigenous dances of Africa were a social activity which also encompassed all aspects of life (Nketia, 1988). Hence dance was organized and performed when members of a given society came together during various social occasions (contexts) for various social purposes which included occasions such as: birth, naming, initiation, marriage, burial rites, worship, recreation, edutainment and ritual purposes. This means that Music and dance was functional and had meaning in these social events and day to day activities.

Dances of Africa enact societal ethos. Dances teach societal values, social etiquette and social responsibilities in terms of the roles members of the society play as young children, youth, adults and old people. As such dances explore themes that range from social, historical, economic, ritual, political as well as philosophical (Nketia,1988). Dances of Africa have two main components: The expressive component (expressionism) and the symbolic component (communication).

### ***Expressionism component of dance***

The expressionism component of dance deals with the physical aspects of the dance vocabulary. These include: body movements, choreography (formations and patterns), costumes and décor, structure and general presentation. For example, in the study of the expressionism aspects of dance, Ranger (1975) discusses the element of choreography explaining that the basic formation of African dance is in lines and circles. He observes that there is supernatural power in the circle, the curved, and the round. He adds that more complex shapes are formed through the

combination of these basic forms, to create more sophisticated dance forms and style. Similar study was also carried out by Zake (2000). Zake discusses in general the social cultural contexts in which most Kenyan dances are performed. He concentrates his arguments on the dance structure, choreography and instrumental ensemble layout.

*Symbolism component of dance (Communication)*

The symbolism component of dance deals with the expressionism aspects of dance as symbols and signals for communication. As such, the symbolism scholars regard dance in African context as a mode of communication. Therefore, symbolically, dance communicates messages that are culturally bound through physical aspects such as body movements, nonverbal cues, instruments, costumes and décor, props and visual devices during performance. Since dance is a cultural phenomenon, it therefore implies that it is only those with cultural background knowledge of the dance in question that can understand the message behind the dance. This mode of communication is what is referred to by Trump (1964) as non-discursive symbolic communication. Therefore, the main focus of symbolism theory is the interpretation of meanings embedded in the physical aspects that are involved in the overall rendition of the dance.

For instance, Lomax (1959) gives examples of meanings arising from interpretations of various symbols and nonverbal cues from some African dances. He states that in some cultures, mimes may show imitation of specific animal behavior which in turn may also evoke and induce human behavior such as attitude and emotion. He adds that a spear in some African cultures may symbolize war while drums may symbolize leadership. As much as Lomax (1959) has shed light on the examples of non-discursive symbolic meanings. His views are rather general in that they do not link the interpreted meanings to a specific cultural setting. However, more specific examples are given by Makila (1978) who observes that, in Kenya among the *Sabaot* community, symbolic communication is shown through three types of spears namely: *Kasibet*,

*Merirachiit*, and *Ngotut*. *Kasibet* symbolizes hunting, *Merirachiit* represents peace and may also be used as a weapon if need arises and *Ngotut* purely symbolizes peace.

In the study of the symbolic behavior of costumes in dances of Africa, Seeger (1961) explains that the costumes may symbolize the social organization of a given culture in terms of social responsibilities. This include the roles members of the society play as young children, youth, adults and old people. He also notes that costumes may also symbolize social ethos such as societal values, social etiquette and the general social order in a given cultural setting.

Alphonse (2005) Observes that Masquerades in dance take a number of different forms. He explains that some masquerades are representative. For example, many of the pastoral and nomadic groups of Sudan, Kenya and Uganda perform dances portraying the cattle upon which their livelihood depends. The Karamojong dances usually imitate the movements of cattle, shaking their heads like bulls or cavorting like young cows. In the guegblin dance of the Ivory Coast, dancers perform an acrobatic stilt dance traditionally understood as a mediation between the ancestors and the living.

In *Ramogi* dance of the *Luo* community of Kenya, Omolo-ongati, (2008) gives specific example of symbolic communication when she observes that the movements represent a bird taking off. She also notes that the Ostrich feathers worn by the dancers symbolize beauty and courage. She concludes by explaining that the towering circles of Ostrich feathers that the dancers wear represent the courage they will need to dance before the audience and stir their emotions. See plate 1.



**Plate 1.** A photograph showing the Ostrich feathers worn by Ramogi dancers

Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa

Omolo-Ongati (2008) states that in *dudu* dance among the *luo* community, the sisal skirts worn during the performance symbolize the behavior of the waves of the lake that the fishermen experience while rowing the boat. The wave's behavior is in a way that keeps on changing the direction of flow from time to time. Hence the sisal skirts are also gyrated in a manner to reflect this scenario in a performance setting. See plate 2.



**Plate 2:** A photograph showing *dudu* dancers in sisal skirts.

Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa

In *Isikuti* dance among the *Isukha /Idakho* of Kenya, there is a set of three *Isikuti* drums. The smallest drum is called *Isikutimwana* or *mutiti*, which symbolizes a child. The *Isikutimwana* is also known as *Isukutingapa* which also denotes its mnemonic sounds. The middle drum is known as *Isikuti mama* or *Shiseti*, which means 'mother', symbolizing the mother figure and

finally *Isukuti Isatsa* which symbolizes a father figure. This means that when the three drums are played together, they symbolize unity in a family, division of roles and communal working (Miya, 2010). See plate 3.



**Plate 3:** A photograph showing *isukuti* drums. From left *isukuti* mama, middle *isukuti* papa and right *isukuti* mwana.

Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa

### ***Kamabeka* dance**

*Kamabeka* is a *Babukusu* name for shoulders. *Kamabeka* dance is therefore a traditional cultural dance of the *Babukusu* community of Bungoma County whose principal movements involve the shaking of the shoulders. Wanyama (2009:03) notes that “as the *kamabeka* dance performance goes on, people in attendance join in ad lib by dancing the *kamabeka* dance as they sing along in



response to the soloist”. He explains that “traditionally, the *kamabeka* dance is characterized by the freedom of individual dancers to display personal idiosyncratic flares without observing strict patterns and formations”. He concludes that “in most cases, dancers form circular patterns and/or dance in pairs”.



**Plate 4.** *Kamabeka* dance in free style  
Source: Photo by Kusienya Fred Wekesa



**Plate 5.** *Kamabeka* dance in linear pattern  
Source: Photo by Kusienya Fred Wekesa

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study was guided by the theory of semiotics and communication by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz (1993). The theory describes communication as a human symbolic activity, while semiotic is the study of sign system, which operates as a symbol or signal. That in a dance performance, meaning may be contained in possible features such as movements of various body parts, patterns and formations and rhythm of events. Hanna (1979) adds to this, stating that the theory of semiotics covers concepts such as signs, codes, culture and non-verbal communication. The theory is concerned with dance philosophy relating to the themes, symbols and the meanings behind dance movements. On the other hand she adds that Choreology is concerned with communicative value arising from movement analysis such as foot works, body movements and their associations to each other within a dance performance situation. It therefore explores the communicative, physical, mental, emotional and artistic aspects of dance as a medium of human expression and interaction in relation to a specific social setting. In the circumstances of this

study, this theory was found suitable since its facets are congruous with the main objective of this study.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In the study of Yabara, a welcoming dance of West Africa, Nketia (1988) observes that the dance is marked by the beaded Net Covered Gourd Rattle (Sekere-pronounced as Shake-er-ay). He contends that it is usually thrown into the air to different heights by the female dancers to mark tempo and rhythm changes. This is an impressive spectacle, as all the dancers will throw and catch them at the same time. Nketia's arguments allude to the symbolic communication by the beaded net covered Gourd Rattle which is relevant to the objectives of this study. However, the symbolic communication associated with other components such as body movements, formations, musical instruments of the Yabara dance were not captured which was the essence of this study.

Alphonse (2005) provides specific examples of symbolic communication through Masquerades noting that, Masquerades in dance take a number of different forms. He explains that some masquerades are representative. For example, many of the pastoral and nomadic groups of Sudan, Kenya and Uganda perform dances portraying the cattle upon which their livelihood depends. The *Karamojong* dances usually imitate the movements of cattle, shaking their heads like bulls or cavorting like young cows. In the *guegblin* dance of the Ivory Coast, dancers perform an acrobatic stilt dance traditionally understood as a mediation between the ancestors and the living. The views given by Alphonse were significant in anchoring this study since he has exposed the meanings embedded in the non-discursive elements of the *karamojong* and *guegblin* dances which is the objective of this study.

Costumes, décor and regalia in *Indlum* dance of the Zulu of South Africa, a warrior dance symbolize war between the Zulu people and any kind of enemy or aggressor. Body movements which involve the rolling of the shoulder blades and contracting of the chest in *Ekista* dance of



Ethiopia symbolizes the crawling of a snake while the rhythmic patting of the body and fast leg movements in Pat dance of the Jola people of Senegal symbolize running away from an enemy or danger (Nzewi, 2005). The views by Nzewi anchor the study more in the sense that it provided the parameters by which the current study relied on in the interpretation process of the symbolic meaning associated with the dance especially the principal body movement which is the shoulders.

While analyzing the role of rhythm as a means of communication in Ivory Coast, Zake (1988) focuses on a puberty dance of the Ivory Coast in which he argues that the dance creates a rhythmic percussion through the movement of a body covered in cowrie shells. He adds that Rhythm frequently forms a dialogue between dancers, musicians, and audience. Zake's views were found to inform this study, however, the symbolic communication behind the dialogue between the rhythm and the dancers was not brought out.

Kolinski (1965) observes that, in the *igbin* dance of the Yoruba of Nigeria, the order of the performers in the dance reflects their social standing and age, from the king down to the youngest at the gathering. Among the Asante of Ghana, the king reinforces his authority through a special royal dance, and traditionally he might be judged by his dancing skill. He contends that the dance also provides a forum for popular opinion and even satire within political structures. Spiritual leaders also use dance to symbolize their connection with the world beyond. As much as these views are applicable in anchoring this study, the symbolic communication associated with components such as costumes, paraphernalia and musical instruments were excluded.

In the Ivory Coast dance known as *Ziglibit*, Nzewi (1997) explains that the stamping of the feet reproduces the rhythm which represents the pounding of corn into meal. During the *Thieboubien* dance of Senegal, Nzewi notes that the dancers move their right arms in a manner that reflects people eating the food which in turn gives the dance its name. In Nigeria, Nzewi explains that

the Nupe fishermen of Nigeria perform a dance choreographed to coincide with the motions of throwing fishing net into the waters. The foregoing scholars have exposed the symbolic communication associated with some aspects of the respective dances. This information was significant to this study in the sense that it lays bare the kind of meanings that can be associated with the various components that constitute *kamabeka* dance.

According to Nzewi (1997) one of the most characteristic aspects of African dance is its use of movements from daily life. By raising ordinary gestures to the level of art, these dances show the grace and rhythm of daily activities, from walking to pounding grain to chewing. He cites the *Agbekor* dance, an ancient dance once known as *Atamga* which comes from the Foh and Ewe people of Togo and Ghana which he argues is performed with horsetails. He explains that the movements of the dance mimic battlefield tactics, such as stabbing with the end of the horsetail. This dance he argues consists of phrases of movements. A phrase consists of a “turn,” which occurs in every phrase, and then a different ending movement. These phrases are added back to back with slight variations within them. Although Nzewi has pointed out the overall symbolic meaning of the dance, perhaps it would be of greater value if he explained what the dance phrases represent. This was excluded in his analysis.

Nketia (1974) states that a rhythmic communication occurs amid the dancers and the drums in West Africa and between the dancers and the chorus in East Africa. He argues that the give-and-take dynamics found in African traditions all over the world reflects the rhythmic communication system among dancers, music and audience in traditional African dances. He explains that, the integration of performance and audience, as well as spatial environment, is one of the most noted aesthetic features of African dance. He notes that the one unifying aesthetic of African dance is the emphasis upon rhythm, which may be expressed by many different parts of the body or extended outside the body to rattles or costumes. He contends that African dances

may combine movements of any parts of the body, from the eyes to the toes, and the focus on a certain part of the body might have a particular social significance. He points out the Nigerian Urhobo women performing a dance during which they push their arms back and forth and contract the torso in synchronization with an accelerating rhythm beat by a drum being an aesthetic feature. Most of Nketia's arguments relate to aesthetics associated with African dances. However, the only aspect that relates to symbolic communication is the element of rhythm which he does not specifically say what it communicates. This is the gap that this study sought to fill in *kamabeka* cultural dance of the *Bukusu* community.

Seeger (1961) explains that it is usually through the analysis of the symbolic component of the dance that one gets to understand what the dance enacts, evokes, represents, constructs or communicates and the meaning of the dance within the community. These views were important in anchoring and focusing this study in the area of non-discursive symbolic communication.

Nketia (1974) points out that highly energetic dances in some African cultures, show off boys' Stamina and are considered a means of judging physical health. He reiterates that the learning of the dance often plays an important part in the ritual of the occasion. For example, he argues that the girls among the *Lunda* of Zambia stay in seclusion practicing their steps before the coming-of-age ritual. He adds that dance traditionally prepared people for the roles they played in the community. For example, he argues, some war dances prepared young men physically and psychologically for war by teaching them discipline and control while getting them into the spirit of battle. Some dances are a form of martial art themselves, such as Nigerian *korokoro* dances or the Angolan dances from which Brazilian capoeira is derived. Nketia (1974) gives a detailed analysis of the purpose of the dance which is realized through symbolic communication. These views are relevant to the study in the sense that they provide a yard stick that may be borrowed against which the symbolic communication in *kamabeka* dance may be determined.

Gitundu (2010) argues that the Maasai communities have structured dances performed in different occasions. For example, the Maasai Jumping dance which is also called "Adamu" in the Maasai language is a dance performed by Maasai warriors. He argues that they show their strength and stamina by leaping into the air one after the other as the rest of the warriors stand in a circle while they sing.' The Maasai community he adds 'do not use any musical instruments when performing their folk songs. Instead, women wear bells and rattle which create jiggling sound as they sing". Gitundu's arguments are useful in helping one understand the symbolic behavior characterized by the Maasai's style of dancing where he points out that the leaping into the air is meant to show strength and stamina of the warriors. However, other than the accompaniment role played by the bells and rattles worn by the women during the dance, no information on the symbolic meaning of the costumes and props has been given. This study anticipated to address this in the *kamabeka* dance of the *Bukusu* community.

Regarding *Dudu* dance of the *Luo* community, Adamson (1967:25) argues that "When *Luos* dress in their traditional costumes and ornaments they deserve their reputation as the most picturesque people in Kenya". He contends that during most of their performances, the *Luo* wore costumes and decorated them not only to appear beautiful but also to enhance their movements. These costumes he adds, included sisal skirts (*owelo*), beads (*ombulu\ tigo*) worn around the neck and waist and red or white clay were used by the ladies." Adamson's views about *Dudu* dance in terms of costumes and decor, ornaments among other elements lean more on performance craft and aesthetic value. Nothing on symbolic communication has been discussed which was the essence of this study.

According to Zake (2000) quoted in Wanyama (2006), in the *Luhya* marriage ceremonies, dancers exhibit the best of the art for the purpose of getting gifts. Wanyama adds to this observing that in the performance of *Bukusu* circumcision music, the dramatized dance

postures, dance formations; gestures and facial expressions convey messages that go beyond mere dancing for the purpose of receiving gifts. The fact that Zake and Wanyama acknowledge that dance conveys messages that go beyond mere dancing through formations, gestures and facial expressions is significant information in anchoring this study. However, they did not delve deeper into establishing the exact messages that are conveyed through those formations, gestures and facial expressions an aspect that this study focuses on in *kamabeka* dance of the *Babukusu* Community.

In their studies on *Litungu* music which integrates with *kamabeka* dance, Zake (2000), Shitubi (2005) and Wanyama (2009) have put in perspective the general information that is fundamental in understanding *kamabeka* dance of the *Babukusu* community. However, their discussions have only highlighted typical surface layer features that define the expressive component of dance and nothing on the symbolic component. This is the gap that this study sought to fill.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

This study employs an analytical research design. According to Rinehart and Winston (1986, p. 122) “analytical research involves the use of facts and information already available for analysis and making a critical evaluation of the material. It also involves an in-depth study and evaluation of available information in an attempt to explain complex phenomenon.” This design was therefore useful in the interpretation of the meanings embedded in the aspects that are involved in the rendition of *kamabeka* dance of *Babukusu* community of Bungoma County. A total of 25 registered *kamabeka* dance troupes which also present themselves as *Litungu* music bands within Bungoma County were obtained through purposive sampling technique. However, for logistical convenience only 30% which translates to 8 dance troupes out of 25 which Babbie (1999) considers as a representative sample were selected. In the process of conducting interviews to the dance troupe leaders, appoint of saturation was reached by the 10<sup>th</sup> respondent, hence only 10 respondents which translates to 40% were selected as the sample. Interviews, observation and

document analysis were used as methods of data collection. This approach of using more than one method to collect data (Triangulation) helps one to counteract any biases that result from reliance on one source of information (Cohen & Manion, 1989).

According to Daniel Katz cited in Roy (2000), content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and qualitative description of manifest content of communication. Since the study is descriptive, data collected from interviews, observations and documented sources was organized into topics of discussion and subjected to analysis by use of content analysis aspects and presented in prose and photographs.

### **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

This section presents information that was obtained from interviews and selected *kamabeka* dance troupes during the field work. The study focused on symbolic component of the dance which has got to do with interpretation of meanings embedded in the non-verbal communication through body movements, musical instruments and other visual devices (non-discursive symbolic communication) Various scholars have discussed dance as a medium of communication arguing that dance in Africa is communicative in behavior in that movements can form a para- or quasi-language, sometimes more effective than verbal language. Indeed, dance is often a multimedia communication - performers moving in time and space are seen, sounds of physical movements are heard, odors produced by physical exertion are smelled, kinesthetic activity or empathy is felt, as is the touch of body to body part, and performing area. African dance is thus significant because it has powerful communication potential as it refers to things outside itself, evoking associations about what is going on (Hanna, 1973).



**Interpretation of Meanings Embedded in the Non-Discursive Symbolic Communication of  
*Kamabeka* Cultural Dance**

According to Nabichikhi (personal interview, 2019) *Kamabeka* movements were adapted from the flapping of the wings of chicken. He argues that whenever a chicken flaps its wings, it is always responding to some stimulus or information from the immediate surrounding and most of the time the information is usually believed to be good to the extent that excites the chicken and causes it to respond by flapping its wings. Similar views were also shared by (Mukanda, Kundu, and Mechi in personal interviews, 2019).

According to Wanambisi (personal interview, 2019) *Kamabeka* does not shake in just one specific pattern. He argues that *kamabeka* can be made to vibrate (*khunikinia*) or sometimes be made to move in a vertical pattern. He further notes that as this happens other parts of the body are involved especially the back. He explains that the movements of the back symbolize the sexual expression of the Cock during mating and the vertical movement of the shoulders symbolize the flapping of the wings of the Cock as a symbol of happiness after going through a sexual experience. This perspective was also shared by (mindoti and Nabwana Personal interview, 2019)

Mindoti (personal interview, 2019) observes that, sex and romance most of the time except in isolated cases like rape go hand in hand. He therefore adds that, when shaking *kamabeka* in a forward and backward pattern while raising the arms in a shape as though to hug somebody, this shape signifies romance especially when lovers are embracing one another. This position was also shared by (Nabichikhi personal interview, 2019)

Wosula (personal interview, 2019) notes that, whenever *Kamabeka* dancers perform with their hands together around the torso, this symbolizes unity within a house hold. Nabwana (personal interview, 2019) Concurr with Wosula stating that, oneness is a product of being together. He

gives examples of a situation where people are scattered in the field and when they are close to each other. He concludes that, those who are close to one another are bound by a common parameter which in his view is peace. Hence the joining of hands together points at peace as opposed to disharmony. See plate 6.



**Plate 6:** A photograph showing *kamabeka* dance with palms together  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from internet

According to Mukoyani (personal interview, 2019) when *Kamabeka* dancers dance in two lines in a circular manner, it symbolizes unity of purpose in the community. See plate 7.



**Plate: 7** Photograph showing *kamabeka* dance in two lines in a circular manner  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa, from internet

Busuru (personal interview, 2019) When a dancer raises his hands up, it symbolizes the size of the horns of the ox or oxen. See the plate 8.



**Plate 8:** A photograph showing *kamabeka* dance with hands raised up  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa, from internet



**Plate 9:** A photograph showing symbolism of a cow with big horns like in **plate 10**  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from Internet

Lutuli (personal interview, 2019) When a dancer faces down and widens his arms, it symbolizes a cow with a big adder. See plate 9 and link it to plate 10.



**Plate10:** An Ox with big horns

Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from Internet

**Plate11:** A Cow with big udder

Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from Internet

According to Masika (personal interview, 2019), When a dancers performs with his hands pointing straight away from him, it symbolizes healthy heifers and sometimes healthy plantation (millet, maize, sorghum).



**Plate 12:** Photo of healthy heifers

Source: Photo by Kusienya Fred Wekesa

According to Nabwana (personal interview, 2019), When a woman dances with her dress inside out, it symbolizes widowhood. According to Kundu (personal interview, 2019), When a woman dances with her both hands suspended around her breasts, it symbolizes that she is a woman with children whom she has breast fed and deserves respect. See plate13 below, the woman in a red top.





**Plate 13:** A photograph showing *kamabeka* dance  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from the field

According to Mukanda (personal interview, 2019) when elderly men and women dance *kamabeka* with their palms around their breasts pointing sharply away in a horizontal manner, it symbolizes that they have daughters who are ready to get married. According to Makete (personal interview, 2019), When both men and women dance in free style without observing strict patterns, it symbolizes freedom and cohesion in the community. See plate 14.



**Plate 14:** Photograph showing *Kamabeka* dance in free style.  
Source: Kusienya Fred Wekesa from Internet

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to interpret the meanings embedded in the non-discursive symbolic communication of *kamabeka* cultural dance of the *Bukusu* community. The study established that indeed there is a lot that is communicated through the movements, non-verbal

cues as well as the musical instruments within the performance of *kamabeka*. Therefore, people should endeavor to get the message in the dance more than its entertainment value as majority of the dance audience has taken dance for.

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