

**MOMBASA SWAHILI WOMEN'S WEDDING SONGS:
A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS**

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Submitted by:

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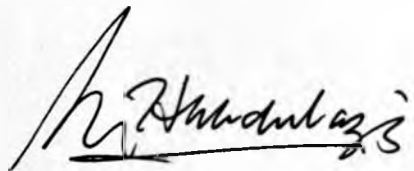
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.



TIMAMMY RAYYA

This thesis has been written under my supervision and presented with my approval as University Supervisor.



Prof. MOHAMED HASSAN ABDULAZIZ

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all those who had faith in me and to those who referred to me as “Doctor” before my time, and in the process giving me the impetus and morale to complete this work.

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ABSTRACT

This study attempted an analysis of the language of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. It specifically focused on phonology, lexis, syntax, semantic and paralinguistic levels of language of Swahili women's wedding songs of Mombasa. To handle the stylistic analysis of Swahili wedding songs, we used the eclectic approach that comprised of Leech's approach (1969), theory of stylistic criticism by Emmanuel Ngara (1985) and the paralinguistic approach by Isidore Okpewho (1992).

This thesis is organized into seven chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter. It treats introductory elements of this study, including, statement of the problem, aims, rationale of the study, hypotheses, scope and limitations, literature review and methodology.

The second chapter which deals with the Swahili Wedding of Mombasa focuses on the occasions and functions of a wedding from the time a bridegroom proposes to the final occasion of a wedding. It is in this chapter that wedding songs are contextualized and their significance highlighted.

The third chapter deals with the analysis of style at the level of phonology. Some of the aspects treated include dialects, rhyme, metrical patterns, onomatopoeia, and Arabic pronunciation. It has been demonstrated in this chapter, that sometimes the singers change the original dialect of the song into their own if the song is borrowed from another dialect area and at times sing it in its original dialect. The local songs do not follow the rigid symmetry of line, rhyming and syllabic measure but a type of rhyme that is related more to the tune and melody of the song.

The fourth chapter deals with style at the levels of lexis and syntax. Lexical variation in the use of language is analysed in the songs. Some of the aspects treated include neologisms, archaisms, foreign words, code mixing and lexical prominence. These

features, it has been demonstrated, are key aspects in conveying meaning in Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. It is also demonstrated that repetition is especially favoured by Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. We must stress here that it is an analysis of stylistic features of the songs and not a syntactic description, as it is done in linguistics.

The fifth chapter treats the stylistic devices that fall under the semantic level. It is shown that features like similes, metaphors, symbolism, personification, proverbs and irony are used by the singers to conceal the real meaning. A lot of figurative language is used especially where taboo is involved.

The sixth chapter focuses on the paralinguistic features that are used in the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs, using Okpewho's perspective. It demonstrates that these paralinguistic features like gestures, dancing and music are an essential part of a performance and that words of the songs by themselves are not sufficient to convey meaning. The last chapter is a conclusion. It offers a summary of this thesis, suggestions for further research and the problems encountered while conducting the research. This study was field based. It filmed data that was recorded by audio-visual equipment and was finally transcribed and analysed focusing on specific aims.

Almost all of the songs are sung by women with women audience. As it is mentioned in the thesis, a lot of Swahili culture is changing fast including wedding songs due to influences from the West and new Islamic trends which forbid some of the songs and dances. In order to preserve the songs we found it necessary in the appendix to include both the songs which are analysed and those which were collected but not analysed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

Songs are an important genre of oral literature. Basically they are poems composed to be sung during formal or informal occasions. Wedding songs are a sub-genre of oral literature and hence a literary form normally composed and sung during different wedding ceremonies. Song is just one way of delivering oral poetry. A poem may be sung or recited. Wedding songs are not restricted to weddings only and can be sung at other occasions.

In the lecture on poetry Robert S. (Harris 1962:272) says:

"Poetry is the act of rhyming which distinguishes songs, poems and heroic verse. Besides being the art of rhyming, poetry expresses lucidity and preciseness of style. You may ask what is a song, a poem or an heroic verse-narrative. A song is a small poem; a poem is a big song; and heroic is the peak of poesy".

A lot has been said on poetry, by Harris. L (1962); Bateson F. (1971); Abdulaziz M. (1979); Kitsao J. (1982); Nabhany S. (1985) and Noor I. (1988). We do not want to involve ourselves in the debate of what is a poem or a song. For the purpose of this thesis, a song is defined as a melodic utterance that consists of one or more verse units whose meaning is contextually complete.

Since the wedding songs are composed to be sung orally in front of an audience, even those songs that follow the prosodic features (refer to the taraab songs borrowed from Zanzibar and the Lamu archipelago) are looked at as songs. This is because taraab songs

though they have rhyme and rhythm, (like popular songs), their lyrics disappear after about six months. The singers compose them and after they have served their purpose they are replaced.

Our field observation has revealed that the Swahili people consider songs as very important at every stage of traditional rite de passage e.g. when one is born; at childhood; at youth; during adulthood and during one's wedding. For this reason, the Swahili people use song as a formal/informal genre which is composed and performed throughout one's life span. The term "Swahili" refers to a cultural group (Salim, I. 1973) that lives at the coast of East Africa. It also refers to the language they speak of which they are the native speakers. However, the term refers to a standardised form of the language now spoken as an East African lingua franca (Harries L. 1962). There are various Swahili communities which create such songs like the Amu, Mombasa, Unguja and others. We have singled out Mombasa, as it is the hotch potch of Swahili people and culture. The wedding songs of Mombasa are representative as one finds people from all Swahili communities living in this town. Mombasa is a microcosm of all Swahili areas. It has sheltered people from Amu, Faza, Unguja, Vanga etc. for centuries; thus the songs represent the input of all the Swahili communities. Hence our choice of Mombasa as our study site.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Much research has been undertaken in Swahili literary studies. Some of the quotable are by Kitsao J. (1975, 1982) and Kazungu K. (1982) who focused on aspects of style in Swahili written literature.

There are also specific studies carried on Swahili oral literature by Topan F. (1971) and King'ei K. (1992). However, there exists a knowledge gap in the area of Swahili wedding songs that deserve investigating. We sought to investigate how various stylistic features are used in delivering the message in the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. The aim was to investigate how various stylistic features like metaphors, similes and

repetition are used in expressing message, emotion, meaning and nuances of the singers in the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. We attempted using a stylistic approach or orientation as elaborated in The Linguistic guide to English Poetry (1969), supplementing it with The theory of stylistic criticism by Ngara E. (1985) and paralinguistic perspectives expounded by Okpewho I. (1992)

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Swahili being a fast developing language has generated a great deal of interest among many scholars. There are several studies on its structure, semantics and on various aspects of its literature. But language, being so vast a phenomenon offers endless possibilities for its study. For example although there are various stylistic studies on the language, there are still some aspects which have not been dealt with, and which could provide interesting areas of investigation.

In this study we have examined stylistic aspects in Swahili language use, as they are manifested in wedding songs. Thus we have highlighted the artistic features as well as the communicative effects created through their employment in Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.

Swahili, as mentioned above, is a fast developing language. Much of that development is reflected in language use. Style, being a literary feature through which the singer's creative ability in using language is reflected, is also considered in this study as an important way through which the formal aspects of this development, would be reflected.

Specifically therefore our main tasks in this study were:-

1. To provide a detailed literary explanation of the stylistic features of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.

2. To determine the effectiveness of stylistic features of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs in conveying messages to the audience.
3. To establish the relationship between performance and the words in Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.
4. To provide a detailed data of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.
5. To use an integrative approach in analysing the aesthetic appeal, the form and artistic features of the women's weddings songs of the Mvita community of Mombasa.

1.3 HYPOTHESES

This study tested the following hypotheses:

1. That Mombasa Swahili women's wedding song have stylistic features which are pertinent to the Swahili people of Mombasa.
2. That stylistic features of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs are effective means of communication between the singers and the audience.
3. That there exists a relationship between performance and the words in Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.
4. That Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs is a separate form of oral literature in terms of language use, choice of words, nature of performance and musical instruments from for example “mwaka¹” and harvesting songs in the Swahili community of Mombasa.

5. That the formal properties of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs can be analysed by using an eclectic approach to stylistic analysis.

1.4 **RATIONALE**

To the best of our knowledge Swahili oral poetry in general and songs in particular have not been given an in-depth scholarly study. Emphasis has always been on prose narratives and written poetry rather than the more elaborate though difficult poetic forms of oral literature. For this reason we felt there was a strong justification for the choice of this study in an attempt to redress this imbalance which has persisted at the expense of oral poetry. Most studies done on Swahili oral poetry were only collections or brief synopses of songs rather than detailed scholarly investigations².

For fairly obvious reasons, we also believe that much of the literature of the African people is oral and thus there is an urgent need to codify the available materials in more permanent forms and broaden the scope of reach and relevance. Thus we should never tire of recording as many of the available oral traditions as possible, considering the threat posed by the demands of the modern urban industrial culture heavily influenced by Western modes of culture. It need hardly be mentioned that without the painstaking efforts of scholars (both foreign and local) in collecting and editing texts of African oral literature for nearly two centuries, African scholars would have too little material on which to attempt any serious judgement about African culture.

Also the contemporary study of African oral literature especially by African scholars such as ourselves is a useful exercise in the larger mission of cultural self rediscovery and vindication. The need to research into traditional African oral literature, wedding songs being part of it, has been seen and stressed by several scholars like Franz Fanon (1961); Wole Soyinka (1976); Ngugi wa Thiongo (1981); Masizi Kunene (1989); Taban Lo Liyong (1990) and many others.

There is one other service which the study of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs will render and here, perhaps is where we see a convergence between the efforts of the scholar and the creative composer. For sometime now, certain of our writers have shown what may be seen as a healthy nostalgia for the roots of African creative endeavour by consciously harking back to both the content and the form of our oral traditions.

As a member of the Swahili community, the researcher had preliminarily observed that songs are an important component of many (traditional) ceremonies and events within the Swahili community. Hence we believe there must be a close relationship between some literary features and social features which make the songs function as a component of the ceremonies. It was this belief which led me to undertake this study and write a detailed literary analysis of these songs in this thesis. Despite the fact that Swahili has a long literary tradition and is quite rich in oral literature material, there has been only very few works done on Swahili songs mainly in the form of collections.

As regards the songs we have chosen for our study, there has been no analyses of them except for Kingei (1992) who has looked at one type of songs sung at weddings i.e. **taarab** songs. We have not come across any stylistic analysis of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. In view of this, we expect our study to make a contribution to the limited literature on the oral literature of the Swahili.

We also hope to provide a deeper understanding, familiarity and literary appreciation of the Swahili oral tradition not only to scholars but also to the layman interested in weddings songs and in oral poetry in general.

We intend to place the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs on a recognisable field of academic research in literature, as a sub-genre of oral poetry.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study focused on the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. These are wedding songs sung by women and for only women audience. The study is confined to the stylistic analysis of the songs, considering them as part of the Swahili oral literature. Our interest is in the investigation of the poetic and paralinguistic features. It must be emphasised that this is an analysis of stylistic features of the song and is not syntactic in the linguistic sense. For the moment only the textual aspects of the song are analysed. Others features like lyrics or rhythm which are equally important but realistically cannot be raised.

The study focused on the Swahili women's wedding songs from only one dialect area that is Mvita or Mombasa. This is because Swahili has many dialects between 15-20 (see Whiteley, W.H. (1969), Bakari, M. (1982)). The Mvita dialect has been chosen as a representative location of Kenyan dialects bearing in mind firstly that wedding songs among the Swahili people are almost uniform, secondly that the songs used nowadays in one dialect area are also used in another, because many of the people of different dialects have moved to other towns mixing through inter marriage with speakers of other dialects. Weddings, being important social events attract people from different areas. Songs of one dialect area are transported to another area by the people who attend the weddings. Also, nowadays, as there are groups that sing the songs, the songs of one area are also learnt by people from other areas. Thus the songs end up being similar and all the women know them. The only dialectal difference is in the pronunciation. Thirdly, Kimvita, the dialect of Mombasa, is largely being considered as the bridge between the northern and southern dialects. Whiteley (1969); Bakari (1982). Mombasa is also representative of all Swahili traditional communities and culture. The electronic media namely radios, televisions and videos have also contributed in spreading the wedding songs from one dialect area to another. Also due to limited time and finance of the research we could not extend the research to other areas, for purposes of comparison. For the reasons given above, we believe that a case study of the Mombasa situation provides a fairly representative study of Swahili women's wedding songs along the Kenyan coast.

When talking of wedding we will relate to particular wedding ceremonies. Wedding is the total activity of marriage. It is not one homogenous performance. It involves several ceremonies each of the ceremonies may have its own songs and dance, and other rituals. The rituals are religious and social or actual song performance. We look into different songs sung at different occasions of a Swahili wedding. For example "**chakacha**³" songs for "**kesha**⁴", songs sung on "**kutia Chooni**⁵", songs sung during the "**kupamba**⁶" occasion and songs sung in traditional wedding dances like "**lelemama**⁷" and "**vugo**⁸".

Wedding songs if translated in Swahili is "**nyimbo za harusi**". **Nyimbo za harusi** also refers to circumcision songs but we only looked at wedding songs and did not include circumcision songs.

1.6. CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

This section largely discusses the way we approached the analysis of language use in the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. To-date, theoretical and critical works on Swahili oral forms like the wedding songs are insignificant. Our study is broad and multi-disciplinary. We looked at features of performance, linguistic and literary features and music, thus we needed to use approaches which best described all these features and that's why we chose an eclectic approach. As we collected data, the necessity to move in certain directions in relation to certain approaches emerged and we saw which approach is most suitable in analysing these features. Thus by incorporating a number of perspectives drawn from various models in the study of literature and language use in communication, this study adopted an approach with which to study the style of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.

1.6.1 LEECH'S LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

We have adopted Leech's (1969) model as the overall one. It is eclectic and integrated as it has borrowed from both literary study and linguistics. The model sets out three

principle levels from which stylistic features could be examined. The levels are as follows:-

- a) The level of realisation
- b) The level of form
- c) The level of semantics

The level of realisation includes how the language forms are pronounced or written. In linguistic terms this level includes phonology and graphology.

The level of form refers to the vocabulary used in constructing sentences using a set of rules. In other words this level consists of the structure and the lexicon.

The level of semantics involves a look at meaning in general.

Ultimately therefore, according to this model the concepts under study can be analysed under the following linguistic levels.

- a) Graphological/Phonological level
- b) Syntactic - lexicon
 - Structure
- c) Semantic level

Apart from examining language from the aforesaid levels, Leech also adds three other dimensions which allow language to be examined as it varies. These dimensions, which he calls the ancillary branches of linguistics, are:

- a) Dialect variation which looks at the user.
- b) Register study which concerns itself with variation of language according to it's function in society.

- c) Historical linguistics which looks at the development of language through time.

Thus the above model was preferred for the thesis because of its ability to account comprehensively for the stylistic features in the given songs.

1.6.1.1 THE GRAPHOLOGICAL/PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL

As the songs we analysed are sung and not in written form, aspects of graphology are not of importance. Thus we concentrated on looking at aspects of phonology for example onomatopoeia, rhymes, and alliteration.

e.g **Kimanu manu kina manua manua**

In the above sentence we see the repetition of the sound /m/ and /n/. We also looked at the function of melodic particles like 'ee', 'ae' or 'we' and 'aah'.

1.6.1.2 THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL

1.6.1.2.1 **The Lexicon**

This level involves the study of vocabulary choice. Under this section we interested ourselves with several aspects of vocabulary. For example, we interested ourselves with neologisms, that is words that have been coined, and are non existent in the lexicon or the dictionaries like the word '**kimanumanu**'. We also looked at archaic words, like in the song '**somoe mwana**' we find the word '**kaole**' for '**kaone**' in standard Swahili (see chapter four). Foreign words like the word '**Pajero**' used in the song '**nalia oh**' (pg. 249), dialectal words of African origin and aspects of code mixing. For example mixing English and Swahili like in the song 'I love you Mr. Mahmoud' (pg 242). We want to show the overall effect of vocabulary choice in the songs.

Also under this section we discussed the effects of lexical prominence. Lexical prominence refers to the frequency with which a singer selects certain lexical items for emphatic purposes.

1.6.1.2.2 **Structure**

People generally do not communicate using words in isolation but do so in sentences. Thus in this section our focus of attention was at the stylistic features that occur at the syntactic level. Our concern here was with:-

(a) **Sentence length.**

We looked at sentence length. We tried to find out what kind of sentences the Mombasa Swahili wedding songs singers use.

(b) **We also looked at features of parallelism.**

Parallelism features in the words of Jakobson (1960); "are patterns where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high frequency (see also Leech 1969: 62-69)

For example in sentences like:

Wakisema wasiseme shauri yao

Wakiimba wasiimbe shauri yao

Whether they talk or not it's up to them

Whether they sing or not it's up to them

There is a verb-verb-noun parallelism.

We also analysed the different types of parallelism e.g. parallelism of linking, whether it is initial, final or cross (see chapter four). We also looked at repetitions. In general repetition can either be at the phonological, lexical or syntactical level. Repetition can be of a word, line, basic verse of a song or the chorus. For example

Kamnunie mumeo ndiye anayekujuwa nuna

Nuna nuna unamnunia nani nuna

Kamnunie mumeo ndiye aliyekueka nuna

Nuna nuna unamnunia nani nuna

Kamnunie mumeo ndiye aliyekukataa nuna

nuna nuna unamnunia nani nuna.

Go and sulk at your husband he is the one who knows you

Sulk, sulk, who are you sulking at

Go and sulk at your husband he is the one who has kept you

Sulk, sulk, who are you sulking at

Go and sulk at your husband he is the one who has refused you

Sulk, sulk who are you sulking at

1.6.1.3 THE SEMANTIC LEVEL

Under this level we looked at devices that involved the use of language that affects meaning in some way or other. Some of these devices can be explained linguistically for example imagery, symbolism and personification For example in the 'mgomba" song (pg 274) we are planting the banana plant, the 'mgomba', banana plant is symbolic. Some of the devices are figures of speech or rhetorical devices which by virtue of their being artistic are also considered to be fore-grounding devices. These are devices like similes, irony, allusions and metaphors.

1.6.2 THEORY OF STYLISTIC CRITICISM

In tackling the complex aspect of language use in Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs, our study drew also from the theory of stylistic criticism as presented by Ngara E. (1985). Although he looked at works of fiction, he acknowledged that it can be applied to all art forms - written as well as oral forms like Swahili wedding songs. In this model the unit of analysis is the whole text, but in our study the unit comprised both entire song texts as well as stanzas. The theory of stylistic criticism addressed both the linguistic and literary aspects of literature.

The linguistic format as one of the constituents of art is:

"the sum total of minute linguistic choices which are divisible into subsets; linguistic features proper and paralinguistic affective devices. By paralinguistic affective devices we mean such features as symbolism, myth, allusion, allegory which are not analysable in terms of normal linguistic description." (Ngara 1985:17)

Under linguistic features proper, Ngara (1985) isolates levels of description almost similar to Leech (1969). But Ngara enumerates determinants of the linguistic format. The main factors that affect language choice and the overall quality of a work of art according to Ngara (1985) are:

- a) Medium of transmission or delivery e.g. verbal or non verbal i.e. the method used to communicate language. In our case verbal or spoken language.
- b) Mode - The genre of the work i.e. song, or poem. The modes to some extent determine the linguistic content of a work of art.

- c) Language or dialect used - we tried to see if say there are songs which were brought from Lamu but become part of the wedding songs of Mombasa, do they retain their dialect form or is it changed?
- d) Context of usage - Cultural context, geographical setting and the historical period to investigate if they determined the linguistic choices open to the singer.
- e) Field or register of usage - legal, medical, historical and literary. Like in the song 'dokta TX' (pg 228) medical terms are used.

e.g. Nipasue daktari nipasue

Toa maradhi ya ndani we nipasue

Nipasue TX nipasue

Napenda upresheni we nipasue

Operate on me doctor, do operate on me

Remove all the diseases inside. do operate on me

Operate on me doctor, do operate on me

I like to be operated, do operate on me

- f) Participants/Participating agents - Singers
- g) Audience - To look at the degree of formality in the situation which the language mirrors. This depends on the relationship between the singer and the listener e.g. **taarab**⁹ songs where the audience is separated from the singers.

We looked at the attitude of the singer towards her audience and to the singing generally. Her attitude to her audience and to the singing will be reflected in her tone of voice as well as her choice of words.

- h) Personal factors - we looked at the singer's competence in using the chosen use of language, his own personal interests, his experience, natural inclinations as well as his views. These factors influenced her songs in terms of the linguistic content of her artistic creation.

Each of the above determinants of the stylistic model by Ngara, E. (1985) highlight important aspects of our study in the analysis of the structure of Swahili women's wedding songs as a literary form. Also the theory relates the formal structure of a work of art to the content. As Ngara has pointed out, that the cultural and historical setting of a work determines or influences the artist's choice of language. He points out, ".....art and society are one. Songs, praise poems and folk tales arise from the pre-occupations, beliefs, assumptions and struggles of the community as a whole". (1985:21).

1.6.3 PARALINGUISTIC APPROACH

Okpewho's paralinguistic approach (1992) is used in handling paralinguistic features like facial expressions, hand movements, dance and gestures. As Okpewho (1992: 48) says:

"Oral artists use more than their mouths to express their words. to consider the effectiveness of the words, therefore we should examine the usefulness of these accompanying resources. Where such information is available or can be deduced. These accompanying resources are variously described as non-verbal, extra verbal, para verbal, paratextual or paralinguistic, in the

sense that they occur side by side with the text or the words of the literature".

At the paralinguistic level we looked at:-

1. The histrionics of the performance that is movements made with the face, hands or any other part of the body as a way of dramatically demonstrating an action contained in the text.
2. We also looked at dancing which is closely related to dramatisation in the oral performance. Dancing is a way of making the performance a thoroughly attractive spectacle. Some dance movements are specifically aimed at giving vivid emphasis to actions expressed in a song and may indeed suggest the actions without any need for words. As Okpewho (1992:48) says,

"The significance of these instances of dance and dramatic movements to the text of oral literature is sufficiently clear. In many an oral performance, the words spoken are only part of a general spectacle designed to please both the ears and the eye But in the oral performance the words are frequently given this physical demonstration and in many cases depend on this demonstration for their effectiveness."

3. One paralinguistic resource that has a deep impact on the performance of oral literature is music. As Okpewho acknowledges: "The element of stability is important for there has to be the right balance between the music and the words in the oral performance". (Okpewho.1992:48)

The music supports the oral text in such a way as not only to drive home a point but also make the overall performance a more impressive spectacle.

4. We looked at accessories like clothes and other instruments that are used in the dances.

Leech's and Ngara's approaches will be used for the analysis of stylistic features of language at the levels of phonology, lexis, syntactic and semantics. The paralinguistic approach will be used mainly for the analysis of paralinguistic features and it will be supplemented with Ngara's theory of stylistic criticism.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this Section we have 4 categories of literature review:-

1. Literature on the conceptual framework
2. Literature on songs generally
3. Literature on Swahili poetry in general
4. Literature on Swahili songs.

1.7.1 LITERATURE ON THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Leech, G. (1969) has looked at poetry and language. He has discussed the creative use of language, varieties of poetic licence, fore-grounding and interpretation, verbal repetition, patterns of sound, meter, figurative language, ambiguity and determinacy. This work is very useful to us as we used the concepts and techniques in it as our framework in investigating the stylistic analysis of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.

Okpewho, I. (1992) has divided his work into three parts, the first part he calls backgrounds and resources; where he discusses what is oral literature and its importance. He also examines aspects of the artist, and the performance itself. This section is useful as it talks about the paralinguistic resources. His fourth chapter is also very useful as it deals with the stylistic qualities that we deal with in the Swahili wedding songs. The second part of the book deals with the classification of oral literature and the themes. Chapter six has also helped us as it deals with songs and chants. He analyses the problems of classification and the nature of songs. This section helped us sort our data and classify it. The last part deals with the survival of oral literature. He elucidates methods of presenting oral literature and conducting field work. This section is also helpful as it assisted us in conducting the field work, what to look for and how to go about collecting the data. Lastly, he suggested areas for further research.

Ngara, E. (1985) gives an account of the debate on the criticism of African literature and concluded that any reader should be able to understand and interpret African literature, that also African literature issues reflect conditions which are peculiar to Africa thus any critic should make an effort to understand these conditions to make good judgement. Thirdly that the search for norms of criticism which can do justice to African literature is necessary and worth-while and should be based on aesthetic considerations. He discusses the contribution of linguistics to criticism, the goals of stylistic criticism and tried to differentiate between stylistic criticism and related disciplines. His main argument is that stylistic criticism seeks to bring the method and insights of linguistics into literary criticism: it is more precise and systematic and also that it places greater emphasis on the language component of literature. Stylistic criticism also avoids a purely technical approach to the study of literature and is much more concerned with matters of aesthetic value and content. He formulated a theory of stylistic criticism and gave the constituents of fiction and determinants of linguistic format. He then applied the theory of stylistic criticism to specific African novels.

Ngara, E. (1990) has studied the function of a critic and the goals of criticism. In addition, he has discussed ideology, form and communication in poetry. He distinguishes between "form" and "mode" where mode is the external structure of a poem that usually affects the internal structure and form refers to both the external and internal structure. Thus the use of images, symbols, allusion, peculiar idioms and other poetic devices such as repetition and parallelism are part of the internal structure of poem or its form. His focus was mainly on the formal elements of African poetry that is style and any innovations that seem to have direct or indirect relationship to authorial ideology and the author's class ideology. Just as in Ngara (1985) he acknowledges that styles arise as a result of historical and social factors. He seems to emphasise the same stylistic devices and stresses the unity of form and content. Thus the understanding of poetry requires an understanding and appreciation of historical and social conditions, ideological factors, literary forms and devices and sufficient mastery of the language in which the poetry is written.

1.7.2 LITERATURE ON SONGS IN GENERAL

Akivaga, S. and Odaga, B. (1982) admit that songs and dances are very common in African societies. They give the uses of the songs and also name or categorise the different types of songs. They have given different examples from different communities e.g. Pokomo, Luo and Bukusu. They have two examples of Swahili political songs but these differ from ours as we concentrated on wedding songs sung by the Swahili and not on other types of songs sung in Swahili by people of other communities. Their work was helpful in categorising the songs we encountered in the field.

Nandwa, J. and Bukenya, A. (1983) also have a chapter on songs and recitation. They also concurred with Akivaga and Odaga (1982) in saying that songs and dances pervade the whole spectrum of African traditional life. They gave examples of songs sung on different occasions e.g. lullaby, sacrificial prayer, recitation of heroes and nuptial songs. They also looked at field techniques. We concur with them when they said that.

"Verse is almost inseparably connected with poetry which is the most powerful expression in language of the emotions (1983:87)

Their work does not give any Swahili examples but just make a comment that poetry like "**mashairi**" and "**tenzi**" could be appropriately regarded as oral literature as in their proper setting, its composition is not regarded as complete until it is actually performed as oral chants.

Kabira, W. and Mutahi, K. (1982) comment that the flexibility of the song makes it the most responsive genre of everyday life and to the ever changing circumstances. They went on to mention the functions of the songs such as a medium of entertainment, political mobilisation and transmission of cultural values. Since they limited themselves to Gikuyu oral literature, their work is different from ours as our examples are from the Swahili community. But their work was useful in gaining more information on the genre in general.

Miruka, O. (1994) used an anthropological approach to examine the various genres of oral literature, both at the theoretical level and at the analytical level. He discussed oral poetry, classified it and gave its characteristics. He also gave the function of poetry and most importantly discussed the structure and style of poetry.

Finnegan, R. (1970) has a long chapter on poetry which is subdivided into smaller sections each with a sub-topic. She looked at the different categories of songs e.g. panegyric, elegiac, religious, children songs and rhymes, topical and political songs. In each sub-topic she gives an introduction, their nature and distribution, the composers and reciters, occasion and also talked on the content and themes, structure, style and delivery. In the section on religious poetry, Finnegan talks of the Islamic tradition and its influence on the "**tenzi**". Though she admits that the "**tenzi**" depend much more on a written form, she also agreed that they were designed for public performance. Thus it seems clear that the existence of such a widespread and valued tradition has had a profound effect on the

whole Swahili literary tradition oral as well as written. Her work was very useful in helping us know more about the song.

Kipury, N. (1983) and Chesaina, C. (1991) also looked at the different genres of oral literature in their communities and also give examples of them.

1.7.3 LITERATURE ON SWAHILI POETRY IN GENERAL

There have been earlier studies on Swahili poetry by Hitchens, W. (1962); Harries, L. (1962); Nabhany: A. (1985) and Knappert, J. (1977) which defined the genres of Swahili poetry more from a traditional prosodic point of view than a cultural one.

The orality of Swahili poetry and song has been strongly emphasised by among others Abdallah, A. (1978) and Shariff, I. N. (1988). They dealt with various aspects of composition, performance and functions of the forms.

There are also a number of other relevant critical works that looked at Swahili poetry, like Topan, F. (1971); (1984); Allen, J.W.T. (1971); (1976); (1979a) and (1979b); Abdulaziz, M.H. (1979); and Shariff, I. N.. (1988). All these studies with the exception of the collections by J. W. T. Allen are based on a systematic academic research. They all acknowledged the fact that Swahili oral poetry is socially functional and deals with everyday happenings in the community. They emphasised that although the poetry is traditionally derived, it is dynamic in style and content. We agreed with these observations and examined them in our study of Swahili wedding songs.

Shariff's Tungo Zetu (1988) is a comprehensive literary survey of the main genres and themes in Swahili poetry. Shariff addresses the problem of prosody and the social function of each genre. His work stresses the allegorical nature of Swahili poetic language. The study is of a general nature but it remains one of the most detailed surveys of Swahili poetry.

1.7.4 LITERATURE ON SWAHILI SONGS

Under this section we focused at the works which have looked at Swahili songs in particular. Among the earliest and most systematic anthologies of Swahili songs and oral poetry is W.H. Whitely's Waimbaji wa Juzi (1966) which contained many songs sung between the 1920's and 1950's in Zanzibar. The work has a short but informative introduction, which stresses the importance of the songs as a source of archaic Swahili vocabulary and also gives detailed captions of each of the contributing artists, with brief notes on the contextual usage of the various songs. The study was a collection, and not at all intended to make a critical analysis of the songs.

Topan, F. (1971) has analysed the meaning and function of the songs within the context of the ritual in which they are sung. He describes in detail the context of the rituals, beliefs and practices underlying them and provides an outline history of the Swahili community in which the ritual occurs. Topan divides the songs into four broad categories on the basis of their themes and functions. An analysis of the songs is then attempted by adapting and adopting the approach originally used by V. W. Turner (1962) in his study of the Ndembu circumcision ritual. The work differs from ours as we are looking at another type of songs i.e. wedding songs. But it helped us learn more about the Swahili community and its culture.

Campbell, C. (1976) conducted a research in two Swahili Communities, in Mombasa and Tchundwa in the Lamu archipelago. She has explained the different types of dances including **chakacha**, **vugo** and **ilemama**. She has also given examples of the songs of the different dances and explains who the audience is. She also makes musical notation and analysis. She looked at different types of songs e.g. childbirth, work songs and some songs sung in some dances during wedding ceremonies. Her work provided us with examples of wedding songs that we compared with the songs sung nowadays. Our work differs from hers as our main focus is on wedding songs and we concentrated on the form

of the songs. Her work is a brief discussion of the various types of songs available in these communities.

Campbell, C. (1983) analysed the musical properties of songs. She investigated the musical nature of Swahili poetry. In her work, each "**wimbo**" or song act is described in terms of a set of components, derived from those used by Hymes (1962), to describe a speech act. Besides the broad categories of community, situation, event and style, the components of any song according to her are: the setting, the participants, the ends, the act sequence and content, the key or manner and spirit of performance, the instruments used, the norms of performance and the genre. The research was conducted at three main locations, in Mombasa, Lamu and Tchungwa. The work is different from ours as we focused only on Mombasa and only on one type of songs. We looked at the stylistic aspects of the songs as opposed to her approach, which focused on the musical nature of Swahili poetry.

Francoise Coppens (1980) describes the wedding customs in Lamu. She included several wedding song texts, a description of some of the wedding music, and drawings of the instruments used. Our work differs from hers as hers is a mere collection of a few wedding songs.

King'ei, K. (1992) explores the formal, thematic and socio-cultural attributes that have contributed to the moulding of Swahili **taarab** songs into a viable medium of socio-political communication in contemporary Kenya. His analysis is mainly descriptive and uses the socio-political and stylistic theoretical perspectives expounded by Terry Eagleton (1976) and Emmanuel Ngara (1985) as well as insights from the speech-act theory outlined by Elizabeth Traugott and Mary Pratt (1977). The predominant themes conveyed through the songs and the stylistic attributes are discussed. He also examines the socio-political and cultural role played by Swahili **taarab** in contemporary Kenya. Our work differs from his as **taarab** songs are only one type of Swahili wedding songs, while we also analyse other types of Swahili wedding songs.

King'ei, K. (1994) has looked at Swahili **taarab** songs as a medium of political expression in Kenya. He examines the meaning of **taarab** and looks at the function of songs and its goals. He agrees that **taarab** is an oral form and suggests that **taarab** form has rendered itself more readily as a medium of socio-political issues in the contemporary society. He has shown that this form is not politically restricted to the immediate Swahili coastal social or cultural values but assumes a regional character in the content. He gives examples of songs that show commitment, patriotism and partisanism. He admits in the conclusion that:

"the communicative strength of the songs lies in the appropriateness of their reference in the Swahili original But it must be stressed that the sound of the songs is not merely their musical qualities but rather their deep metaphorical or idiomatic language which is as highly patterned as it is allusive (pg. 89)

We concur with King'ei on the above. His work is useful in understanding the political scene. Our work differs from his as we have looked at wedding songs, and **taarab** songs are only a small part of the wedding songs. Also the politically motivated songs are not normally sung during weddings.

Khatib, M.S. (1992) has traced the origin of **taarab**. He has looked at the organisations and singers in Zanzibar and the role of women in **taarab**. He has also looked at **taarab** in Pemba and the different stages it has passed through and has concluded that it has changed from the **taarab** introduced by Sultan Barghash for his courtyard only. Nowadays **taarab** is not only for the rich. The themes of the songs have also widened. This book is quite helpful as it provides for us the historical background of **taarab** songs of Zanzibar. This work differs from ours as we have looked at the aspects of style of the Swahili wedding songs and **taarab** songs are not the only wedding songs.

Khatib's work is very closely related to an article by S. S. Saleh (1980) entitled "**Nyimbo za Taarab Unguja**" and covers very much the same ground including the early history of

taarab movement, the first **taarab** groups as well as the various prominent themes of the songs.

Knappert, J. (1977) in an article "Swahili Taarab Songs" also elaborates on the same issues. All the above studies are not based on a sound literary perspective in the treatment of the taarab songs and they have not used sound theoretical approaches.

1.8. METHODOLOGY

1.8.0 INTRODUCTION

An in-depth study of the wedding songs of Swahili women was undertaken. Our research was based on varied methods and it was undertaken in three main phases. The first phase involved examination of archival materials such as journals, files and library research.

The second phase involved field work and this was done with the aim of collecting data, wedding songs which formed the basis of analysis in the second phase of data analysis. The field study was made in two phases. The first phase of the research constituted visits to Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Takaungu and Tanga - five selected towns. In the five selected towns we were able to determine the general pattern of Swahili wedding songs and their general characteristics.

In the second phase of the field study, one area thought to be representative was selected. Mombasa was selected because it was the hub of Swahili people and culture. As one finds people from all Swahili communities in Mombasa, the wedding songs of Mombasa were seen as representative of all Swahili areas.

1.8.1 Data Collection

Data collection involved discussions with selected informants and collecting wedding songs in Mombasa. Primary informants were sampled out on the basis of age, sex and interest in wedding songs both as participants and audience. This is because preliminary observation indicated that wedding songs are sung by people of various ages and of both sexes. Sampling of the informants also considered the knowledge of the informant on the song for example, singers themselves or people with interest and personal experience of wedding songs. The informants were identified through inquiry and observations of performers in real wedding performances. By these two techniques the research identified the most informed people in the chosen representative location.

Participant - observation method was used to enable the researcher assess the circumstances under which wedding songs were performed and how they were performed. This was possible because the researcher is a mature member of the Swahili community who has on many occasions been invited to wedding performances. She has therefore a certain familiarity with wedding performances, a fact that helped her in her capacity as a participant observer.

The observation method was supplemented by the use of questions asked to both the singers and the audience, as regards their attitudes and impression on the songs in relation to the occasion. This assisted the researcher in identifying the stylistic features of the songs.

In analysing wedding songs, there is a strong link between the performance and the interpretation of the meaning of the wedding songs. For this reason, the researcher used observation method in trying to find out the stylistic and aesthetic features of the wedding songs.

In order to obtain data, several visits were made to wedding occasions in Lamu, Malindi, Takaungu, Mombasa and Tanga to collect songs and see how they were performed.(see list of informants pg 279)

The researcher collected seventy five songs with the use of portable tape recorder. The songs were recorded live at real wedding ceremonies while observing the performances. The tape recorder was mostly placed near the lead singer so as to get clear word pronunciation of the songs for purposes of transcribing them later. Though the number of songs appear to be big it was possible for the researcher to obtain them. This is because the songs are fairly short and due to the fact that the research did not confine itself to songs of a particular period of time in the history of the Swahili of Mombasa. Also some of the songs were readily available in Swahili music stores.

As we noted earlier we collected seventy-five songs from our research area but analysed only fifty songs. But as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis Swahili culture is changing fast due to intense cultural influence through electronic media from the West and new Islamic trends which forbid some of the songs and dances. The researcher therefore found the need to collect more songs than needed for posterity or for future researchers, as the songs are changing.

As stated earlier on, the researcher used a tape recorder to collect the songs. After tape recording, the songs were transcribed in the original language and placed in the appendix for reference purposes. Video recording was used to capture and preserve for analysis the paralinguistic features and styles used by the singers in performing the wedding songs (see chapter 6).

Video recording was also found useful to illustrate the paralinguistic features such as facial expressions, dances, body movements and use of instruments and costumes.

All the above explained methods that were used in research were accompanied by field note-taking. The collected data was analysed using Leech's 1969 literary analysis techniques supplemented by Okpewho's 1992 paralinguistic approach and Ngara's 1985 theory of stylistic criticism.

Sometimes it was difficult to get some particular types of songs like '**lelemama**' songs as people did not want to part with the songs. This was due to the contents of the songs that were scandalising and insulting certain people.

1.8.2 Data Analysis

In the data analysis phase of the research we discussed the general features that characterise our data. Besides the general features that characterise songs as oral poetry we aimed at showing features that are unique to some songs. Some of the features we highlighted are discussed in detail in the analytic chapters.

The primary data is analysed, interpreted and described by focusing on the stylistic aspects like syllabic measure, rhyme, vocabulary choice, metaphors, similes, personification and symbolism.(refer to chapters 3,4 and 5).

The determinants of linguistic format like medium of transmission , mode, dialect used and words used in specific registers were also studied. Finally we focused on aspects of paralinguistic features like dance, histrionics of performance, music, clothes and instruments (see chapter 6). The approach we used was mainly qualitative. The method was meant to demonstrate the features available to Swahili wedding songs and how the singers used them for meaningful communication.

In our study we analysed disparate aspects of determinants of linguistic format, stylistic and paralinguistic features. We often used the same data. For this reason we concentrated on some parts of our data more than once from different vantage positions. A song may

be discussed for stylistic analysis at the level of phonology and yet found crucial in yielding some vital insights of stylistic analysis at the level of semantics. Refer to '**mpira wangu**' song (pg 242). This helps in showing that a song can be used to demonstrate all these stylistic features and hence this approach is important for exemplification.

In the body of the thesis we have sometimes offered notes for clarity of expression. Our translation is aimed at giving a non-Swahili reader the exact meaning of the song.

The thesis has included an analysis of the dialects of the songs. We identified literary features specific to the Swahili through Leech's 1969 framework. That is isolating any phonological patterns and demonstrating them in the songs, isolating any stylistic, lexical and syntactic patterns and demonstrating them in the data. We also isolated figurative use of language.

We analysed the paralinguistic features and their meaning among the Swahili women of Mombasa. The Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs exhibit the use of facial expressions and body movements, all serving diverse functions. Gyration of the hips emphasises the moments during intercourse.

Unfortunately we did not have time to analyse the music and rhythm of drums and other instruments and this is subject for another study as songs are only part of the local performance.

It is interesting to note that it is only in two songs where the singers code mixed with another language. This served to stress the overall meaning of the songs. Code mixing with English seemed to be more appropriate when talking about matters of love.

Metaphors cut across all the songs from different dialect areas. However it is in the songs from Lamu archipelago that metaphors are used extensively. The metaphors as we shall

see later serve a number of functions. Chief among the functions being to talk about taboo.

The songs from different dialect areas display individual characteristic style. The songs from Zanzibar and Lamu archipelago seem to follow the rules of prosody, unlike the ones from Mombasa which do not exhibit the prosodic features. Many of these features are discussed in greater detail in the analytic chapters.

FOOT NOTES

1. **Mwaka** - is the ceremony of making sacrifices for the town. This is done once in a year where cows are slaughtered and the meat is eaten as sacrifice.
2. See Waimbaji wa Juzi (1966)
3. For the explanation of this word see chapter 2
4. Ibid
5. Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Ibid
9. **Taarab** is Swahili popular music that combines the singing of poetry with instrumental accompaniment

CHAPTER TWO

A SWAHILI WEDDING

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Wedding is the total activity of marriage. It involves several ceremonies each of which may have its own song and dance and other rituals. In this chapter we discuss the Swahili wedding customs of Mombasa. These customs are similar in certain aspects with those of the other Swahili areas. We will see that some ceremonies might have started in Mombasa or they might have been brought there from other areas but have now become part and parcel of Mombasa people's wedding ceremonies. We included the important ceremonies common to most Swahili weddings, but obviously there may be variations.

We also discuss the wedding ceremonies in relation to changes that take place in time. We showed how some ceremonies have disappeared and how new ones have evolved. Particular kinds of wedding dances have been in vogue at different periods over the last nine decades. The stages run roughly from the late 19th century to World War 1 or 1920, from 1920's to the early fifties and from early fifties to the early eighties and from early eighties to the present (see Strobel M. (1977:9).

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF LOVE AND MARRIAGE

The concept of love among the Swahili is typically Islamic and is different from the Western concept. Love is associated with pain, sickness and tears among the Swahili, Muslims and Arabs in general. The Western concept of love on the other hand is romantic. The person who is in love among the Swahili is in pain, sick, cries a lot and is thin. Many times love is not fulfilled. The person who can cure him/her is the loved one. Only a beloved is in a position to remove the pain and therefore the allusion to doctor

(refer to "**dokta TX**" song pg 228). Often love is associated with "**ndege**" or bird and it can fly away (refer to "**Uchekechee nkono**" song pg 260).

Strict Islamic view regards love between a male and a female as only acceptable within marriage. A relationship outside marriage is not generally speaking accepted by the society. Hence loving someone and not being able to relate causes great pain. The Swahili and Islamic concept of love outside marriage is illicit and not acceptable in society. First the love is secretive, there is a lot of sadness and disapproval. Muyaka's poem "**laiti siwele nyuni**" (see Abdulaziz 1979: 328) talks about the sadness he feels and his longing to see his beloved.

LAITI SIWELE NYUNI

verse i) **Laiti siwele nyuni haruka haja uliko**
 Tukangia faraghani hapungua sikitiko
 Hakupa yangu lisani nawe ukanipa yako
 Natamani kuja kwako lakini sina idhini.

verse ii) **Dalili ya kutamani nawe waifahamia**
 Uningizile moyoni siwezi kuvumilia
 Ndipo hafanya huzuni shughuli ikaningia
 Kwako natamani kuya lakini sina idhini.

LONGING TO SEE HIS BELOVED

I wish I were a little bird who could fly to where
you are

And we'd be by ourselves so that we could chase
away this sadness

So that we could communicate our inner most
feelings, I to you;
I long to come to you but approval is not yet given!
The signs of longing are very clear to you
You occupy my mind so much, I can no longer bear it
That's why I am so unhappy and disturbed
I long to come to you but approval is not yet given.

The approval Muyaka is talking about is that they are not yet legally married. The same feelings are expressed in other poems of Muyaka like "kuonana na wewe" meeting with you; "papo waiyona ndia" you can find away; "ndia haimelei mani"; its you I come for (Abdulaziz 1979: 238, 268, 318).

We tend to agree with Abdulaziz that in the closed Muslim society of Muyaka's time women were strictly confined and close meeting between lovers must have been difficult to achieve.

Another example to show that love is not associated with happiness comes from the Hitchen's papers (see Harris 1962:270).

**Sikubali mpenda kawanda, sinwi sili kwa hamu ya nyonda
Na akili siwi nayo kwanda, mambo haya ndiyo nimetunda**

That a lover grows fat, I can't agree
I drink not, I eat not, pining for thee
As for sense, I'd none, e'en at first, you see
So these are the things love has gained for me!

The concept of free or unsupervised dating in the Western sense is also not acceptable among the Swahili. But with Western cultural traits, young people may nowadays have

the opportunity to meet and fall in love but typically and as depicted in the songs, dating and meeting is secretive, (refer to 'mpira wangu' song, pg 242). The following song also depicts the secret meetings.

**Kila siku kitotoroni
Leo ataipata.**

Everyday you meet in the alleys
But today it is in public.

Thus "harusi" or weddings in Swahili are associated with sexual orientation and this is seen in many of the songs. In the "naolewa" song (pg. 250) the bride is depicted as worried because of the impending sex, she being a virgin.

**Naolewa hee naolewa hee
moyo wangu una wasiwasi
maana kazi sijaizoea.**

I am getting married, i am getting married
my heart is restless
because I am not experienced in sex.

Utendi wa "Mwana Kupona", which is one of the best known Swahili poems also tends to agree with the fact that weddings among the Swahili are associated with sexual orientation. Wifely virtues is one of the themes of this poem and about a third of the poem concentrates on it. Though some of the verses of the poem are not sexually explicit, as Biersteker. A. (1991: 59) points out and we tend to agree with her they are temporally situated at themes of waking and sleeping. Thus it is reasonable to assume the physical setting is the bed and or bedroom.

Verse 31	Kilala siikukuse	if he sleeps do not sit quietly
	Mwegeme umpapase	be next to him and fondle him
	na upepo asikose	with a breeze he should not miss
	mtu wa kumpepea.	someone to fan him.
32	Kivikia simwondoe	if he gets sleepy do not wake him up
	Wala sinene kwa yowe	or speak loudly
	Keti papo siinue	stay where you are
	Chamka kakuzengea.	so that when he wakes up he does not look for you.
33	Chamka siimuhuli	when he rises you shouldn't rest
	Mwandikie maakuli	provide him with sustenance
	Nakumtunda muili	and care for his body
	Kumsinga na kumwoa.	by massaging and giving him a bath.

The care specifically recommended is massaging and bathing; thus it is not unreasonable to assume that these verses may indicate other activities such as satisfying him in bed. Indulgence towards the husband seems to be recommended in these verses.

2.2 Meaning of "Harusi"

The word "**harusi**" in Swahili has two meanings. The first meaning is that of a wedding and the second meaning is that of the ceremony of circumcision of male children.

2.2.1 Circumcision "Harusi"

The ceremony of circumcision was looked upon as a mini-wedding in the 20th century. After a boy is circumcised, there is feasting for seven days and guests come everyday in the evenings to play cards, to sing and dance. This ceremony could have acquired the name "**harusi**" from the assumption that if a boy was circumcised he is initiated as a

young male child and cleansed. This ceremony is nearly extinct as nowadays circumcision is normally done at the hospital, or at home by traditional circumcissors when the boy is just a few days old, unlike before when the parents waited until the boy was between twelve and fifteen years of age. The reasons for the disappearance of this ceremony are economic and also that people have become busier and look upon it as time consuming and expensive. This ceremony can still be seen among the Bajuni community who are part of the wider Swahili community.

2.2.2 CEREMONIES AND FUNCTIONS IN A SWAHILI WEDDING

The second meaning of the word "**harusi**" is a wedding proper, and in the following sections we will discuss the various aspects of Swahili wedding.

2.2.3 MARRIAGEABLE AGE AND DURATION OF A WEDDING

The Swahili, as Muslims, look upon marriage as a great event in the life of a person. It is one of the three important dates in the life of a person, the others being, the day when one is born and the day one dies. Marriage is basic to family formation in Islam.

There is no fixed age of marriage in Islam. There are just general references in the Quran regarding the age of marriage and the age of sound judgement, without specifying a fixed age. The holy Quran Surat An-Nisaa says,

"And make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage, and if then you perceive in them a sound judgement, then hand over their property to them, but consume it not wastefully nor in haste against their growing up" (chapter 4:6 translated by A. Y. Ali).

Imam Abu Hanifa one of the four orthodox Sunni sect Imams is reported to have mentioned an age of 18 for boys and 17 for girls. (see Omran A. 1992:19). As Strobel M. (1975:9) notes,

"By Western standards, Islam recommends an early marriage"

Girls and boys may be married as soon as they reach puberty among the Swahili that is around fourteen to seventeen years. But nowadays because of formal education and financial reasons, young people get married at an older age though there are those who are married early if they drop out of schools, or if they are removed from school to get them married.

A number of factors, mostly economic, influence the duration of the ceremonies and the amount of money spent on them. The normal duration of a wedding is three days, but it could be spaced to a week or even a month. But nowadays, due to financial constraints, some are opting out for a wedding that lasts for one day only. Strobel M. (1975: 9) notes, and we tend to agree with her that,

"Wealthy people's weddings formally extended over 4 to 5 months, giving them time between true feasts and dances to accumulate necessary funds. Now the celebrations are compressed into a week, and some dance ceremonies have been dropped. Economic hardship largely accounts for the contraction although in some cases people have chosen to direct their money into consumer goods or education".

However, no matter what its duration, or degree of pomp, each wedding represents a great social event among the Swahili.

2.2.4 CHOICE OF SPOUSE

Arranged marriages used to play a great role among the Swahilis. These still occur but due to exposure to Western ways and education, and due to men and women mingling comparatively more freely, personal choices are also tolerated. But parents still prefer to have a say in the choice of a bride or a groom for their son or daughter.

In the traditional Swahili society, once a young man reaches the age when he can get married, the parents suggest that he should marry. The mother would then start to look for a wife for him. This search is conducted by the mother, aunts or elder sisters who are already married. Girls are not supposed to be seen by outsiders and have to hide. So even when these bride seekers come to the houses of eligible girls, it becomes hard for them to see the young women. They might have to ask for help from their friends who might be relatives or friends of the family of the girl to get information about the girl. After selecting several girls they then assess their social status and personal attributes.

With time this practise of seeking for a bride changed as some of the young men or women wanted to see what they were getting themselves into. Photographs were used, or an aunt or sister will invite a number of girls including the eligible brides, then the young man would come and would be shown the girls, though the girls themselves would not know what was going on. After seeing the girls, then he would choose his spouse. As we mentioned earlier these arranged marriages are diminishing as young people associate at school and so get to know each other. But for those who do not know the girls whom their parents want them to marry, these strategies are still used.

Normally, marriages are endogamous within the "ukoo" or clan. Often parents look for a fairly close relative or member of the clan for their daughter or son to marry. Marriages between cousins are allowed and used to be quite common practise. If a young man has a girl of his own in mind, the parents would want to know about her family. This is important as "a good seed brings forth good trees". The Swahili were and some still are

particular about the "kufu" This means the social status or standing of the potential bride or groom. A woman is not supposed to marry a man who is socially inferior, but a man can marry a socially inferior woman. The first important criterion normally is that he or she is a practising Muslim. So long as this criterion is fulfilled they might then give in even if the criterion of "kufu" is not fulfilled, though half-heartedly. The question of social equality in marriage "seems to have originated from the Arabs but is not an Islamic tradition. (Hamudal Abd al Ali 1977:84-97).

There have been rare cases when Swahili girls have been married to non-Muslims. Many parents would go to the extent of disowning their daughters if they marry a non-Muslim. This is because Islam forbids marriages between Muslim women and non-Muslim men, though it allows Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women from among the People of the Book, namely Jews and Christians. Even when this is the case, many parents do not approve of their sons marrying non-Muslim women from among People of the Book, though it could be tolerated. But in such cases, the weddings are normally "very quiet" and they lack the elaborate, pompous festivities. There have also been cases of non-Muslim men converting to Islam to get married to Muslim women. Some of these men become genuine Muslims but some only convert for the sake of getting married. Thus they become Muslim by name only. Also non-muslim women convert to Islam in order to marry Muslim men.

The wealth and social prestige of a suitor is also taken into consideration. Thus it is not unusual to find older men, who can offer more dowry contracting marriages with young girls. A famous Swahili singer Malika, sang in her song "nimepata babu"(pg. 256), I have found a grandfather said.

T^hakula nishibe t^hakula nishibe

Kinioza shebe takula nishibe

I will be taken care of properly . I will be taken care of properly

If I am married to an older man. I will be taken care of properly

The wealth and social prestige criteria are very important as there was a period when women just wanted husbands living and working in Dubai and Saudi Arabia as they were considered rich. Many young men in Mombasa in the late 70's and 80's who were not well educated or without skills to get them good employment in Kenya often went to the Gulf countries; where salaries were relatively much higher and they could easily save substantial amounts from their salaried income. These young men were considered better suitors than the majority who stayed at home, even though many of these who went to the Gulf region were mere drivers, salesmen, clerks and house boys. Even "lesos"¹, pieces of cloth worn by Swahili women were printed with names like "mume ni wa Dubai", a suitable husband is one from Dubai. Some wedding songs also commented on this trend.

In the Lamu version of "hatuonani kwa nini" (pg. 232) the singer says:

Wamekuya wa Mombasa na watokao Dubai
Safari zao za ndege mashua hayawelei
mabarobaro hulia wake wamepanda bei

They have come from Mombasa and Dubai
They are used to travel in planes and are not used to dhows
Local young men are complaining it has become expensive to marry

The bride to be and groom and their family's integrity and character are also investigated. Investigation is made to find out whether the girl is "loose" i.e. she moves around, or the young man is a womanizer, drinks and whether he practices Islam and has proper education.

The following poem "Sifa ya ndoa" in praise of marriage by Muhammad Kijumwa of Lamu (who died in 1930's) extolls the virtues of marriage. It also compares the good wife to the provident coconut palm and the bad wife to the dum palm.

Pani kiti nikac kitako niwauze neno wandaniwa
Niwauze sababu na kisa nini wake kuiza kuoa
mke hawi ila kwa mumewe wanginewe nini kutukiwa
Mwanamke ni mwenye mumewe haibudi na kusitahiwa
Wako mume mshiketo sana wake nduze watatenda ngoa
Wake nduze hupanda minazi na mkoma tunda wachanguwa
Twakuona wapanda mtapa na mvule mnga na mtuwa
Mtu ndia hwenda na rafiki mwenda pweke haina sitawa
Akinenda katika umuri mara mtu huchomwa na mwiwa
Au jito kungia mtanga kahitaji mwenye kukutowa
Ni waadhi na waonya mpwasi na mkata sanda kongolewa
Heri shuka isiyo kitushi kama shali njema ya mauwa

Give me the minstrel seat that I may sit and ask you a word, my friends
Let me ask for what reason or rhyme women refuse to marry, women can
not exist except by man what is there in that to vex some of them so?
A real woman is she who has a husband and she cannot but prosper.
Cleave unto your man and his kinsmen would become jealous
His kinsmen have planted coconut-palms but the fruit they reap is dum -
palm nuts!

We think you plant the borassus palm, the teak, the 'mnga' and the
solanum tree.

When a man goes on his road he goes with a friend for he who walks alone
has no good fortune.

As man goes through life soon he is pierced by the thorn (misfortune) or
the sand - mote enters his eye and he needs a friend to remove it.

Likewise I give you advise, the rich man and the poor man join hands
across the shroud

Better a loin-cloth without disgrace than the fine flowered shawl of shame.

(Harris 1962:184-185)

If the family of the young man is happy with the choice of their son and after investigating on the bride's character and that of her family, they will send someone to ask if there was anyone who had proposed, and if not, whether it is possible for them to go officially to propose, "**kuposa**". Normally the girl's family will ask for time to give a reply. The time required by them to respond is used to conduct their investigations, if the families are not related. They would assess the social criteria mentioned above. They even go to the extent of travelling to other towns to find out, for example, if he has family origins from other parts of Swahililand, they will travel all the way to check on the family background there.

After looking at all these factors, the girl's parents may give their answer. If they are happy with their findings they can inform them to formalise the proposal procedures. But if they are not happy, they may give a lame excuse that there is someone who has already proposed, even though there might be no-one. They may also give excuses that the girl is young or that she wants to pursue her studies, in order to discourage them from waiting for that particular girl.

A thing to note is that, many of these criteria are disappearing fast due to the freedom enjoyed by girls and boys, but there are some families who still insist on strict procedures for accepting a suitor.

2.2.5 ENGAGEMENT AND DOWRY

The choice of a fiancée (**mposi**) having being made, the father of the young man must go officially to make the proposal (**posa**) or send word of it (**kupeleka maneno**) to the parents of the girl. Normally, the young man's father is accompanied by other elders of the family. If the young man's father is dead, his paternal or maternal uncle plays the role. They would have informed the girl's parents in advance that they would be going on a particular day. The bride's father would also be waiting with his close relatives. They

formally state the purpose of their visit and after it has been accepted, they would also ask about the dowry. The meeting will end with some eating and recitations of the Quran to pray for God's blessings.

According to Muslim law, dowry or "**mahari**" (bride wealth) must be paid to fulfil a valid marriage contract. "**Mahari**" comes from the Arabic word "mahr" which means a present, and is the legal dowry paid by the bridegroom to the girl.

The girl's parents may give their answer there and then or might say they will give their answer later in order to consult with their relatives. Some parents normally ask for the Islamic shariah dowry which is equivalent to Kenya shs. 50, but some ask for 400 or 750 Kenya shillings. Normally the young man would not pay that small amount only, but a lot more. The rest being "**zawadi**" or gift. Other parents will accept anything they are given. With time, this changed due to economic hardships and the realities of life, parents started demanding more and more dowry as life was becoming more expensive. The life styles were also different as couples needed things like dining tables, fridges, sofa sets, things which were not required before. The trend nowadays is to ask for furniture and some amount of cash.

The dowry among the Swahilis and Islamic tradition goes to a different use not like in the case of other Bantu people. To many Bantu groups like Kikuyus, Kambas and others the dowry is solely the property of the father, and the groom has to provide everything for the house. Among the Swahili whatever is given as dowry, the young girl's parents add a lot more to it to prepare for the wedding. They have to pay for the wedding feast and the musicians who will entertain the invited guests. The girl's family is also responsible for buying her clothes, jewellery, furniture and cooking utensils. The gold ornaments are very expensive and sometimes they are bought from the Gulf countries or Saudi Arabia, as they are cheaper there and of greater variety and better design patterns.

These expenses are met by the gift, '**mahari**' given before the wedding. If the family asked for furniture then the bride's family would not provide it but the young man would. The expenses are also met by the money and other gifts given to the bride's parents by family members and friends. Other parents go to the extent of borrowing money to meet the wedding costs, as in many cases they are not wealthy, but still would like to give their daughters what other wealthier brides get during their weddings.

2.3 WEDDING OCCASIONS

Weddings are big occasions among the Swahilis of Mombasa. The wedding ceremony itself consists of different rituals. Each ritual has its own cultural and social significance and the songs sung on each occasion are different and according to the cultural connotation of the ritual.

As we have mentioned earlier the wedding ceremonies of today are significantly different from those of the previous centuries. Many dances and functions have disappeared and new ones have taken their place.

Apart from the preparations and offerings, in the olden days a wedding only comprised of occasions like "**kueka goma**"² "**kutia chooni - kikubwa na kidogo**"³ Lit. to take to the bathroom, **ushinzi**⁴, **kuosha moo**⁵ and the **fungate** or honeymoon. Nowadays most wedding consist of **kueka goma**, **nikah**⁶, **ushinzi** and **kupamba**⁷.

2.3.1 OFFERINGS

Immediately after being accepted by the bride's family, the bridegroom (or his family) used to slaughter cows and buy **leso/khanga** to give out as "good will" gifts to the relatives and Wamiji (The female leaders of the Twelve Tribes of Mombasa). Then he has to '**kupima mtele**', a ceremony to measure rice and give it out to relatives and members of the Twelve Tribes. The aim of "**kupima mtele**" is first an offering and second it is a

tradition of the Twelve Tribes (**ada ya Wamiji**) to symbolise togetherness. They believed that to give one another gifts would increase their "**imani**" or faith in each other. The offering gives them hope and encourages them to unite and celebrate together. This tradition is related to Islam as it teaches Muslims to give one another gifts and through which Muslims will love one another. These ceremonies are not there any more due to economic hardships.

Before the bride's and groom's close relatives go out to invite friends and distant relatives, there are certain rituals which have to be performed. The ceremony of "**tangalizi**" first takes place. The name of the ceremony comes from the verb '**kutanguliza**' meaning "to start with" whereby one takes seven different types of grains including maize, millet and different types of beans and cooks them together. The bride's mother at her home and the groom's mother at hers, each invites close relatives who come and recite some chapters from the Quran and then consume the food. Some of the food is also distributed to neighbours or taken to the Quranic schools or mosques as a form of alms. The aim of offering alms or the significance of tangalizi is to ward off evil during the wedding ceremony.

Economic hardships have limited many of these offerings. Nowadays only the ceremony of "**tangalizi**" has persisted but very few families give out "**leso**" or carry out the ceremony of "**kupima mtele**".

2.3.2 **KUPELEKA MAHARI / BEGI, DELIVERING THE DOWRY.**

The dowry in the last century used to be given to the girl's parents by a couple of men unlike nowadays where it is sent by women with a lot of pomp. The ceremony has changed. It used to be a small quiet ceremony and with no celebrations. Nowadays, it is a very big occasion. Normally it is not only the dowry which is ceremoniously taken to the bride's home, but also a trousseau whose value depends on the wealth of the groom to be.

The ceremony of delivering the trousseau, according to Coppens F. (1980:15) is an Arab custom which is considered by the Swahili as a generous gesture, but not compulsory. This is true as not all bridegrooms send the trousseau, but many strive to do so. The function of the trousseau is a way of showing off the wealthy status of the bridegroom, and to make people feel envious of the bride.

The bridegroom's family and friends gather at the groom's house during the function of sending the trousseau. They sing and dance. They later have tea and are shown the items which comprise the trousseau. Later, to the accompaniment of singing, the items are carried in a large suitcase on top of the head by the person who will "nadi", or show the items off at the bride's house. At the bride's house, the family, relatives and friends gather and there is singing and dancing. When they hear the groom's relatives procession approach, a few of the bride's relatives go out with a white bedsheet or "ukingo" to welcome the groom's group. The groom's close relatives get under the bedsheet, which is held above their heads and the suitcase. This is a sort of a welcome ceremony. The two groups do not enter the bride's house or the area where the rest are sitting until they compete in their singing and dancing.

Again the guests are served with delicacies which the bride's relatives had prepared the whole morning. Then the "kunadi" or announcing by showing off of the gifts begins. Every single item in the bag is displayed and the announcer says what it is for, where it is worn and where it was bought. Depending on the economic status of the man, the trousseau, if it has ten pieces of clothing items, will also have ten pairs of 'leso', ten bras, ten slips, ten panties, ten pairs of shoes, ten bottles of perfume, a set of towels, ten hair pins, a set of rollers, a hair dryer, a watch, necklace, hair oil, combs, slippers, toilet bag and many other items. For other grooms it could be twelve, seven, five or any other number of items, depending on his wealth.

Amid jokes, the announcer will pretend that she does not know the use of bras or say that during their times there were no such items. She will then show them off. She will also say that she will fall if she wore the high heels as in their times there were none. The announcer will give one item at a time to either the bride's mother, aunt or sister telling her what the bride will do with the items in relation to the groom. The significance being that the bride will use them to please the husband. In the end, the announcer is given her dues, a pair of 'leso' and there is a lot of "**kufuta vumbi**". This literally means to wipe off the dust. This is where the announcer and the bride's and groom's relatives are given cash by their friends and relatives to help them with the wedding.

2.3.3 PREPARATIONS

Each relative of the girl when informed of "**kupata bahati**", that is the good fortune that their girl is blessed with by being proposed for marriage, offer to help. They offer to make food covers (**makawa**) and (**mikeya**) mats. Traditionally they used to prepare two mats, and two prayer mats (**miswala**) One of the mats was kept under the mattress. These were not ordinary mats, they had specific colours and patterns. The relatives also offer to make wall hangings (**vihangasho**), fans (**vipepeo**) and pots (**vyungu**) . This collection of things for furnishing the house does not normally start until both sides have come to an agreement for the wedding. This tradition has changed as all these items are readily available in shops and are therefore just bought. Also these items have become old fashioned as people do not use mats or hand fans anymore. Pots are also no longer used, instead aluminium sufurias and pans are used nowadays.

As the wedding preparations are going on, many other ceremonies happen. A curtain is fastened for the bride or "**kufungiwa pazia**". This is when the bride is not supposed to be seen by anyone. This period of isolation is used to beautify her. For at least fourteen days, she is massaged with ointments like sandal wood, and perfumes like rose water.

This is also the time she is taught her wifely duties. There is also some singing going on meant to entertain her. The bride is taught how to behave and what to do to please the husband. Mwana Kuponu's poem comes in handy and sometimes is recited to teach the bride her responsibilities. She is advised to be clean always and to make herself beautiful for her husband in order for the marriage to be a happy one and to last.

Verse 38	Na kowa na kusinga Na nyee zako kufunga Na asimini kutunga Na firashani kutiya.	As to bathing and perfuming yourself And plaiting your hair And stringing jasmine blossoms And strewing them upon the coverlet.
39	Nawe ipambe libasi Ukae kama harusi Maguu tiya kugesi Na mikononi makowa.	Do adorn yourself with finery That you remain like a bride Put anklets upon your ankles and bracelets upon your arms.
40	Na kidani na kifungo Sitowe katika shingo Muwili siwate mwango Ya marashi na daliya.	And necklace and clasp Remove them not from your neck to your body deny not the fragrance off rose water and dalia powder.
41	Pete sitowe zandani Hina sikome nyaani Wanda⁸ siwate matoni Na nshini kuitiya.	Remove not the rings from your fingers Nor lack henna on your finger nails Cease not to put 'kohl' below your eyes And upon your eye brows.

This tradition has disappeared, though isolation of the bride is still practised but for a very short duration of a week or less. The massaging is not only done to the bride but also to the groom.

When the wedding approaches, the "hina"⁹ or red dye is applied to the bride's feet and palms. This is repeated two or three times to make sure it becomes rich with a dark shade.

The body hairs are also removed by waxing. The eyebrows are shaped. The bridegroom's hair will be cut and the beard will be trimmed.

Other chores, will be the sorting of rice, peeling the garlic, grinding the spices etc in readiness for the luncheon to follow.

2.3.4 KUTOKA KUALIKA, THE CEREMONY OF GOING OUT

It is the bridegroom's family which gives the date of the wedding. Traditionally some families went to a diviner, who would tell them the best day and time in the week for the wedding. Also traditionally, there were no weddings in the first month of the Islamic calendar or called Muharram. The 'nikah' or wedding vows may be made during Muharram but the marriage is never consummated in that month. Weddings are also held in the month preceding Ramadhan, the month when Muslims observe the fast. Many people joke that young men want wives to cook for them during Ramadhan. But nowadays weddings are mainly held during school holidays as this would not inconvenience many who want to attend from other towns as they would then easily travel with their children. In Mombasa there are weddings all year around except during Ramadhan.

When the date of the wedding is fixed, the families on both sides will invite their close relatives to come to their homes. When they arrive, the relatives sing and dance and they are given tea and snacks. A song like the following is sung:-

Howa nilikuja mimi kwa guu langu

Ili kuarifu nyote nduzangu

Asiyenijua kwa hili langu

Na akiwa na lake na asitamani.

I came on my own two feet
To inform you all my friends
One who does not help me with the wedding
When she has her wedding should not expect help from me

The close relatives are then told the aim of the gathering and what occasions of the impending wedding would take place and on which dates. Then when the time comes for them to go out, they recite some chapters from the Quran to seek blessings from Allah. Before they step out some coconuts have to be broken and rice strewn on the people. The mother is taken by the relatives to the different houses around the town where she wants to invite the occupants. The following week or two the relatives will be going around town everyday to invite the guests. The nature of relation will determine which functions one will be invited to. Some functions eg. "ushinzi wa ndugu" or luncheon are just limited to close relatives. The amount of funds also determine the number of guests to be invited. Nowadays cards are also used to invite guests.

2.3.5 KUEKA GOMA / PLACING THE GREAT DRUM

This is the ceremony of placing the great drum at the entrance of the bride's house. In the olden days the "Goma" was kept three months in advance of the wedding. 'Goma' is a big ritual drum kept for wedding ceremonies. Women came everyday to help with the preparations of the wedding like "kupura pamba" or to separate the cotton, "kutia mito sufi" or stuffing pillows with kapok for the bridal bed. All these functions were occasions to celebrate. Functions like separating the cotton or stuffing pillows with kapok have disappeared even among family members except for those who like to celebrate or who want to prolong the wedding. In such cases they may invite people and say they have "kutia mito sufi". In this occasion women come and sing and help with the work of stuffing the pillows with kapok. In a way it is just an excuse to celebrate.

The changes could be due to the fact that people no longer use cotton mattresses or kapok pillows, instead they use foam mattresses which are easily bought in shops. Another reason could be that many women nowadays work so they have no time to come and help or that due to economic restraints many people are opting for fewer occasions to celebrate.

"**Kueka goma**" or the ceremony of placing the big drum was and still is an important ceremony among the Swahili Twelve Tribes of Mombasa. The **goma** used to be kept by "**Wamiji**" (the female elders of the Twelve Tribes) but nowadays it is also kept by "**makungwi**¹⁰" if the bride was taken to a "**kungwi**" or if the mother has "**makungwi**" friends. 'Makungwi' are women who take care of a close friend's daughters in matters of sexual instruction from the time the girls reach puberty. These women are known also as "**somo**". The "**goma**" is also kept by the Takaungu singers¹¹ nowadays. A song like the following can be sung.

Kitendawili tega
usambe twaona uwoga
kushindana nayo mizoga
shamba limengia mbega.

It is a riddle to solve
Don't say we are scared
to face dead bits
monkeys have invaded the farm.

Kueka goma ceremony has several significances. First it is a way of letting people know that there is a wedding at a certain house as each person coming to that house is supposed to beat the great drum and if one does not do this, it is looked upon as if she is not happy with the wedding or that she is envious. The great drum is also kept so that once the girl is found to be a virgin the great drum is sounded to inform the people of the good news. It is believed that people can predict by the first beating of the drum that the girl is a virgin

The placing of the great drum also has its rituals. It starts with the recitations of Koran and incense burning, then the great drum is carried by the women as they dance. It is then kept at the entrance of the bride's house tied to a pole. There is an order to follow as to who is to beat the drum first. There are also special songs for placing the great drum. Nowadays, it is mostly the elderly women who sound the great drum when it is placed. As we mentioned earlier the 'goma' or great drum, is also kept by the Takaungu singers. The old songs of keeping the great drum are disappearing or have disappeared completely. The ritual of the great drum has also lost its original function. The great drum is just kept for the sake of being kept but it has lost its earlier meaning, except when it is kept by 'makungwi'. That is if the girl who is getting married had a 'kungwi' to instruct her when she reached puberty. So on her wedding day the "makungwi" will come to place the great drum.

Most girls nowadays are given sex instruction by their mothers or elder sisters. Due to formal learning there is no time to send them to be taught matters of sex formally by a 'kungwi'. It is only when the girls are taught by a 'kungwi' or if the mother or aunt has 'makungwi' friends then they might volunteer to come and place the great drum. In this case the 'makungwi' all come dressed in 'leso' and the songs sung by 'makungwi' have much deeper meaning than the ordinary songs of Takaungu singers.

2.3.6 KESHA/CHAKACHA "CHAKACHA" DANCE

Kesha/chakacha is a function mainly for the unmarried girls. The friends of the bride and her relatives are invited either for a "kesha" or "chakacha" or both. 'Kesha' is a sort of wake where the girls stay up the whole night dancing. Singers would be hired who will come to sing and the girls would dance "chakacha"¹². Unmarried girls might also be invited for 'chakacha'. 'Chakacha' is when the girls come in the evening and they dance chakacha. 'Chakacha' is also the name of a type of dance whereby the girls dance to music by gyrating their waists. This is also known as "kiuno" dancing with movements

of the waist. The ceremony could be either the whole night or for an evening. **Kesha/Chakacha** is specifically for teenagers but the bride's married relatives and the groom's married relatives might also be invited to the function. Food is served during this occasion.

Many years ago, teenage girls were never supposed to be seen or heard among the Swahili of Mombasa but this trend later changed and it was possible for them to attend the **Kesha/Chakacha** function when specifically held for them. Nowadays, functions for unmarried girls are also disappearing, as the Mombasa society has become more liberal. Married and unmarried women mingle freely and unmarried women now attend the functions for the married women, like "**kupamba**" and '**kupokea bwana harusi**'¹³.

There are no specific songs for the teenage girls as the singers are the same ones who sing at the married women's functions. The older generation does not approve of this free mingling of married and unmarried women. They say that the unmarried women of today are shameless that is why they dance in front of people in the "**kupamba**" ceremony and that's why they attend these functions without inhibitions.

2.3.7 **NIKAH YA SIRI / SECRET WEDDING CEREMONY**

Official exchange of marriage vows may be conducted through "**nikaha ya siri**" or a secret '**nikah**'. This is when the **nikaha** ceremony or marriage vows are read in front of very few people at the bride's house before the set day for the open '**nikah**' ceremony. Sometimes it is said that the bridegroom becomes unduly worried or scared if he knows that people are waiting to hear of the deflowering of the virgin resulting in him taking longer than expected. The marriage vows are read as usual but then the marriage can be consummated without the social pressures involved. Another reason for the preference of secret '**nikah**' is that maybe the bridegroom is not living in the country and thus when he comes, he becomes impatient and cannot wait for the actual day when the public ceremony takes place. In view of the fact that he cannot consummate the marriage

without the '**nikah**' ceremony being performed the '**nikah ya siri**' is arranged. In such a case there is no singing as only a few people get to know about it.

2.3.8 USHINZI WA KAZI /USHINZI MDOGO / WORKING LUNCHEON

"Ushinzi wa kazi" or 'ushinzi mdogo' is another function which occurs on the morning of the day the '**nikah**' ceremony takes place. Close relatives and friends of the bride's family come early in the morning to help with the preparing of the '**sinia ya bwana harusi**' lit. plater for the bridegroom. This is a meal fit for a king with all the Swahili delicacies. This meal is prepared for the groom, his friends and relatives. The women cook the whole day with breaks in between of singing, ululating, reciting poems and making jokes.

Some close relatives would also be assigned the job of preparing the bride's room. They will have to clean it thoroughly, put new curtains, spread new sheets and arrange her dressing table with different kinds of perfume. They would also arrange her wardrobe and burn '**udi**' or sandal wood until the smell clings to the walls and clothes. This will be the room where the marriage will be consummated.

2.3.9 NIKAH / KUPIGA KILEMBA /KUPOKEA BWANA HARUSI / NIKAH. TYING THE TURBAN / RECEIVING THE BRIDEGROOM

The '**nikah**' function has three names depending on who is inviting the guests. Males are invited for **nikah** ceremony at the mosque. The groom's mother. invites people for "**kupiga kilemba**" lit. tying the turban. This is the day when the groom will wear traditional clothes with a turban. The bride's mother will invite guests for "**kupokea bwana harusi**" lit. to receive the bridegroom as this is the day the groom would come to the bride's house. Responsibilities for the marriage ceremony are divided by sex. Men normally supervise the religious cum legal proceedings, which formally seal the marriage and register it, while women organised the festivities.

The **'nikah'** ceremony is traditionally held in the mosque, house, social hall or open space. The bridegroom is dressed up by close relatives in the traditional Arab and Swahili clothes worn by the wealthy. He would put on a **'kanzu'**, tie a **"mahazama"** which is a type of material tied around the waist and it holds the dagger or **'jambia'**. The **"kilemba"** or turban is then tied on his head. This is followed by the **'joho'**, a long loose coat or cloak. The bridegroom is finally given the sword and is ready to proceed to the mosque for the **'nikah'**. The significance of the sword and dagger is to show he is virile and strong. This is the formal dress for a high class **Swahili** gentleman. This ceremonial attire is only worn on the wedding day, though in the olden days these were the formal clothes for the affluent and those who held prestigious positions in the ruling class. Very few families nowadays still have these clothes kept. thus for many people they have to borrow this attire for the wedding occasion. The good thing is that for those who have these ceremonial clothes they lend them to their relatives and friends or one could hire the attire for the occasion. For those who do not get access to them they just wear a less elaborate attire.

Swahili people used to escort the bridegroom with **"twari la ndia"** or **"diriiji"** to the mosque. These were types of men's dances. This practise later disappeared as Strobel (1975) notes, "until World War I, men performed their own wedding dances separate from women, custom that has since declined". (p.10).

There was also a period when the bridegroom was escorted by the **'Simba Scot'** or **'gwaride'** as it was known. These steel or piped bands are also in the process of disappearing because of orthodox religious attitudes; they are regarded by certain religious leaders as **"haram"** or forbidden by Islam. This is due to the fact that the women dance freely in front of men to the tunes and rhythm of these bands and Islam considers this sinful. The bridegroom is escorted by either a **'zefe'** an Islamic procession by **madrassa** (Quranic school) children who recite Islamic **'qasida'** (poems) or just by few friends and relatives.

Once the bridegroom has arrived at the mosque, or the place where the '**nikah**' is to take place, the '**kadhi**', an official Islamic jurist or, a '**sheikh**', an Islamic scholar starts the ceremony. Depending on the family, some like to start the ceremony by having to read the '**maulid**', the recitation of the birthday '**qasida**', poems on the biography of Prophet Mohamed. Others prefer reading verses from the Quran. The '**sheikh**' or '**kadhi**' has to obtain consent privately in advance from the bride herself or through the father, or '**walii**' a guardian of the bride, agreeing to get married to the groom concerned. According to Islam, the girl has to be asked for her consent. The '**kadhi**' is required by Islamic '**shariah**' or law to ask her and obtain her consent. But normally the father gives the consent in the mosque and sometimes he hardly asks the girl. In some cases the father does not consult her daughter.

The '**sheikh**' or '**kadhi**' starts the ceremony by first reciting the relevant verses from the Quran related to '**nikah**'. Thereafter, he takes the bridegroom's hand and calls his name in full whereupon the bridegroom responds to the '**kadhi**', and he then proceeds to ask the bridegroom if he agrees to marry the bride who is mentioned, for the agreed dowry. (In some cases the amount of dowry is mentioned in others it is not mentioned, if the parties have privately agreed) The '**kadhi**' then reads a '**dua**' or a prayer / special supplications to signify that the '**nikah**' has been formally administered. Thus a marriage is established legally with the reading of the '**nikah**' by a '**kadhi**' in the presence of the groom, the bride's guardian and the invited guests.

The guests are normally served with 'halwa' (sweet meat) and black coffee and then the guests are free to leave. Friends and relatives of the bridegroom remain behind to take photographs and video recording and thereafter escort the bridegroom from the mosque to his home.

As we had explained earlier, the celebrations on the day of the '**nikah**' take place at three different places, in the mosque, at the bridegroom's house and the bride's house. At the

bridegroom's house the women family members, friends and relatives gather for the ceremony of 'kupiga kilemba" to tie the turban. Normally there would be a group of singers who will be singing and the female relatives will be dancing. Some of the bride's relatives are also expected to attend the function at the bridegroom's house even if they would leave earlier before the bridegroom's procession leaves for the bride's house. The guests would be served with 'halwa' (sweet meat) and meat with black coffee. A thing to note is that the men at the mosque were not given meat as it is assumed women should be fed well as they are the one's who would gossip after the wedding, and they are the one's who will shower their praise to the wedding or talk ill about the wedding. Whatever food given to men, they consider it to be satisfactory. But women are more fastidious about the quality and quantity of the feasts. After the eating, the procession escorting the bridegroom to the bride's home begins with pomp and singing. Most of the songs will be alluding to what will happen later that night. Songs like the following will be sung by the women:

Bwana harusi asemaje

Ataka leo leo.

What is the bridegroom saying

He wants to consummate the marriage today.

Kikuba cha asumini

Hakikuja bure eeh

Mwaliyataka wenyewe.

The jasmine blossoms

Are not for nothing

You, yourselves wanted to get married.

Both the songs allude to the fact that the bridegroom wanted to get married, so he has to consummate it.

Depending on the religious conviction of the groom's relatives, some may be escorted by the "gwaride" (steel bands) or by an Islamic procession. Many people are not hiring the "gwaride" anymore as they say the steel bands are immoral. Women tend to dance freely to these bands without inhibitions in front of men. Nowadays, the groom is escorted by his male friends and relatives and women relatives would be behind the men singing to the accompaniment of the Takaungu singers. This is a group of women singers and drummers from Takaungu town situated 50km north of Mombasa. If the bride's home is far, they would normally board buses or minibuses called 'matatus' hired for that purpose. This tradition of escorting the bridegroom has been there since Muyaka's days in the nineteenth century and can be seen in his poem "Harusi ya Bwana Muyaka" (Abdulaziz (1979 : 278).

Harusi ya Bwana Muyaka

Peani ndia peani kwaja Bwana Muyaka,

Na firasha tandikani kwa kusema na kuteka,

Vigelegele pigani nyoyo zisiwe na shaka.

Muda juwa kupinduka, t'aoneka mandamoni.

Shima wanawake shima mumpeleke Muyaka,

Wambeja katika n'goma mulio kuk'utanika,

Ziondowneni tuhuma nyoyo zipate kunduka,

Muda juwa kupinduka, t'aoneka mandamoni.

Nijao suko nijao nijao bwana Muyaka

Kwa kula kwangu na nguo, cha mtu kutoa taka;

Ni leo siku ni leo mitima kufurahika;

Muda juwa kupinduka, t'aoneka mandamoni.

**Oani mato oani mumtezame Muyaka
Yuenda msikitini kipindi kisijatoka,
Yuaja ngia nyumbani Ijumaa akishuka
Muda juwa kupinduka, t'aoneka mandamoni.**

On his wedding day smooth the way, smooth the way, here comes Bwana
Muyaka!

Spread the bridal bed, gaily chattering;
With cries of joy, with no doubts in your minds
At sunset I will surely appear in the procession.

Come on you women, come on, fan Bwana Muyaka
You beautiful women in the dance, who are collected together.
Forget all your doubts, with happy hearts.
At sunset I will surely appear in the procession.

Here I come, I Bwana Muyaka;
With full provision, expecting nothing from anyone
Today is the day, when hearts are filled with joy
At sunset I will surely appear in the procession.

Open your eyes see there! Behold Muyaka.
On his way to the mosque, before the prayer time runs out
He will indeed enter the home of the bride, after Friday prayers
At sunset I will surely appear in the procession.

(pg. 278-279)

In the bride's house there would be women relatives and friends who had been invited
'kupokea bwanaharusi' lit. to receive the bridegroom. These women would also be
singing and dancing to the music of a group hired to entertain the guests. They would be

served with juice, sodas and snacks before the groom's procession arrives. On reaching the bride's house the groom's female relatives will stop some distance out-side, and would start singing songs which are asking the bride's people to open the doors announcing their arrival. Songs like **'hodi'¹⁴ hodi'** which informs of the groom's arrival are sung.

Mgeni abisha hodi

Huambiwa kongo

Kwa shime na jitihadi

pasi kinyongo.

a visitor is knocking
he is welcomed
with pomp and enthusiasm
without ill feeling.

Hodi eeh hodi

Fungua mlango tupite

Hodi eeh hodi

Fungua mlango tupite.

Knock, knock
open the door, so that we may enter
knock, knock
open the door for us to enter.

The bride's female relatives will come out with an **"ukingo"¹⁵** or white bedsheet to welcome them. The two female camps will compete with each other singing louder and beating the musical instruments more intensely. The singers would be asking for specific people to come out and dance, like the mother of the bride with the mother of the groom. the sister of the bride with the sister of the groom etc.

Mamae mwana ndoo kaole

Kaole mgeni kangia

Mgeni kongo haya eee

Kaole mgeni kangia

Mgeni wetu haya eee

Mgeni kangia.

mother of the bride, come and look

come and see the guest has arrived

Our guest, you are welcome!

come and see the guest has arrived

our guest

the guest has arrived.

Once they have been welcomed, they all enter in the bride's house and sit and some join the circles dancing '**chakacha**', the dance of gyrating at the waist. This used to be a dance for low class females and it was shameful for women to dance this type of dance in public as it was regarded as 'bedroom dance'. But nowadays it is very common in weddings, and the dances which used to be performed up to the early 1950's have almost disappeared, like "**lelemama**"¹⁶. The guests are offered refreshments and the women continue with the singing and dancing.

The bridegroom is welcomed inside the bride's house and is led to the room where the bride would be. The bridegroom might be blocked at the door where the bride's brothers and cousins might bar the groom's way until he pays their dues. They request for '**ada**' which is a small fee or monetary present for giving up their sister. Another explanation for this could be what Topan (1995) explains in the ceremony of minor '**vugo**'.

"... before she can enter the room, an elder steps out and blocks the door with her person all the while singing the appropriate song. She moves aside after being paid some money and allows the bride to enter the room from where the bridegroom sends for her. The act may be interpreted as an affected gesture of resistance or protest against the girl's impending loss of chastity and purity but the protest is diffused by payment that serves as a reminder that the sexual rights of the girl have been legally given to the bridegroom" (p.91)

In one big occasion there might be small ceremonies in it. After the 'nikah' ceremony, when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house and after he pays the dues at the bride's door the door will be opened. Then the ceremony of '**kutoa mkono**' literally 'to give the hand' takes place. In the olden days the ceremony of '**kutoa mkono**' used to be as follows, according to Topan (1995).

"The bride is seated on a bed, surrounded by her friends. They place one hand, palms upwards, on top of another's. The pile of hands is then covered by a cloth. A curtain in front of the bed divides them from the bridegroom who is unable to see them. He is asked to put his hand through the curtain, to feel the hands under the cloth, and to find his bride's hand" (Topan 1995:91).

Over the years this custom has changed. Nowadays, there is no curtain and its only the bride who is covered by a '**leso**' or '**mtandio**', 'a piece of cloth' worn by Swahili women to cover their heads

"In a new variation of the custom, only the bride's hand is covered with a '**leso**' or '**mtandio**' thus making it easy for the bridegroom to find it at once. The older women did not quite approve of the change" (Topan 1995:91).

When the bridegroom enters the bride's room, the bride will be sitting on a bed. The bride would be dressed in green. This is the Islamic colour and there is a belief that wearing green clothes on this day is good omen. It also symbolises her fertility. The groom will sit on a chair opposite her. He will then place his hand over her head and recite verses from the Quran. After the recitation of the short verse, he will put his hand inside the '**leso**' and take the hand of the bride. In doing this, he will have to give the '**kipa mkono**', that is a present for the bride accepting his hand. Depending on how rich the groom or the groom's family is, the present could be some money, or gold necklace, ring or bracelet. He is then allowed to remove the veil and see the bride. He is also given some milkshake which is filled with almonds. It is believed that this mixture will increase his potency for the consummation of the marriage.

Thereafter the bridegroom will return to where the other male guests are. They would then be served with the '**sinia ya bwanaharusi**' or '**kombe la bwanaharusi**' lit. plater for the bridegroom. This is the feast which was cooked in the morning of that day by the bride's relatives. The bride's family normally gives the bridegroom the estimate of people who have been invited to this occasion. Depending on their generosity and financial position, the number could be forty, sixty or even a hundred. The bride would also be taken outside and displayed in front of the female guests or the female guests might be asked to go to the room and see the bride. After the female guests leave, the bridegroom's close female relatives are also given the food in the "**sinia ya bwanaharusi**".

After the bridegroom has finished eating, he is led back to the bride's room. The bride would already be undressed by the woman who would be assigned to be her instructor in matters of consummation of marriage, and the bride would be wearing '**leso**' only. In the olden days this used to be a "kungwi's" job. A "**kungwi**" or "**somo**" is a woman who takes care of a close friend's daughter in matters of sexual instruction from the time the girl reaches puberty. But because of changes, in most cases nowadays girls do not have "kungwis" anymore, so it is either done by the father's sister or mother's sister on the wedding day.

Here we note some changes as nowadays the bride is dressed up in advance before the groom can see her face when he comes to the room for the first time. In the olden days, the groom used to come to hold the hand, '**kutoa mkono**', but would not see the bride's face as she was not yet dressed up. He has to wait for the bride until she goes for another ceremony of '**maji ya khutuba**' or "**choo kidogo**", a ritual bath. In former days, the '**kungwi**' or '**somo**' used to stay just outside the door of the room where consummation takes place and would listen to what was happening in the room and even talk to the newly weds. The '**kungwi**' would warn the girl if she puts up a fight or resists the bridegroom. The '**kungwi**' could also tell the bridegroom what to do.

The '**kungwi**' on her own or accompanied by other women, waits outside the door of the wedding room until the bride groom knocks or opens it after the marriage has been consummated. But this tradition is fast dying out as this makes the bridegroom uncomfortable. The younger generation prefers to take the bride to his home or to a hotel, or special arrangements are made such that a close relative moves out of his/her house to give them accommodation for a day or two, away from the wedding house. In such a case they might just go with one aunt or two for the first night only.

2.3.10 **MAJI YA KHUTUBA / CHOO KIDOGO/ VUGO DOGO / RITUAL BATH**

Topan F. (1995:91) calls the function of '**choo kidogo**' as small '**vugo**'. The '**kutia chooni kidogo**' lit. to escort the bride to the bathroom happens immediately after the '**nikah**' has been read or the marriage vows have been pronounced. In the former days, the bride's mother used to call the '**Wamiji**' (female relatives of the Twelve Tribes) to carry out the ritual. But nowadays the grandmother on the maternal or paternal side, elder sister or aunt on the father's side performs the ritual. The ritual of "**kutia choo kidogo**" requires the bride to take off her clothes and wear a new pair of '**leso**' and be given a bath. Whoever gives her the bath is also given a pair of '**leso**' as her dues. The significance of this tradition is that it symbolises that the bride has moved to another stage in life.

This tradition is fast disappearing as nowadays after the '**nikah**' ceremony, the bride is normally already dressed and made up for the bridegroom. She is ready to be displayed at the '**kupamba**' lit. public display ceremony. If this ceremony takes place on the same day of nikah ceremony. If the '**kupamba**' ceremony takes place on another day the bride would still be displayed in front of the guests for the '**nikah**' ceremony.

According to Topan F. (1995:91) the ceremony of '**kutia choo kidogo**' this used to happen after the bridegroom had come for the ceremony of '**kutoa mkono**'. After '**kutoa mkono**' the bride is taken to the bathroom to be washed and perfumed, as the husband waits for her. This would take place as women sing '**vugo**'¹⁷ songs. Topan (ibid) refers to this ceremony of '**kutia choo kidogo**' as small '**vugo**'. He might have called it small '**vugo**' because the bath after the consummation of the marriage is more significant than this ritual of '**kutia choo kidogo**'.

2.3.11 KUNG'ARA / TO SHOW OFF

After the marriage has been consummated the husband shows his delight at finding his bride a virgin by giving a special present known as '**jazua**'. This could be a gold ornament, or money, depending on his financial standing. The bride is then taken to the bathroom and is washed with hot water by the '**somo**'. This is because she is not accustomed to sex and it is done to alleviate the pain. The bride then takes a bath and the groom also takes a bath. The '**somo**' changes the soiled sheets and the newly weds are left to rest. Female relatives will put money in the tray which contains the sheets to express their satisfaction.

As Abdulaziz (1979:279) notes:

"Muyaka praising himself says nobody should have any doubts about his manliness. It has been the custom among the Swahili for the new groom to

consummate marriage as soon as possible in order to prove his manhood and the girl's virginity. The initial penetration must be firm and quick in order to puncture the hymen so that blood may ooze out and be witnessed by relatives and friends as a sign of the girl's virginity. Muyaka reassures his relatives and friends that he will not fail them".

The soiled sheets are put on a tray and the female relatives go with them to the male's house '**kung'ara**' lit. to shine. This means to show off that their daughter was a virgin. They will go out with all the pomp and drums and sing the whole way to the groom's house even if it is in the middle of the night. At the bridegroom's house, the female relatives of the bride would be received, as that night normally all are anxious and are waiting for the 'news'. The groom's relatives will take the tray from the '**kungwi**' containing the soiled sheets. It will be passed from one member of the family to another, who will keep the tray on the head and dance with it. The women will dance with joy as the sheet is held up for all to see. The tray would be passed from one dancer to another. The groom's relative will put money as present for the girl for her good behaviour and in keeping herself chaste. Specific songs will be sung for showing her good behaviour.

This ceremony of '**kung'ara**' has become a substitute of the '**kutia choo kikubwa**' or what Topan (1995:93) calls 'Great vugo'. Though some families still up to now have the '**kutia choo kikubwa**' they do not go out to show off the sheets. They inform the relatives that '**harusi ashajibu**' literally the 'bride has responded'. The '**goma**' is sounded to inform the people of the good news. As Topan (1995: 90-91) notes from Swartz, far from supporting it, some men came to dislike the practise of beating the great drum to announce the loss of virginity of the bride. The men found this tradition particularly shameful. Some women, too came to consider the ceremony as old fashioned and unnecessary. But there are some families who still adhere to this practise.

2.3.12 USHINZI MKUBWA/LIMA / LUNCHEON

The day after the consummation of the marriage is the 'lima' or 'ushinzi mkubwa' where the bridegroom's family cook lunch for both male and female invited guests. The night before, the bridegroom's relatives stay up the whole night preparing the delicacies for the 'lima'. The women peel potatoes, onions and make juice. The women themselves used to cook before, but nowadays they hire cooks to come and cook 'biriani' a kind of curried rice.

The male guests come and eat, after the noon (dhuhr) prayers and go away. But for the women, there is a group of singers mostly the Takaungu groups (nowadays), who sing while the women dance 'chakacha' as they wait to eat. Normally the men are served first. The women sing and dance well after lunch depending on the mood of the singers. Some songs specifically composed to pray for the two who got married may be sung. These songs may be composed by other people for the mother or mother-in-law. The women who may also be camped into two groups will start singing and compose love poems which the other group will respond to in song form. For those who do not hold the function of 'kupamba' or the public display of the bride, the bride might be brought and be seated where everyone could see her. This is the displaying of the bride. Among the songs sung will be those which will inform the bride on how to behave what is expected of the bridegroom.

2.3.13 KUPAMBA / PUBLIC DISPLAY OF THE BRIDE

Some weddings have the practise of 'kupamba' as a separate function. "Kupamba" is the public display of a bride on the evening after the consummation of her marriage. The bride's family will hire a hall if they can afford it for the public display of the bride and if they cannot, they will do it in an open space. There are many halls in Mombasa and according to their financial standing the bride's family will hire one which suits them. There are a number of halls where wedding functions are held including the Mombasa

Institute Hall, Almeida , Islamic Centre and Memon Villa Hall. Some of these halls have conditions which one has to adhere to. The Islamic centre for example does not allow the free mingling of men and women, thus if one hires this hall one cannot bring in male musicians.

The family might also provide professional entertainment. This means they hire a band of musicians other than the Takaungu singers who are relatively cheaper and who sing 'chakacha' songs. Ability to provide professional entertainment is a symbol of status. One can engage 'taarab' singers like Juma Bhalo, Maulidi, Sitara and Malika These groups combine the Arab-rooted taarab tradition introduced on the coast long ago with popular Hindi film tunes, which are borrowed into Swahili freely. The singer sings love poetry (mashairi) in Swahili. The instruments include an accordion, small drums and tambourines. For those who are very wealthy they can even import taarab singers from Zanzibar.

Only women get invited as guests. They come dressed in their best and are seated on chairs. They sit and talk and gossip and as Strobel (1975:9) notes,

"Separate gatherings offered women a chance for gossip, discussion and entertainment In addition to providing an opportunity for socialising, weddings offered a chance to display the wealth of the newly wed couple's families and that of their guests. The quality of clothing and the amount of gold jewellery worn by women at a wedding marked their wealth. To enhance their prestige, the bride and groom's families were expected to spend lavishly, providing feasts and dances".

The women listen to the songs and occasionally might go up to the singer to show appreciation of the singer's ability by rewarding him with a sum of money, a practise known as 'kumtuza', that is to reward the singer. The song could be pleasing her or it

could be talking about the weaknesses of her rivals. This is because the songs have a hidden meaning. This will be seen in the analysis of the songs.

Most of the professional entertainment provided these days is either hiring the services of Malika Aboud and her group or the Takaungu women. This is due to Islam forbidding the free mingling of men and women. Some men forbid their wives to attend weddings if the singing group is constituted of men. Also, as we have mentioned earlier, certain halls do not allow men inside if it is a function for women only, this hinders men from singing at these functions. Due to the great religious awakening among Muslims these days, women themselves also prefer women singing groups, as they feel freer to do as they please.

A new trend of entertainment is the training of young girls and teenagers to dance to English, Hindi, Arabic, Lingala and Swahili music without bringing in professional groups. Children are trained to dance the different styles, wearing different costumes in line with the origin of the music. The training takes a month or two before the wedding, during which period they practise every evening.

Women guests, after being entertained by either the professional groups or the children's dances, are served with food and drinks. After the refreshment the bride is brought escorted by flower girls. The bride is dressed in Western style with Western make-up and dress. She is dressed in a wedding veil. She is displayed publicly. The groom might also come dressed in a Western suit to match what the bride is wearing.

This idea of displaying the bride was brought to the Mombasa weddings from Lamu. The Lamu brides used to be displayed but they were not made up in Western style but had their own traditional mode of dressing and make-up called '**tazanyayo**' or '**kupambwa kikae**', that is to be dressed up and made up the old way. The bride was beautifully made up in the traditional style with her head fully covered with jasmine. In time, the manner of dressing changed and the white veil was introduced. The colour of the veil need not be white; it can be pink, cream, light blue or peach.

2.3.14 KUONGOA / LITERALLY TO SERENADE / WELCOMING THE BRIDE

After the '**kupamba**' ceremony, the in-laws might want to welcome their daughter- in-law in the family and show her off. Thus they will have the ceremony of '**kuongoa**' lit. to 'serenade' the bride. They will invite female friends and relatives and, just like the '**kupamba**' occasion, the guests are invited and a group hired to entertain. The guests will be fed and there will be some dancing. The bride will be dressed in her best clothes and she will be displayed again. The groom's family might compose songs to pray for the two who got married, or songs asking God to take care of the married couple. In some cases there might be no professional groups hired, but only the family members and friends who will sit and sing love songs.

2.3.15 KUTIA CHOO KIKUBWA /VUGO KUBWA /RITUAL BATH

'**Kutia choo kikubwa**' lit. to 'escort the bride to the big toilet', takes place after the marriage has been consummated. It could be a day or two after the '**nikah**' ceremony. It could take place on the same day with another ceremony known as '**kuosha moo**' or to wash the feet of the bride groom. Topan F. (1995:93) refers to the ceremony of '**kutia choo kikubwa**' as "great **vugo**'.

The different stages of '**choo kidogo**' and '**choo kikubwa**' are almost similar. The bride is taken to the bathroom and she is bathed and perfumed and then escorted back to her room. As Topan (1995) notes, two features are particular to the performance of this ceremony:

"one is the dance, with the virginal cloth, that is performed while the bride is being bathed and the other are songs that allude to the success of the consummation of marriage".(p.93)

The tray containing the cloth is passed from the 'kungwi' who dances with it on her head and passes it to the others who do the same. The bride's relatives and groom's relatives also put money in the tray as a present for the girl for keeping herself chaste.

23.16 KUOSHA MOO/THE FUNCTION OF WASHING THE BRIDEGROOM'S FEET

This normally precedes the ceremony of 'kutia choo kikubwa', but happens on the same day. This is when the bridegroom, accompanied by one or two close friends is seated on the edge of a bed behind a curtain. The woman who serves as a 'kungwi', or the aunts of the bride kneel in front of the curtain bed where the groom is seated and wash the groom's feet with scented and perfumed water from a dish while other women play 'vugo' and sing appropriate songs. The following is an example of a song sung during this function:

Mtanga nyayo na upurupuke
Kaume na kumeke
Mtanga nyayo na upurupuke.

Do not follow your wayward friends
Both, men and women
Do not follow your wayward friends.

After the feet of the bridegroom and those of his friends have been washed, the bridegroom and his friends put some money in a tray as gift for the service. The tray is taken around and shown to those present while a song is sung that is relevant to the occasion.

Hee mvuno wetu hee	This is our harvest
Hee mvuno wetu hee	This is our harvest

This tradition has also faded except once in a while for those who want to make the wedding more traditional and colourful. This tradition used to take place in the nineteenth century as the bridegroom was supposed to stay inside the house for seven days without going out. But this does not happen now, the bridegroom may go out the next day with his bride. The significance of the ceremony of washing the feet is revealed by its song. The groom is being told now to get rid of girl friends or he should not have extra-marital affairs now that he is married.

2.3.17 FUNGATE / HONEYMOON

'Fungate' is a sort of honeymoon but the concept is different among the Swahili. The newly weds do not travel, but stay indoors at the bride's house for seven days without going out. All the while the bridegroom and bride are entertained. The bridegroom is given a chance to invite his friends for meals for the seven days. For each meal he is supposed to invite different people to come and eat with him. They are also entertained with songs. This has also changed as the Swahili in Mombasa particularly have adopted the Western concept of honeymoon. They now either travel for the honeymoon or go to a hotel to be alone. For those who do not travel, they are invited to relatives' houses for meals. Nowadays they do not stay indoors for seven days but they can go out the following day after the consummation of the marriage. The changes have been brought about by economic and social realities of current life style. After incurring the expenses of the wedding, the bride's family are either not in a position to entertain their son-in-law's guests or they avoid any more expenses.

2.3.18 PATI / PARTY

The trend nowadays is to have a party for the bride's unmarried friends. Normally a sister or a cousin will give the party. The younger generation dance but mostly to Western music.

FOOTNOTES

1. **Leso** a square pieces of cloth usually made of cotton also known as **khanga** which are worn by Swahili women.
2. **Kueka Goma** means ceremoniously placing the big drum in front of the home of the bridegroom or bride. The drum is beaten at intervals using two special sticks. The purpose is to announce that there will be a wedding in that home.
3. **Kutia chooni** is a ritual bath given to the bride before and after the consummation of the marriage.
4. **Ushinzi** luncheon .
5. **Kuosha moo** This is a ceremony of symbolically washing the bridegroom's feet.
6. **Nikah** is the legal formalization of the marriage.
7. **Kupamba** is the public display of the bride.
8. **Wanda** is the black die used to darken the eyes.
9. **Hina** is a red or dark brown dye applied on the hands and feet of woman to beautify.
10. **Makungwi** (singular **kungwi**) are women who take care of a close friend's daughters in matters of sexual instructions from the time the girl reaches puberty, known also as **somo**.

11. **Takaungu singers** are group of women singers from Takaungu town situated 50km to the North of Mombasa.
12. **'Chakacha'** also known as **'kiuno'** , a dance of gyrating the hips.
13. **Kupokea bwana harusi** lit. to receive the bridegroom at the bride's house.
14. **Hodi** an expression used when one is knocking at the door or announcing his presence.
15. **Ukingo** is normally a white bedsheet held high above the women's head to welcome the procession of the bridegroom's relatives.
16. **Lelemama** a type of women's dance which was in vogue in the 19th and 20th century.
17. **Vugo** weddings songs which got their names from the horns which are struck with a wooden rod to produce the rhythm.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS AT THE LEVEL OF PHONOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we looked in detail at ceremonies involved in a typical Swahili wedding of Mombasa. We discussed the process from the beginning when a young man decides to get married to when the wedding is completed. We looked at the different occasions that constitute a Swahili wedding of Mombasa.

Wedding songs, are normally sung, not written. Songs are part of total performance. When we write them down aspects of drumming, melody and rhythm that influence syllabic measures and rhyme are not taken into account. Thus, when we analyse them on paper we should remember that we have used the text for the purpose of analysis. The total textual value must be seen in the light of the rest of the performance.

In this chapter, we first examined briefly the language of the songs we will be investigating. The songs have been collected in an area where the dialect that is used is Kimvita. Thus some of its sounds are different from those used in the standard Swahili. Also some of the songs have come to Mombasa from the Lamu archipelago which uses different dialects. We have also shown the differences between the dialects used in the songs.

After studying the dialects, we then looked at the language of the songs, and explained Swahili secretive language. This has been necessary so as to give an insight into the language. Lastly we examined some of the language resources available in the wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa and how they have been used. A song not only communicates message but expresses feelings as well. For the song to achieve its goals a

number of strategies have to be put in place. The singer has to satisfy herself and keep the audience satisfied, cheering and entertained (Ngara 1985:21).

A thing to remember is that the songs are uttered or orally sung. When the songs are written down particularly using standard Swahili orthography it becomes difficult to analyse rhyme and metrical measure as these functions are closely tied to melody, rhythm and the beating of the drums

3.1 DIALECTS

According to Ngara (1985:18) language or dialect used is one of the determinants of the linguistic form. Most of the songs we are analysed are from Mombasa, thus many of them are in Kimvita dialect. But we also analysed some songs which were originally from the Zanzibar groups and a few from the dialects of the Lamu archipelago.

The name of the Mombasa dialect, Kimvita, is made up of the prefix 'ki' which designates language or style and Mvita, the historic name of Mombasa Island. As one moves north along the coast of Malindi, or south towards the Tanzanian border, the dialect gradually changes. It is the dialect spoken mainly by people on Mombasa Island whose first language is Swahili. As Mirza S. and Strobel M. (1981:118) note, it is one of the 14 or so dialects of Swahili and is situated right in the middle of Swahili dialect continuum. It has features from both the Northern and Southern dialects.

Kimvita and other dialects have come to be more regionally identified. This trend has tremendous implications for people who speak other Swahili dialects like Kiamu as a first language. When the decision was being made in the 1930s to use Kiunguja as the 'standard' form of the language, Kimvita was also under consideration. Kiunguja was favoured because the varieties of Swahili already spoken in much of Tanzania resembled it, more than Kimvita (Whitely W.1969: 81 : Simms 1974:34).

Another reason was that the culture and traditions of Mombasa, including its long literary history and its Islamic orientation, was not significant to the people of the rest of East Africa. Whitely (1969:81) notes that the decision was made at a time when the 'Mombasa' dialect was associated with separation and conservatism.

Berg (1968:38) writes.

"Kimvita's status as a widely recognized and extensively spoken dialect has been a thing which the Swahili of Mombasa have long taken pride and, like the tradition of an honourable past, it has helped keep alive their community consciousness."

The main distinguishing phonetic features which Bakari (1982:139) saw between the Kenyan Swahili dialects both in the northern and southern cluster, is the presence of the feature of dentality in the alveolar segments. Standard Swahili, in marked contrast to these dialects, does not display this feature:

"For Kimvita then, and indeed the entire southern cluster, the dental alveolars marked the finer semantic distinctions in the lexical items. Nouns are distinguished from verbs, adjectives, membership to nominal classes become clearly distinguished on the basis of the feature of dentality." (Ibid 1982 : 140).

Bakari admits that apart from this difference and the aspiration feature, Kimvita is quite similar to standard Swahili in its phonology.

From the data, we have shown some of the main sound differences that occur between standard Swahili and Kimvita. In the **kueka goma** song (pg. 237) the word '**mato**' is pronounced instead of '**macho**' as in standard language.

Jongoo akenda mato hayaoni.

When the millipede walks the eyes do not see.

The 't' sound is dental. Another example is from the 'mtaimbo' song (pg. 245) where the 't' in the word 'mtaimbo' is also dental. Kimvita is thus distinguished by its preservation of the two alveolar stops, the cerebral and non cerebral varieties. /t,t/ (Bakari 1982: 141).

In the 'kueka goma' song we find the word 'sandali' and 'godoro' and in the 'kutia chooni' song (pg. 239) we find the word 'ndia'.

Koma inukani mwime

Kingalingali na maondo yasimame

Yawe sandali

na maondo yasimame

Yawe sandali

Werevu wa koa

Imemgandama nyumba maungoni.

Mama niwilia radhi

godoro sina na mwenye nalo godoro.

Stand up

Lie on one's back and let the knees stretch

And be straight

Let the knees stretch

And be straight

The cleverness of the tortoise

He is stuck with the inconvenience of his house on his back.

Mother forgive me

I don't have a mattress and I won't borrow one.

Kutia chooni song:-

Mpeleeni ndia huyo yuwaja

Yuwaja mpeleeni ndia.

Sweep the way for her. she is coming

She is coming. sweep the way for her.

The sound 'd' in the two songs above is also dental but of the non cerebral variety. Thus one has to be a native speaker to be able to tell where it is dental of the non cerebral variety and where it is not as sometimes the sounds exist in both the two forms. For example, in the '**kueka goma**' song, the word '**maondo**' a /d/ sound but it is a cerebral dental.

Some of the songs have originated from Zanzibar, hence dialectal variations will be noticed here and there. In the songs that have been taken from the **taarab** groups of Zanzibar, singers sometimes change the words to conform with the dialect of Mombasa. In the '**donge**' song, (pg. 229) instead of saying '**jicho**' they say '**jito**'. **Jicho** is the standard form.

Jito la kutuonea hawanalo walimwengu.

People do not like to look at us.

Another example is the '**solemba**' song (pg. 258) where instead of singing.

Umeachwa Umeachwa Solemba Umeachwa Solemba.

You have been left out (no one cares for you) they say.

Umeatwa, umeatwa solemba, umeatwa solemba.

Where they substitute the /ch/ with /t/

These two songs can also be sung as:

Jicho la kutuonea hawanalo walimwengu.

People do not like to look at us.

Umeachwa, umeachwa Solemba, umeachwa solemba.

You have been left out (no one cares for you).

The sound /ch/ in this case is left as it is in the Zanzibar dialectal form. As we have indicated above, sometimes the singer sings the song in its original dialect. They do not change the dialect to their own. We tend to agree with Mirza S and Strobel M. (1981:118) when they noted that from the speech of the three women they were interviewing they saw that the Kimvita dialect is moving from pure Kimvita toward a more standardized form of Swahili. Though, all the women they interviewed were native speakers of Kimvita, yet their sub-dialects varied. Their speech was influenced by the age of the speakers, level of education and interaction beyond the immediate communication of Kimvita speakers.

In the songs borrowed from the Lamu archipelago, the dialects used are Kiamu and Kitikuu. In the Kitikuu dialect, where in the standard Swahili we would normally expect the sound /t/ it is substituted with /ch/ and where /z/ normally occurs in standard Swahili it is substituted with /dh/. Examples can be found in the song 'uchekechee nkono' she has burnt her hand. In standard Swahili, it would have been pronounced 'uteketee mkono' where /ch/ is substituted for the standard /t/. The word, 'kuteketea' to get burnt does not exist in the Kimvita dialect. The singers substitute the /ch/ with /t/ as in the case of a word like 'chachu - tatu'.

Uchekechee nkono ee uchekechee nkono.

Ulie wali bario ee uchekechee nkono.

The Mombasa singers may change it to:

Uteketee mkono ee uteketee mkono.

Ulie wali bario ee uteketee mkono.

She has burnt her hand

She has eaten yesterday's rice, she has burnt her hand.

Another example of sound substitution in Kitikuu dialect is found in the same song. In the third stanza the singer says.

Madhoea Madhoea ndio yalonamkuwa

Mazoea Mazoea ndio yaloniita. (Standard Swahili, Kimvita)

Familiarity, familiarity is the one that called me.

This type of sound substitution is also found in their version of 'Hatuonani kwa nini' song (pg. 232).

Stanza 7 **Asili nisiwajibu huwaona mudhidhiye.**

Asili nisiwajibu huwaona muvivie (Kimvita).

The reason I did not answer, I see you are rotten.

The sound /z/ of Standard Swahili is substituted by /dh/ in the Kitikuu dialect. The singers tend to use the sounds of their dialect.

In other instances the dialectal aspect is marked by the use of /n/ instead of /m/ depending on the environment e.g with class three nouns m-mi prefixes. In the song 'uchekechee nkono' the word 'nkono' is used instead of mkono (hand) in standard Swahili.

The tables below indicate the consonantal systems of the dialects used in the songs in this thesis.

KIMVITA CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveo-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b*			t d*	t d*		k g*	
Fricatives		f v	th dh		s z			h
Affricates					sh ch	j*		
Liquids					l r			
Glides		w				y		
Nasals	m mb				n nd	ny nj	ng'ng	

KIAMU CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveo-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b*			t d*	t d*		k g*	
Fricatives		f	th dh		s z			h
Affricates					sh ch	j*		
Liquids					l r			
Glides		w				y		
Nasals	m mb				n nd	ny nj	ng'ng	

KIGUNYA CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveo-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b*			t d*	d*		k g*	
Fricatives		f v	th dh		s			h
Affricates					Sh ch	j*		
Liquids					L r			
Glides		W				y		
Nasals	m mb				ndr nd		ng' ng	

* implosives

3.2.1. LANGUAGE OF THE SONGS

Swahili has a rich variety of song genres and poetic heritage forms. We find those poems which are highly formalized and are commentaries of social events, like Inkishafi and Mwana Kuponu poems. We also find religious poems that are also highly formal that use aesthetic language. These poems have a fine choice of words. There are also **taarab** songs where the language used differs from these poems. In the **taarab** songs the meaning is more direct and not elusive. If the songs are formal they do not have sex allusions. As many wedding songs are dealing with sex which is taboo, the language is secretive. The songs use colloquials and slang expressions. These songs have a certain humour effect. allusion and aim at getting maximum effect in what the singers want to say. The men's organs of sex in the songs are referred to as ***mtaimbo**, iron-rod, ***mpweke**, stick, **mshumaa**; candle to signify erection during deflowering. The organs of women have been referred to as ***bendera**, flag, **kitabu**, book or **bahari**, sea, in the songs.

We have tried to translate the songs in English, but it must be noted that the wedding songs of Swahili Women of Mombasa to a larger extent avoid usage of taboo language or words especially used for the sex organs and thus sex acts involved are expressed metaphorically. Therefore, there is a tendency for the language to be highly concealed, metaphorical and allusive. Even Swahili men who are not familiar with the songs might not easily understand or interpret what the songs allude to, or know the underlying meaning.

There is, therefore, great difficulty in rendering this highly allusive and metaphorical language its English equivalents which express the semantic meaning involved. When dealing with taboo language, the singers especially look for all sorts of ways to hide the deeper meaning of the songs. Wherever possible we have given the literal and metaphorical translation of the songs and an explanation, for benefit of non Swahili readers.

We are in a multilingual situation where the mother tongue, Swahili and English are all used. As Abdulaziz and Osinde (1997:43) note, in mixed urban settings of Mombasa and other big towns, Swahili, English and the other mother tongues interact in a complex and unstable manner, giving rise to code switching, random language mixing and language shift even within a sentence. People move from one language to another and code mix randomly. We also see code mixing in some of these songs using English and Swahili words.

3.3 RHYME

The Swahili speaking peoples of the East African Coast have a long tradition of oral and written literature. However, their poetry is considered to be more important compared to other genres of literature. Allen (ed. 1971:6) says that whenever it was that Swahili language started.

“we can assume virtually the same
date for the beginning of Swahili verse
because it is impossible to imagine
an African language without verse”

Abedi. (1965:1) notes that the first condition to be observed in a poem is its ability to be sung. Abedi's other rules are that it has to have ‘mizani’ (syllable count) ‘vina’ (rhyme) ‘kituo’ (pause) and ‘kutosheleza’ (balance).

Rhyming has been stressed for years by scholars. There are many different types of songs and poems which are identified by rhyme scheme and by the syllabic length (Polome 1967; Allen 1971; Harries 1962; Abdulaziz 1979) In a public lecture on poetry, R. Shaaban noted that,

“tuneful songs in any language, if they lack rhyme lack, the savour expected from singing. If you ask “why sing thus” you will be answered. “You know nothing, we sing by tune. This is no small loss in Swahili compositions. Of course we need the tune but together with the rhymes. We do not want a tune that has no rhyme.” Harries(1962:281)

We do not want to involve ourselves in the debate which was raging on the appropriateness of rhyme and syllable count. We will only show the function of rhyming in the wedding songs of Swahili Women of Mombasa.

The word of mouth medium of presentation of songs makes its appeal first through the sounds of the word that reach the ears of the audience (Okpewho 1992:70, Ngara 1985: pg. 23). Swahili wedding songs were originally meant for the ear as well as for the eye. Rhyming is very important in the wedding songs of Swahili Women of Mombasa. Rhyme gives the songs a particular melody that pleases the ear. Rhyming also contributes to rhythm. There are several songs, which follow the rules of prosody. Songs like ‘umbo

langu (pg. 262)' 'dokta TX' (pg. 228), 'solemba (pg. 258)' 'limbukeni' (pg.240), 'buzi'. (pg. 223) 'uchekechee nkono'(pg. 260) the Lamu version of 'hatuonani kwa nini'(pg. 232) and many others have a rhyming scheme.

We will take one of the supplication songs sung during the occasion of 'kuongoa' as an example.

Swafiya Binti Salimu	nikupendae mwanangu
Hukuombea Karimu	Ilahi mwenyezi Mungu
Uyatakayo yatimu.	anijibu <u>dua</u> yangu.
Hukuombea Jabari	upate mata <u>kwa</u> yako
Harusi iwe ya kheri	usipate maudhiko
Na mambo yawe mazuri.	ufurahi moyo wako.
Na hao wano wawili	Mungu tawasuudisha
Wafurahike wanali	katika yao maisha
Wapendane kwelikweli.	Kama Mtumi na Esha.
Rabi kabuli tatiya	naloomba <u>dua</u> zote
Na mengine kuzidiya	yatengee mambo yote
Salimu na Raya.	wapendane siku zote.

In the song we see that there is a consistent rhyming pattern. The rhyming scheme of the song is as follows:-

1 st stanza	mu	ngu	2 nd stanza	ri	ko
	mu	ngu		ri	ko
	mu	ngu		ri	ko

3 rd stanza	li	sha	4 th stanza	ya	te
	li	sha		ya	te
	li	sha		ya	te

The ‘Solemba’ song (pg. 258) is sung during the occasion of ‘kupamba’ or ‘lima’.

Ata kujivunga vunga	eti nimekuibia
Umeshindwa kumchungu	njiwa akakukimbia
Na mimi sijajivunga	nami nikampokea
Nimejitolea muhanga	wallahi sitomtowa.
Sishutuki na mafumbo	ya kanga kunivalia
Kama wewe ni mrembo	mbona umekataliwa
Kwake nafaidi mambo	ni siri kusimulia
Wewe huna lako jambo	umekwisha ekspaya.
Wacha kumfwata fata	na simu kumpigia
Na kuvaa yonda sista	na blauzi za maua
Utazimaliza mita	hakuṭaki kanambia
Nafasi hutaipata	wanja utakuishia.
Buriani ee mwenzangu	umeachwa kwenye mataa
Hilo sio kosa langu	kupendwa sitokataa
Karidhika kaja kwangu	hapati ya manufaa
Na mpa ahadi mungu	huwezi kunipindua.

In the ‘Solemba’ song the rhyming pattern is as follows:

Stanza 1	ngu	a	Stanza 2	mbo	a
	ngu	a		mbo	wa

ngu a
ngu wa

mbo a
mbo ya

Stanza 3

ta a
ta a
ta a
ta a

Stanza 4

ngu a
ngu a
ngu a
ngu a

In this song there is a regular rhyming scheme except in stanza two line two. The singers use wa instead of a. Also in the last lines of stanza one and two where the end rhymes are different from the other two stanzas. In stanza one the rhyme is wa and in stanza two the end rhyme is ya. The discrepancy is not obvious when singing though when it comes to writing the songs it becomes obvious. This change is not significant and it does not affect the rhyming scheme. That is why the singer used it. This could be due to the fact that Swahili poets do not differentiate between 'a' 'wa' and 'ya' (as seen in many 'tenzis'). This could also be due to the fact that there is a difference between pronunciation and orthography.

The **limbukeni** song (pg. 240), which is also sung during the function of 'kupamba' or 'limba' is a good example of a song that makes use of rhyme.

Wimbo huu n'naimba
Nakuona wanichimba
Sina nilicho kuomba

nakupa shua fulani
wanitafuta undani
wakereka kitu gani.

Usohaya na heshima
Wala hunitii homa
Bado nakuona dama

kwangu wanitaka nini
nakwambia limbukeni
huelewi mkononi.

Kweli wewe limbukeni

watu wote wakujua

Katika mahayawani	wewe ni muheshimiwa
Huna upatacho sini	kutwa unajizuzua.

Mimi kwako n'natamba	akhera na <u>duniani</u>
Hapa ni sumu ya mamba	nakwambia si utani
Ni bure ungajigamba	nakuona hayawani.

In the ‘**Limbukeni**’ song, the rhyming pattern is as follows:-

Stanza 1	mba ni	Stanza 2	ma ni
	mba ni		ma ni
	mba ni		ma ni
Stanza 3	ni a	Stanza 4	mba ni
	ni wa		mba ni
	ni a		mba ni

The song has a consistent rhyming pattern except in the third stanza where instead of ending with ‘a’ the line ends with ‘wa’. We can still argue that when singing the pronunciation of ‘a’ or ‘wa’ does not make a difference and the discrepancy is not noticed.

The Lamu version of ‘**hatuonani kwa nini**’ song (pg. 232) is sung during the function of **kesha** .

<u>D</u>unia hii ya leo	si ya watu kusemana
Kila alie na mwana	aombe rabi salama
Kama changu kimetota	chako wewe kitazama.

Umasikini si ila	mtu nduye hamteki
Nami pia sikuiza	kuwapa soda na keki

Mimi siyavaa <u>dira</u>	<u>t</u> avaaye <u>des</u> hi <u>des</u> hi.
Nina ujumbe wangu	<u>t</u> ausema hadharani
Mvulize firingisi	imi nalimtendani
Kuku hufungwa makumbi	nzio hufungwa n'ni.
Wamekuya wa Mombasa	na watokao <u>D</u> ubai
Safari zao za ndege	mashua hayawelei
Mabarobaro hulia	wake wamepanda bei.
Kuna panya kuna panya	huuma wakivuziya
Tangu wana tangu wana	hata na wazee piya
Sifa sina sifa sina	na aibu sitotiya.
Barobaro masikini	<u>t</u> aabani zao hali
Kut <u>u</u> wa huwenda kazini	hupata shilingi mbili
Ut <u>u</u> tuma paka lini	umpate mwanamwali.
Maneno muyanenao	mwenyewe nisikiziye
Asili nisiwajibu	huwaona mudhidhiye
Mtu hutengeza lake	iwapo usuluhiye.
Nilikwambia nazima	kisha nkurudishie
Nikikionda ni <u>t</u> amu	nikitwaa nitwazie
Una kilio yongoo	nyoka umuhadazie.

In the Lamu version of 'hatuonani kwa nini' (pg. 232) the rhyming scheme is not adhered to strictly.

Stanza 1	o na	Stanza 2	la ki
	na ma		za ki
	ta ma		ra shi
Stanza 3	ngu ni	Stanza 4	sa i
	si ni		ve i
	mbi ni		a i
Stanza 5	nya ya	Stanza 6	ni li
	na ya		ni li
	na ya		ni li
Stanza 7	o ye	Stanza 8	ma e
	bu ye		mu e
	ke ye		o e

Though there is no rhyming pattern, some kind of rhythm can be heard because of the use of the musical instruments. The song does not show the shortfall in singing it. Normally it is not easy in the songs rendered in orthography to know the metrical rhyme. There are other features which impinge like pronunciation, listening and articulation for example of the lengthening of the vowels. It is difficult in songs to analyse the relationship between lyrics, melody and performance at one level. This could be due to lyrics of the words used or rhythms of musical accompaniments like percussions and drums. The lyrics and rhythms are sometimes modified to cover the broken metrical pattern.

The Zabibu Song

Nimepokea salamu	hizo ulonitumia
Kuwa sasa unahamu	mapenzi kuyarudia
Pendo nilo kukirimu	kwa dhati na safi nia

Nawe usiliheshimu	mara ukalisusia
Wallahi sina wazimu	wewe kukuregeshea
Mempa mwenye nidhamu	roho ilomtulia.
Kuna jambo makhtubu	hilo shoti ufahamu
Ulinifikiri dubu	sina akili timamu
Nimepata mahbubu	anayenitia damu
Pendo twiba ya hubu	mwenye mapenzi timamu
Wataka tena zabibu	umekumbuka utamu
Hata kama umetubu	kukupa tena haramu.
Lau hukunikashifu	pengine ningekubali
Mola kakutoa khofu	hisani hukuzijali
Nimepata muadilifu	twapendana kweli kweli
Kwako nishastaafu	kurudi mustahili
Mtu aso inswafu	heri kuwa naye mbali
Usilete taklifu	kuchezewa sikubali.
Huyo nilo naye sasa	anipendeza kwa mengi
Raha na kila anasa	ndo ukaona sikongi
Sikurejei kabisa	nilipovunja sijengi
Menitosha vyako visa	na kujua kwako kwingi
Ulidhani nitakosa	hukujua mko wengi
Shika kama huna pesa	ukaniroge giningi.

The song has a consistent rhyming pattern. In the 'zabibu' (pg. 266) song the rhyming scheme is as follows:-

Stanza 1	mu	a	Stanza 2	bu	mu
	mu	a		bu	mu

	mu	a		bu	mu
	mu	a		bu	mu
	mu	a		bu	mu
	mu	a		bu	mu
Stanza 3	fu	li	Stanza 4	sa	ngi
	fu	li		sa	ngi
	fu	li		sa	ngi
	fu	li		sa	ngi
	fu	li		sa	ngi
	fu	li		sa	ngi

The form of the original wedding songs differ significantly from that of popular Swahili poetry and the songs originally from Zanzibar. The form of the songs originally from Zanzibar is characterized by an almost rigid symmetry of lines, rhyme and the number of syllables in the verse (refer to 'Limbukeni' 'Solemba', 'Tx', 'Zabibu' etc in the appendix A).

The original wedding songs of Swahili Women of Mombasa in our corpus vary in the number of lines per song. They do not exhibit a rigid pattern of syllables per line: nor a symmetrical rhyming sequence as the one conspicuous in popular forms of Swahili poetry. (see songs like 'baburau' (pg. 222), 'bendera'(pg. 222), 'hongera' (pg. 234), 'jito', (pg. 235) 'kikuba cha asumini' (pg. 236) 'kitabu achore', (pg. 237) and many others in the appendix A).

A rhyme pattern characteristic of traditional poetry is missing in original wedding songs of Mombasa. Instead one finds in some songs a type of rhyme that is closely related to the tune and melody of the song (rather than to the conventional prosodic form of the Swahili verse).

3.4 METRICAL PATTERN

This can only be found in the songs that follow the rules of prosody. As mentioned earlier, this is found more in what we have called wedding supplication songs, songs that were originally from Zanzibar, and in the songs from the Lamu archipelago though these do not adhere strictly to the rules. Metre gives the verses definite line length.

In the 'zabibu' song (pg. 266) the metrical pattern is as follows:

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	7 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

In the second and third verses in lines four and three we see a discrepancy as follows:

2 nd stanza	Pendo twiba ya hubu love is medicine	7 syllables
3 rd stanza	Nimepata muadilifu I got an honourable man	9 syllables

The difference cannot be seen when singing orally as the 'hu' syllable is elongated. In the second example in pronouncing the word 'muadilifu' one can say 'mwadilifu' thus the extra syllable would have been taken care of. As mentioned earlier, this could also be due to the difference in orthography and pronunciation.

In the **'solemba'** song (pg. 258) the metrical pattern can be described as follows :-

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 9
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
9 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

In this song, we also see that in the fourth line of the first stanza and the first line of the fourth stanza the metrical pattern is broken. This can be explained by the fact that while singing, the singer can pronounce the line in such a way that sounds equal to the others. It is only in orthography and counting that the additional syllables appear to be irregular.

The following is the metrical pattern of the **'donge'** song (pg. 229).

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	9 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

In the second line of the fourth stanza the metrical pattern appears irregular.

'Uchekechee nkono' (pg. 260) from the Lamu archipelago has the following metrical pattern:

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

8 8	8 8	8 8	9 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

Stanza 5	Stanza 6	Stanza 7
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8

We see that in the fourth stanza second line of ‘**uchekechee nkono**’ song the singer appears to break the metrical pattern when the song is written down but as mentioned earlier this is not really felt when the songs are being sung. The ideophones (end particles) hide the inconsistency in the metrical pattern.

In the Lamu version of “**Hatuonani kwa nini.**” (pg. 232) The metrical pattern is as follows :-

Stanza 1	Stanza 2	Stanza 3	Stanza 4
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

8 8	8 8	7 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

Stanza 5	Stanza 6	Stanza 7	Stanza 8
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 7
8 8	8 8	8 8	8 8

In this song we see that the metrical pattern appears broken twice. in the first line of the third stanza and in the second line of the eighth stanza. This does not affect the singing as

the singer somehow pronounces the words in such a way that the difference is not noticed. The pattern of the songs when sung does not appear irregular it is only when they are rendered in orthography that the pattern appears broken.

These examples suffice to show that some of the songs follow the rules of prosody.

All songs are intended to be sung or intoned thus the discrepancies in the rhyming and syllabic count is hardly noticed especially when they are accompanied by musical instruments. The genre of the work in this case the song to some extent determine the linguistic content of a work of art (Ngara 1985:17). We are analysing these songs as part of stylistic scholarship but basically they are oral literature and are not supposed to be analysed on paper. This is the reason for the discrepancies. The Swahili language has a long tradition of poetry and from the point of view of performance they are perfect.

3.5 ONOMATOPOEIA

In the song '**Naupiga papapa**.' (pg. 253) the words '**naupiga papapa**' and '**naupiga lololo**' are repeated several times. The '**papapa**' and '**lololo**' non sense sounds are just sounds showing the action during the sexual act. The song is highly sexual and the '**kupiga**' refers to the act of sex. The sounds '**papapa**' and '**lololo**' are not lexical words in Swahili though, they mean an action of a man making love to a woman, or they imply the different styles of sex. The sounds are onomatopoeic.

In the '**mpira wangu**' (pg. 242) song the ball has gone into the net and it is a goal. The singer says:

N'na mpira wangu
Kila siku naubembezeza
Umeingia goli mpira go
Umeingia goli mpira go
Goo, goo, goo.

I have my own game (lit - ball)¹
 Everyday I play with caution
 I have scored a goal . the ball has gone into the net
 It has scored a goal, the ball has gone into the net
 Goo, goo, goo.

The sounds of 'go' refers to a goal being scored in normal football. This onomatopoeic use of expression is very effective and refers to the act of sex. The song implies that everyday the girl and boy meet but they just kiss or caress one another. On that particular day the man has scored or deflowered the virgin. Its onomatopoeic meaning is a place or entrance closed and the bridegroom is trying to knock like on a door, desiring to have it opened.

In the '**ukimpata chenjere**' song (pg. 256) this device can also be seen. The singers say:

Bwanjuma nipigie kwakwaru
Kwa kwa ru kwa kwaah
Kwa kwa ru kwa kwaah.

They are asking the person Juma to play for them a certain rhythm. The onomatopoeia is the sound of the bird **chenjere** referred to in the song.

In the song '**dereva wangu**' (pg. 226) we also see another example of onomatopoeia. In the last stanza the singer says:

Enyi mwendao tata wanagenzi mulokwama
 Those of you who walk like babies. First timers who are stuck

The sound ‘-**ta ta**-’ denotes or shows how inexperienced they are in performing the sex act. This onomatopoeic sound **ta-ta** is also used to encourage a baby to walk, or to take first steps. In the song, it refers to the virgin bride. She has no experience of sex and is compared to a baby starting to walk.

3.6 ARABIC PRONUNCIATION

This is normally found in the taarab songs, which were originally from Zanzibar, and also in the wedding supplication songs. This is where there is the intrusion of Arabic influence in the song. The influence is marked by Arabic pronunciation and orthography. Arabic loan words are pronounced like the Arabic original and not swahilised as is usually the case as ability to pronounce Arabic loan words like their original arabic counterpart is considered elegant. This is especially so in taarab songs. Swahili and Arabic languages have existed in a diglossic relationship with Arabic as the language of learning and religion. This relationship is similar to that of European languages such as English and German with respect to French.

A good example is found in the ‘**zabibu**’ song (pg. 266). In the first stanza third line there is a word pronounced **swafi** where in standard Swahili it is pronounced more as **safi**. In the second stanza there are several words given Arabic pronunciation. Words like ‘**makhtumu**’, ‘**mahabuba**’, ‘**twiba**’, ‘**hubu**’. In the third stanza we find the words ‘**khofu**’ or ‘**hofu**’ in standard Swahili, ‘**inswafu**’ – ‘**insafu**’, ‘**taklifu**’ – ‘**takilifu**’.

In the supplication song marked B (pg. 231) we also find other examples of Arabic loan words which are pronounced like their Arabic counterpart. Many of these words are borrowed from Arabic only, so the singers think that the pronunciation gives the song a nice ring to it. In this song we find words like **Inshaallah** – **Inshalla**; **Rwahamani-Rahmani**. **Rwaba-Raba**; **khatima-hatima**; ‘**mukiswafi-mkisafi**’; **kheri-heri**. Each word of the first in the pairs is given the Arabic pronunciation.

By giving the words an Arabic pronunciation the singers aim is to make the songs sound sweeter to the ear of the listener and to be able to capture their attention. This probably is an attempt to pronounce the word in as near Arabic pronunciation as possible. This could also be due to the upper class pronunciation of bilinguals in Arabic and Swahili.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have analysed the weddings songs at the level of phonology. We have looked at the dialects and the language used by the singers. We have also looked at the rhyme scheme, syllabic pattern, onomatopoeia and the singer's pronunciation and how they enhance the singer's style.

In the next chapter we will focus our attention on the lexical and syntactic levels of analysis of the language of the songs.

FOOTNOTE

1. The game referred to is the deflowering of the virgin.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AT THE LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC LEVELS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter analyzed language use in the songs at the phonological level. We examined briefly the language of the songs. We also looked at rhyming sounds, onomatopoeia and the metrical measure of the songs. Our analysis has used Leech's (1969) linguistically based approach and Ngara (1985) linguistic format. However, like Leech, we shall only be concerned with lexical and syntactic analysis as markers of style. This would mean an analysis of word and sentence length.

This chapter studies vocabulary choices. In this chapter we also focused on sentence length. Lastly we looked at straight forward and rhetorical questions. It particularly deals with aspects of vocabulary like, neologisms, archaisms and foreign words. The chapter also deals with aspects of code-switching in order to show its overall effect in the texts. Also at this level, we discussed the effects of lexical prominence. We looked at repetition and parallelism.

Normally, people do not communicate using isolated words but communicate using sentences. To render the meaning of the songs and show their effects, I have tried to give explanatory notes to non Swahili readers so that they may have some idea of the allusion involved.

4.1.0 THE LEXICAL LEVEL

Before we look at the devices which fall under the lexical level in the songs being analyzed, we wish to note that sometimes we have found difficulties in classifying the

words which have already been accepted by Swahili language as foreign or borrowed. It is also difficult to classify them as archaic, neologisms or dialectal.

The difficulty of classifying the words is due to the fact that Swahili is spoken over a wide geographical area in different dialectal forms. These dialects do not hinder communication completely though there are differences in language use between speakers of different dialects (see chapter 3). Thus it is not unusual to find some aspects of language use e.g. vocabulary that have restricted usage. That is, some words are used among the speakers of a particular area. When such a situation arises, and the fact that Swahili dictionaries are not adequate enough to include most of the Swahili vocabulary, the problem of classifying words is magnified. Thus it is very difficult to dissociate archaisms from words which are just rare or formal. As Wales (1989:34) notes, it is particularly true in poetic language, where, at least up to the early 20th Century archaism was an accepted part of standard poetic usage.

4.1.1 ARCHAISMS

Archaism, according to Wales (Ibid) is the retention or survival of linguistic features no longer generally current, usually in varieties that are themselves unusual in some way. It is also quite true that archaisms are commonly found in regional dialects.

Before the 19th century it is believed that there was a single language called 'Kingozi' which was the original form of the later varieties or dialects of Swahili. We tend to agree with Bakari (1982:198) when he acknowledges that the validity of the above hypothesis is assumed to be the existence of archaisms in the language that are no longer current in present day usage.

Abdulaziz noted in his work the poetry of 'Muyaka' (1776 – 1840) that:-

"In the absence of prose or spoken records of Muyaka's period it is difficult to know for certain what the language position in Mombasa was in the early 19th Century. Mwalimu Sikujua, who collected, copied and annotated most of Muyaka's poems for Taylor, seems to think that at least some of the words Muyaka uses in his poems belong to an archaic dialect referred to as 'Kingozi'. It is difficult to know what Sikujua meant by this, but 'Kingozi' has been, and still is thought of in Mombasa and Lamu as being the original form of Swahili from which later varieties developed..... People in Mombasa and Lamu today would speak of the language of Muyaka as 'Kikale' or 'Kikae' that is the archaic idiom. 'Kikae' is said to be the intermediate stage between Kingozi and Kiswahili".

(1979:67-68)

Archaisms seem to have a special place in the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. They reflect the survival of older forms on the songs analyzed here. Archaisms also impart a strong emotional drive to the singer and the audience since they generate intense cultural impact.

Archaisms are found mostly in old songs and those that we have called wedding supplication songs. They are found in wedding supplication songs as, in many cases, these are composed with special formulae for supplication utterances, which seem to survive a long time, unlike topical lyrics, to pray for the well being of the bride and groom.

With respect to Swahili, by archaism we mean usage which is no longer current in standard language and especially in the dialects we are dealing with now and which may have been in use in the 19th and earlier centuries.

In the following supplication song we find an example of an archaic word:

Huwaombea kwa Rwaba	Ilahi mola karima
Yatimie matilaba	ufurahike mtima.

I pray to God for you	God the generous
Our wishes to be fulfilled	Our hearts to be happy.

The word '**mtima**' means heart, or '**moyo**' in Kimvita and standard Swahili. It is normally now found in poetry only.

As the songs we are analyzing are part of the oral literature of the Swahili of Mombasa, some of the songs are old. The songs seem to belong to a much earlier period and which have been passed on from generation to generation. These songs are the ones which have retained the archaisms.

A good example of archaisms are found in the songs which are originally from Mombasa and which have lasted for many decades. In the '**kueka goma**' song (pg. 237), there are several archaic words.

Koma inukani **mwime**
Kingalingali na **maondo** yasimame
 Yawe **sandali**.

Stand up
 lie on one's back and the knees to stand
 And be straight.

The archaic words are underlined. The word '**mwime**' means to stand; the word '**kingalingali**' means to lie on one's back and the word '**maondo**' means knees. The word '**maondo**' is still used in the Kiamu dialect. And, as we had noted earlier, it is at times difficult to decide whether a word is dialectal or archaic. But we can say here that in

the case of Kimvita, the word 'maondo' is archaic as nowadays the people of Mombasa use the word 'magoti' and they use 'chali' instead of 'kingali ngali' as in standard Swahili. Another word is 'sandali' which means straight. 'Sandali' is a type of tree, which has straight branches.

Other examples of archaic words are in the 'ng'onzi' song (pg. 255). The song says,

Ni kunguni kondo yangu ni jioni

I am a bedbug my fight is at night.

The word 'kondo' is archaic and is used to mean a fight.

This word is also used in Muyaka's poem 'K'ongowea ja mvumo'. In the third stanza Muyaka says,

Gongwa la Mwana mkisi mvita mji wa ole!

Ina waume watesi, k'ondo hawaiketele

Gongwa is the land of Mwana Mkisi, Mvita, what an awesome place it is!

It has war like men who spoil for a fight

(Abdulaziz 1979:146)

The title of the song itself is archaic. The word 'ng'onzi' means sheep. The word which means tortoise in the song 'koa' seems to be obsolete now as it is replaced by 'kobe' in many of the Swahili dialects. Thus in the 'ngonzi' song, there are other examples of archaisms like 'mivure' which means wooden plates.

Werevu wa koa

Imemgandama nyumba maungoni

Kupata sahani

Umezisabau sima za mivure.

The cleverness of the tortoise

He is stuck with the inconvenience of his house on his back

Now that you have porcelain plates

You have forgotten **ugali** eaten from wooden plates.

The song alludes to a person who thinks he is very clever but eventually suffers from his adventurous behaviour. As the songs are part of the oral literature of the Swahili, the part of the song about the tortoise and his cracked shell exists in the form of a story among the Swahili people explaining this phenomenon.

The word '**mivure**' is archaic as nowadays these types of wooden plates no longer exist.

In the '**kutia chooni**' song (pg. 239), a number of archaisms are also found. This song is as old as the tradition of taking the bride to the bathroom for a ritual bath. This tradition has now almost faded except among very few families in Mombasa.

Harusi Chooni

Howa harusi chooni howa

Howa wa marashi

Mavumba na udi

Na mavumba mema

Yanukayo uto.

The bride is in the bathroom

She is in the bathroom taking a bath (being bathed)

She is there (being bathed) with rose water

She is fumigated with the incense of gum and aloe-wood.

And incensed with best gum
Which have thick sweet smells.

(Topan 1995:95)

The word **'howa'** which means taking a bath is archaic. Nowadays the people of Mombasa use the word **'huoga'** like in standard Swahili. The word **'mavumba'** stands for a type of leaves that give a good smell. In today's Swahili it means the scales of a fish. The word **'oto'** means thick and concentrated good smell. These days these words have become archaic. In the same song, there is the word **'mpeleeni'** which comes from the verb **'pea'** that means sweep. **'Mpeleeni'** means sweep the way for her. Though the song is from Mombasa, the verb **'pea'** is still retained in the current Lamu dialect yet we can say in Kimvita it is archaic as they do not use it anymore. Instead they use the word **'fagia'** like in standard Swahili.

In the **'somoe mwana'** and **'hongera'** songs (pg. 259 and 234) a number of words from old Swahili are used. These words still bear some resemblance with some words in other Bantu languages. For instance

Mamae mwana ndoo ukaole
Kaole mgeni kangia.

Mother of the child come and see
Look the visitor has arrived.

The word **'ukaole'** means **'ukaone'** or go and see, it still has retained the /l/ sound in between two vowels like in the Giriama language, which has the word as **'ukalole'**

Another example, is in the **'hongera'** song (pg. 234). The word **'nyamala'** or **'nyamaza'**, be quiet is used.

Hongera mwanangu we hongera

Nami ni hongere we hongera

Mama utungu, mama utungu

Nyamala mwanangu hoye.

Succeed my child succeed

So that I also succeed congratulations

Motherhood is painful, motherhood is painful

Stop crying my child.

The word '**nyamala**' has retained the /l/ sound in between the two vowels like in other Bantu languages. The words are examples of archaisms. In present Swahili, the words are used differently as '**ukaone**' and '**nyamaza**' or **nyamaa**. The archaic forms show the proximity of Swahili to the other Sabaki and Bantu languages.

In the song '**majumbani**' (pg. 241), the word **kunga** is an archaism to mean many, varied or complex.

The singer says:

Majumbani kuna mambo twawambia

Mambo ya nyumbani kunga.

In the homes we tell you there are many happenings

The things at home are complex.

It means the happenings in the home are complex: thus one has to be prepared to persevere. Nowadays the word has taken a different meaning to mean '**mbinu**' or ways of doing something.

4.1.2 NEOLOGISMS

Neologisms or the use of new words is an attempt to expand the vocabulary of a given language. On the whole, singers of Swahili wedding songs form new words when they feel they have something new or fresh that cannot be accommodated in the existing vocabulary.

A good example is found in the **'solemba'** song (pg. 258). The word **'solemba'** in the chorus of the song is a neologism.

Umeachwa, umeachwa solemba.

You have been left, you have been left in the lurch.

According to one of the singers the word means there is no one who wants you. She elaborates further that if it is the husband, he does not care for the wife anymore. It describes how one is left without any one who cares for her.

In the same song, we find another neologism, the word - **'yondasista'**.

2nd stanza **Na kuvaa yondasista na blauzi za maua**

And wearing **'yondasista'** and flowery blouses.

The word has been formed to mean a new type of clothing that is worn on top of a blouse. It resembles the men's waist coats worn on top of a shirt. This piece of clothing is not found in the Swahili culture for women, hence the need to form a word. Though there is a word for the men's waist coat, **'kizibao'**; the singers did not want to use the same word. The word **'yondasista'** has been taken from a music group from Democratic Republic of Congo called Yondosista whereby the lead singer wears a sort of waist coat on top of a blouse.

In the 'chengere' song (pg. 226) two new words have been formed. The word 'manyanga' to mean a young fresh person. The singer being a woman could be referring to the wish that, if she had a young man she would have been very happy. She says,

Ningekuwa na manvanga

Ninglewa pa ra ri ra

Ningekuwa na wowowo

Ninglewa pa ra rira.

Had I a young lover

I would have been drunk. pa ra rira

Had I an attractive behind

I would have been drunk. pa ra rira.

The second word is 'wowowo' in the same song, the word means an attractive behind. Thus the singer says if she had an attractive behind, she would have been very happy. It means a behind of the right proportions which shakes as she moves. A well formed behind in women is considered among the Swahili as an attractive bodily asset.

4.1.3 ENGLISH WORDS APPEARING IN THE SWAHILI WEDDING SONGS

Here we are going to look at English words which are used in wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa. The English words concerned will be looked at at three levels. Kazungu (1982:80) looked also at these words at three levels. Two of our levels are similar to his but we have added a third level which is different.

At the first level, English words which do not have equivalents in Swahili are discussed.

At the second level, English words which have equivalents but which the singer preferred to use are discussed.

At the third level, English words which have now been fully assimilated into Swahili are discussed.

We will begin by looking at the word **'Pajero'** a name of a car, in the song **'nalia oh'** (pg. 249). The word **'Pajero'** is a proper name for a type of a car and has no equivalent in Swahili. The reason for this is probably because a **'Pajero'** is not a Swahili traditional item but one that has been brought recently by foreigners. If one were to describe it in Swahili, and say **'gari'** a general term used for a motor vehicle for example,

Nimezoea kulalia Pajero.

I am used to sleeping a Pajero besides me (virile man).

And replace it with:

Nimezoea kulalia gari.

I am used to sleeping a car beside me (man).

One does not easily get the specific meaning and it would require a long interpretation of what the item really means. We could therefore argue that by employing the English term the singer wished to ensure that the exact referent of the expression is not lost. That is, the word **'Pajero'** is used figuratively to mean to sleep with a virile man. On the other hand, however, it could also be argued that the singer employed the term for a particular effect. A **'Pajero'** is a very expensive luxurious car that is likely to be owned by only the rich. Viewed in this light, it can be argued that the term **'Pajero'** has been deliberately used to symbolize and depict the luxurious life the women of Mombasa would like to enjoy. Thus in this instance, it serves to differentiate between the lifestyles of those people who are rich and partly westernized from those that are poor and more traditional.

In the **'solemba'** song (pg. 258), we find the word **'ekspaya'** meaning expire. The singer says,

Wewe huna lako jambo umekwisha ekspaya.

You have nothing to show, your time has passed and gone.

The word has a strong impact on the song as it shows how unmarketable the other woman is; that is, she is not desired anymore. Nowadays, there is more emphasis on the date of expiry of products than was the case in the olden days. The singer uses this word to stress the point that the other woman has been discarded. If the singer had used Swahili words the impact might not have been the same.

The name of the song 'dokta TX' (pg. 228) is foreign. This is one of the songs that were originally sung by Zanzibar taarab groups and which have been adopted whole heartedly by the Mombasa 'Takaungu' groups. The initials TX could have come from the Tanzanian car number plates, or the singer could have preferred to give the lover a sense of mystery around him. In the same song we find the name 'Sa Joni'. The song says :

TX mpenzi dokta wangu wa zamani

Ameipata rahisi digiri yake sa joni.

Tx my lover my doctor of long ago

He got his degree easily, long ago through years of experience.

The name 'Sa Joni' is not used as a name but 'Sir John' means that the lover has long time experience or that he is very experienced in these things. 'Sa Joni' is normally used to mean 'old' in Swahili. It can thus mean this is sexual knowledge which men have acquired long ago.

In the song sung while entering Takaungu, (pg. 260) there is the word 'Londoni'

3rd stanza **Tumeingiya Londoni kwa mapenzi sote piya.**

We have come to London with all our love.

The word does not mean 'London' as we know it but London is the nickname of Takaungu (a small town about 50Kms to the north of Mombasa). This has been done

purposely to show how the inhabitants of the old Town in Mombasa view Takaungu with pride. The word 'Londoni' is also used to accomplish the rhyming scheme as they could have said London instead.

Five words have been used in the 'buzi' song (see pg. 223) which do not have equivalents in Swahili. In the chorus the singer says:

Umebeba begi umekuwa rogi

Watafuta tenda watafuta buzi.

You have carried a handbag you have become a rogue

You are looking for a tender you are looking for a big 'goat'.

(The big 'goat' stands for a wealthy man who spends lavishly on women).

The singer preferred these words as they communicate the message more effectively. A rogue is someone who will try anything to con others and benefit from it. A person who looks for a tender is one who is also trying to make a lot of money. Thus the singer has compared the tender with looking for a rich man to gain favours from him.

In the same song, we find the word tights and joints. The singer says:

Waazima taiti uonyeshe jointi.

You borrow tights to show your curves.

These are tight fitting or body clinging trousers. As these are not found in the Swahili culture, both traditional and modern, the singer preferred to use the English loan word 'taiti' which has been swahilized to communicate more effectively. Because if she had said 'suruali' it could have meant different things like pants, shorts and trousers. It would not have portrayed the picture as is intended, that is, tight fitting or body clinging trousers which show the curves.

The word 'paparazi' is also found in this song.

4th stanza **Hungoji kuitwa paparazi wajipeleka**

You do not wait to be called, paparazi, you just go.

The word is very expressive as it describes exactly how this woman follows the rich men like the **paparazi**, who follow the rich and famous to get pictures and information to write about them. She is compared to **paparazi**, who haunt the rich and famous.

In the second category, we have English words which have equivalents in Swahili but which the singer prefers. In the 'limbukeni' song (pg. 240) we come across the word 'shua' meaning sure. The singer says:

Wimbo huu n'naimba nakupa shua fulani.

This song I am singing I am assuring you chap.

There is a Swahili equivalent for it 'hakika' but the singer preferred the English word as it stresses the point more vividly and it shows how the singers are affected with code mixing. Another example, is in the 'nimepata babu' (pg. 256) song. The old man is referred to as 'shugadedi' meaning sugar daddy. Malika the singer says:

Ngawa shugadedi mamangu nioza.

Even if he is a sugar daddy, mother marry him to me.

Had the singer said 'mzee', meaning old man: it would not have conveyed the message across effectively as using the English loan word 'shugadadi': the meaning becomes more vivid. Also shugadadi is a rich play boy type of old man.

In the 'Dokta TX' song (pg. 228) we find several borrowed words which have equivalents in Swahili which the singer prefers.

We have	dokta	-	doctor
	Uperesheni	-	operation
	Digiri	-	degree

The word '**dokta**' could have been pronounced as '**daktari**', the version which has been totally assimilated in Swahili. '**Upasuaji**' could have been used instead of '**operesheni**', as elsewhere the singer says:

Nipasue daktari nipasue,

Operate on me doctor, do operate on me

And lastly for the degree she could have used the Swahili word '**shahada**'. But we can argue that the singer preferred the English equivalents because since she is using terms used in the medical register she thinks these words are more suitable in conveying the message more effectively.

In the Lamu version of '**nasema nao**' song (pg. 252), the word '**bosi**', meaning 'boss' is used. Here the word is not used as in the English context of boss but '**bosi**' here means a lover who is rich. In Swahili it is more than a lover, but a lover who maintains one in a relationship of mistress. The word '**kisi**' is also used to mean 'a kiss' though it has an equivalent in Swahili '**busu**'. The word '**ofisi**' is used to mean 'an office'. It seems the singer preferred the English version rather than the fully assimilated word '**afisi**'.

Bosi langu bosi langu hufanya kazi ofisi

Mwendo wake mwendo wake ni mwendo kama tausi

Ana ila ana ila kupiga kisi haisi.

My lover, my lover, works in an office

His gait, his gait, is like that of a peacock (he walks proudly)

His weakness, his weakness, is that he does not know how to kiss well.

All the three words used in this song have equivalents in Swahili, one of which is in the assimilated form. The singer preferred the English words, though with Swahili pronunciation, because they lend the song an aura of Western sophistication and show that the lover is someone modern. We can also argue that the singer prefers the English words because for the younger generation, anything English shows one is more civilized or developed, or that they think by using English words, one would be able to express oneself more effectively in matters of love.

In the song sung while entering Takaungu (pg. 260) the English name of Old Town is used instead of 'Mji wa kale'.

1st stanza **Wote ni oldi tauni tufurahike nafusi.**

We are all from Old Town, let us rejoice.

Though there is a Swahili version, the composer preferred to use old town purposely in order to complete the rhyme.

In the 'buzi' song (pg. 223) the word 'jointi' is used. The word has its equivalent in Swahili as 'viungo', meaning the different parts of the body, but the singer employed this word for emphatic purpose which would not have come out in the sense that the singer wanted, had the Swahili word been used. The singer says:

Waazima taiti uonyeshe jointi.

You borrow tights to show your curves.

The singer wants us to create the impression of the woman showing her curves, which would have been missing had the Swahili word '**viungo**' been used. In the same song, we also see the words '**bosi**' and '**mesenja**' from the English words 'boss' and 'messenger'.

3rd stanza **Wachanganya wote bosi na mesenja.**
You mix all of them, bosses and messengers.

These words have equivalents, but the singer wants to show the extent of the extreme social positions of the two. Thus the singer uses the English words to show how the woman stoops so low as to have affairs with both messengers and bosses in order to gain financially.

Apart from these two types of English words found in the wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa, we also find English borrowings that have been completely assimilated in Swahili. The English borrowings that have been fully assimilated in Swahili still have a role to play in the songs as the singer could have said the same things using other words. Though they have been assimilated in Swahili, the singer employs them for a reason. In the '**solemba**' song (pg. 258), the words '**mita**' for metre and **blauzi** for blouse have been used:

2nd stanza **Na kuvaa yondosista na blauzi za maua**
utazimaliza mita hakuṭaki kaniambia.

And wearing 'yondosista', and flowery blouses
you will use up all the metres, he told me he does not want you.

The word '**mita**' is used to show that the lady referred to in the song is very fat and that even if she wore different styles deduced from the blouses, the man still does not want her.

Another example of an English borrowing is found in the song '**mpira wangu**' (pg. 242). The word '**goli**' is used. The word is very significant as the act of having sex is compared to scoring a goal in a football match. The singer could have said '**amefunga bao**' to mean scoring instead of using the word '**goli**'.

Thus though these words are assimilated fully in Swahili, some of them are employed mainly for communicative effect and humour. In the context of the wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa, the English words has been used to inform the listener the precise meaning the singer wants to convey.

4.1.4 ARABIC WORDS

It is a well known fact that the Arabic language has profoundly affected Swahili (Abdulaziz 1979; Bakari 1982). Here we are not going to look at all the Arabic words which are found in Swahili as most of them have been totally assimilated. Because of this assimilation, it becomes difficult to distinguish between Arabic and Swahili words as the Arabic words become elusive, that is they do not render themselves quite obviously and easily as Arabic or Swahili.

We are only looking at the Arabic words which render themselves quite obviously as Arabic, as we believe it is quite unlikely that there would be many Arabic words that would not have Swahili equivalents in the wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa.

Most of the Arabic influence in the songs is in the pronunciation of the words and we have already looked at it in the previous chapter. So our approach will be to analyse those words which have not been fully assimilated into Swahili phonology and their effect in the songs. These words are mostly found in what we call supplication songs and the **taarab** songs. They are not found in the original Swahili wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa.

In the supplication song labelled A (pg. 230) there are several Arabic words:

Stanza 1	-	Bismillahi, Qudusi, Ilahi, Inshallah
Stanza 2	-	Manani, Kahari, Rwahamani.
Stanza 3	-	Rwaba, ilahi, karima
Stanza 4	-	Rwabi
Stanza 5	-	Muradi

The words ‘Qudusi’, ‘Ilahi’, ‘Manani’, ‘Kahari’, ‘Karima’, ‘Rwahamani’, ‘Rwabi’ are all words which refer to God Allah and his different attributes. For example, ‘Rwahamani’ means the beneficent. ‘Karima’ the generous. ‘Kudusi’ the holy and ‘Kahari’ the bestower. The importance of using these different names of God is to emphasize the message. Since the supplication songs are normally composed by close relatives to pray for the well being of the bride and groom. the composers invoke the different attributes of God.

By invoking the different names of God. the Composer is stressing her message that she is praying with all her heart for the young couple to get all the good things in life.

The word ‘Bismillahi’ means in the name of Allah and the word ‘Inshallah’ means God willing. They still portray the picture that the composer is seeking a favour from God and is hoping God will grant it. Lastly the word ‘muradi’ means desire or wish in the context of religion.

In the supplication song labelled B (again see pg. 231) we find the words:-

Stanza 1	Karimu, Ilahi
Stanza 2	Jabari
Stanza 3	Rabi, kabuli

Again all the words seen here are attributes of God, except one word, 'kabuli'. Also in this supplication song, the composer is praying for the bride and groom to love one another and for everything in their life to be perfect without problems. The last word 'kabuli' means blessing, thus it is also in the context of prayer where one hopes for blessings.

In the 'solemba' (pg. 258) and 'zabibu' songs (pg. 266) we find the word 'wallahi'.

'Solemba' Nimejitolea muhanga wallahi sitamtoa.

I have sacrificed myself, by God I will not give him up.

'Zabibu' Wallahi sina wazimu wewe kukuregeshea.

By God I am not crazy to return it to you.

This word, 'wallahi' is an invocation word and it has been used in both the two cases for emphasis and as a strong affirmation of what is being said. In the 'solemba' song, the singer is emphasizing that he will not give up her lover and in the 'zabibu' song the singer is emphasizing that she will not return to the former lover. Had the Swahili words meaning the same being used, the metrical measure would not have been achieved. If the words 'haki ya Mungu' were used the metrical measure would have exceeded the number of syllables required.

Apart from these religious words, other Arabic words, have been used. In the zabibu song we are told:

Stanza 2 kuna jambo makhtumu hilo shoti ufahamu
 Ulinifikiri dubu sina akili timamu
 Nimepata mahbubu anayenitia damu
 Pendo twiba ya hubu mwenye mapenzi matamu.

There is something important that you must understand
You thought I was stupid I do not have a sound mind
I have got a beloved who makes my blood race
Love is the cure of the beloved who has sweet love.

Stanza 3 **Kwako nishastaafu kurudi mustahili
Mtu aso inswafu heri kuwa naye mbali.**

I have resigned myself from you and do not intend to get back with
you
It is better to separate with a dishonest person.

The words underlined are un assimilated Arabic words that have been used purposely to complete the rhyming scheme and also because they highlight the significance of what is being said in the song. The singer is familiar with the original Arabic words, indicating her proficiency in pronouncing correctly Arabic words.

In the 'nimepata babu' song (pg. 256), three Arabic words have been used. This is a dialogue between a mother and daughter. In the third stanza the daughter says:

Mamangu nioza shebe nampenda.
My mother marry me to the old man, as I love him.

And the mother answers:

Tafuta rijali aliye jadidi.
Look for a man of substance who is strong and virile.

The word '**shebe**' is colloquial Arabic to mean an old man and the word '**rijali**' though given Swahili pronunciation is from the Arabic word '**rijal**' meaning a man of substance

who takes responsibility. The popular word for a young man in Swahili is 'kijana' or 'mwanamume'. These two Arabic words have been used to show the two types of men in the song. Whereas the daughter wants to be married to the old man because of security, the mother wants the daughter to be married to a young man because of his youth and strength. They have been used purposely to portray the picture and the contrast in the minds of the audience. Had the singer used 'mwanamume' this would have meant both old and young. Thus it would not have conjured the true picture. The word 'jadidi' comes from the Arabic word 'jadid', meaning young, strong and virile.

The last example is in the Takaungu song (pg. 260) where the composer says in the forth stanza:

Itakuwa maftaha ya stara kuwavisha.

It would be a key of blessing to clothe them.

The word has been used to complete the rhyming scheme and syllabic measure.

4.1.5 CODE SWITCHING

Code switching has been defined in linguistics as a change from one language variety to another during a speech event (Richards et al 1985: Habwe 1999:90). This is not the same as lexical borrowing as utterances in code switching display features of the different languages involved and not like in lexical borrowing where an utterance has to be integrated in a language's phonological and morphological system (See Bentahila and Davies (1982) cited in Oduol 1987: 109).

Saville Troike (1989) cited in Habwe (1999:90) distinguishes two major types of code switching. Inter-sentential code switching and intra-sentential code-switching. The former type is code switching above clause level while the latter type occurs within the sentence, sometimes referred to as code-mixing.

Though code switching is a common phenomenon in Kenya, in the area of Swahili wedding songs, code switching is not very common. Though sometimes the form of code-switching referred to as intra sentential or code-mixing occurs between Swahili and English. However, important to this study is not the sole question of mixing languages but to find out the underlying reasons and the stylistic implications accompanying it.

As already mentioned this mixing is rarely found in wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa except in a few songs. In our data we have only two songs where the singers mixes Swahili with English. The songs are in Swahili but the chorus that is repeated after each stanza is in English in one of the songs and in the other song the last line of the chorus is in English. The rationale may have been to highlight the influence of English on the modern generation and from mixing of cultures. The younger generation, because of western culture and education, practice a mixed culture. This could also have been prompted by the thought that in matters of love, some people think that if they express themselves in a foreign language, this will demonstrate the extent of their love and they will be able to express themselves more clearly. The foreign language in this case gives a sense of mystery and thus is used to reinforce the message. This could have also been in view of the fact that Swahili wedding songs are sung by women who know Swahili fairly well and English not as well.

In the song **'Mr. Mahmoud'** (pg. 242) the title itself is in English and the chorus says,

Helo, helo, helo, I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Helo, helo, helo, I love you Mr. Mahmoud.

Code mixing has been employed in these songs to stress the point that this is no ordinary love.

In the **'ya laiti'** song (pg. 265) the chorus says:

Ya laiti napenda pasi kifani

Tafauti sikutilii moyoni

Sikuati leo na kesho peponi

Hahaha ha haha I love you.

There is no comparison to my love

I will not be indifferent to you

I will not leave you today, tomorrow nor in heaven

Hahaha ha haha I love you.

4.1.6 REPETITION

Repetition and parallelism are literary features which are related and which are of wide occurrence in African Poetry (See Finnegan, 1971; Nketia, 1955; Cope, 1968). Some of the types of repetition will be discussed as forms of parallelism.

It is difficult not to appreciate the significance of repetition at all linguistic levels. As Okpewho (1992:71) notes, this is no doubt one of the most fundamental characteristic features of oral literature. The relevance of repetition to oral literature was not sufficiently appreciated by earlier scholars (See Finnegan, 1971; Okpewho, 1992). Most early collectors and editors of folk songs had the unfortunate habit of cutting what they considered as 'unnecessary repetition of phrases'. Thus by doing so, they have tampered with the very heart of these songs. But many texts collected and transcribed in more recent years have respected these qualities and we are now in a better position to understand the roles played by devices such as repetition.

Repetition as a device not only gives a touch of beauty to a piece of oral expression but also serves certain practical purposes in the overall organization of the Swahili wedding songs. The aesthetic value of repetition is fundamental as the repetition of a phrase or a line in a song does have a certain sing song quality to it. If the repetition occurs between

intervals in a song, the audience is often delighted to identify with it and to accompany the performer in going over a phrase or a line that has now become familiar. Repetition in this thesis is used to refer to the repetition of morphemes, words, hemistiches or whole lines. There are many types of repetition in the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. We will only discuss briefly three types of repetition. It is possible for one to find in these songs more types of repetition than those listed here. The three types of repetition however are deemed sufficient in order to show the existence of this literary feature in these songs.

The first type of repetition takes two forms. The first form occurs where a basic verse of the song is repeated by the chorus throughout the delivery of that song. The repetition of the chorus after each stanza in a song is a very good example. Ladies attending a Swahili wedding accompany the singers and this makes them feel part and parcel of the occasion. They are encouraged by the singer also to accompany in the singing in order for the songs to be more lively.

If the audience do not respond, the singers tend to get tired and lose interest hence the performance becomes dull. The singers might even refuse to sing if the audience does not sing along the chorus or 'kipokeo' in Swahili. At times they even get angry and tell the audience that they are spoiling the wedding, a fact which makes the audience feel guilty. In general, the liveliness of the occasion depends on the audience responding to the chorus and singing along, as they know most of the songs (see Ngara 1985: 21).

Most of the songs we are analyzing have a chorus which is repeated after every verse in the songs which are divided in verses. In the song, 'Dereva' (pg. 226) the chorus is:

Dereva wangu tulia hapa kwangu umetua
Nami nimekuachia ukipendacho chagua.

My driver relax, here at my place where you have settled down.

And I have given you the freedom to choose whatever you like.

In the 'nimepata babu song' (pg. 256), the chorus is:

Takula nishibe takula nishibe

Kinioza shebe takula nishibe.

I will eat and be satisfied I will eat and be satisfied

If you marry me to the old man he will give me adequate security.

Apart from the chorus being repeated after each verse in the above song, we also see a whole hemistich being repeated. The hemistich underlined is repeated three times. The singer is emphasizing the material security that the girl will get if she marries an old man.

In the 'dokta TX' song, (pg. 228) the chorus is:

Nipasue daktari nipasue

Toa maradhi ya ndani we nipasue.

Operate on me doctor. operate on me

Remove all the sickness in me. operate on me.

This chorus is repeated after each verse and the hemistich underlined is repeated three times to stress the importance of sex.

In the song 'nasema nao' (pg. 251) the chorus is:

Nasema nao na wabava ni hao hao

Nacheke nao na wabava ni hao hao

Nakula noa na wabava ni hao hao.

Although we chatter together but I know they don't wish me well
Although we laugh together but I know they don't wish me well
Although we eat together but I know they don't wish me well.

The chorus is repeated several times to show that though the singer does everything together with them like eating laughing and talking, she knows that they don't mean well. Note that even in the chorus the words '**nao na wabaya ni hao hao**' have been repeated in each line.

This type of repetition, whereby a whole chorus is repeated after every verse occurs mostly in the songs which were originally from the taarab musical groups of Zanzibar and which follow the pattern of traditional written poetry. This could be a requirement of melody.

The second form of repetition can be seen in the other songs that are more original where a basic verse, as a chorus, is absent. Instead, the lines of a verse are shared between the singer and the chorus. The first two lines of the song are repeated by the leader and then the group repeats the lines. Then after the two verses, the same two lines are repeated several times though sometimes a little varied (see '**msumeno**' song pg. 244). In the '**nalialia oh**' song (pg. 249) the first line is repeated thrice and then it is repeated again after the second line.

Nalia ooh, nalia mama

Nalia ooh, nalia mama

Ooh nalia oh, nalia

Nikikumbuka yako mazoea

Nalia ooh, nalia mama:

I am crying ooh, crying mother

I am crying ooh, crying mother

Ooh crying oh, crying

When I remember the attachment I have for you

I am crying ooh, crying mother.

The same happens in the song 'mtaimbo'. (pg. 245).

Hauna eeh	It does not have ee
Hauna laika	It does not have a single strand of hair
Eeh hauna	Eeh it does not have
Hauna laika	It does not have a single strand of hair
Oh hauna laika	Oh it does not have a single strand of hair
Hauna laika	It does not have a single strand of hair

In this case also there is repetition of lines within a verse.

The second type of repetition is where the first line or the only word in the first line is repeated in the second line. The first line in such instances contains melodic particles 'ee' or 'ae' either initially or terminally. For example in the song 'naolewa' (pg. 250) they occur terminally.

Naolewa hee

Naolewa hee

usilie hee

usilie hee

I am getting married. hee

I am getting married. hee

Don't cry. hee

Don't cry. hee

In the 'kitabū achore' song, (pg. 237) these melodic particles occur initially.

Ee leo achore

Ee leo achore

Ee. today let him write (paint). put his mark

Ee. today let him write (paint) put his mark

These melodic particles can also be at the middle. for example. in the ***uchekechee nkono*** (pg. 260) and ***bendera*** (pg. 222) songs.

Uchekechee nkono ee uchekechee nkono

Ulie wali bario ee uchekechee nkono.

You have burnt your hand ee, you have burnt your hand

You have eaten yesterday's rice ee. you have burnt your hand.

In the ***bendera*** song:

Nambia ah, nambia kikulacho

Nambia ah, mke mwenzangu nambia.

Tell me ah. tell me ah, what is bothering you

Tell me my co-wife. tell me!

The particles can also be at the initial and end position like in the case of ***mtaimbo*** song (pg. 245).

Hauna ee

Hauna laika

Ee hauna

Hauna laika.

It does not have ee
It does not have a single strand of hair
Ee it does not have
It does not have a single strand of hair.

The third type of repetition is when the word in the line is repeated twice or more in order to carry the melodic line to its required length. Thus in a sense, the function of the repeated words here is similar to that of particles 'ee' of the above examples.

Examples of this type of repetition are in the beginning of the 'buzi' song, (pg. 223).

**Hauna tena urongo usibabaishe wenzako
Wenzakoo wenzakoo wenzakoo.**

Some singers stretch the final vowel sound 'o' quite considerably.

Apart from the repetition of the chorus after every verse in some of the songs, the lines in the verses are sometimes also repeated.

For example in 'dereva' song, (pg. 226) the singer says:

**Dereva nimempata ananiendesha vyema
Sukani akikamata gari halendi mrama
Dereva nimempata ananiendesha vyema
Sukani akikamata gari halendi mrama
Nami nimempakata katulia katuwama
Mwenzenu nimeukata semeni mtayosema
Mwenzenu nimeukata ukata ukata ukata semeni mtayo sema.**

I have found a driver who drives me well
 When he holds the steering wheel the car does not wobble
 I have sat him on my lap and he does not move about
 My friends I have won. say whatever you will say
 My friends I have won. I have won I have won. say whatever you will say

This repetition is done in all the verses of this song in that order, where the first two lines are repeated then the next two lines are repeated and the fourth line is repeated twice again. This is done to add to the aesthetic impact.

Apart from the aesthetic impact, repetition also has more specific stylistic values within the song. It gives a certain amount of emphasis to a point that needs to be stressed as may be observed in all the songs in the different occasions of the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa.

4.2 SYNTACTIC LEVEL

4.2.0 INTRODUCTION

Under this level we will look at questions, parallelism and sentence length. There are a few examples of sentences under this level of metaphorical expression and personification but as already mentioned, these involve semantic interpretation and therefore are better discussed at the level of semantics.

It must be emphasised that it is an analysis of stylistic features of the wedding songs and not syntactic as in linguistic description.

4.2.1 USE OF QUESTIONS AS A STYLISTIC FEATURE

Questions play quite a significant role as stylistic features in any language. We will consider both straight forward and rhetorical questions. Though questions do not feature

very much in songs, the few which are used, when set against statements have an emphatic effect.

In the data being analysed we only came across one straightforward question. In the song 'Baburau' (pg. 222) the singer asks:

Vile likipimwa lapataje?

When measured how long is it?

Then the answer is given that it is like the measure of the arm and the whole hand and the length of the palm and it is still longer than all that. The question is used purposely to stress on the size of the penis that it is too big.

All the other questions in the songs are rhetorical questions. We shall treat them in the sense described by Leech (1969:184). According to him these are questions that do not need answers. Their reply is not usually given in a text but instead it is to be elicited from the listener herself. In the two versions of 'hatuonani kwa nini' song (pgs. 232 and 233) the chorus is a rhetorical question where the singers ask several times why they don't meet.

Hatuonani kwa nini?

Hatuonani kwa nini?

Kibanda hiki na kibanda hiki hatuonani kwa nini?

Why don't we meet?

Why don't we meet?

Though we live next door to each other, why don't we meet?

In the Lamu version, we see that the singer employs a number of rhetorical questions.

2nd verse **Mimi siyavaa dira tavaaye deshideshi?**
I have not worn even a 'dira'¹ how will I wear deshideshi²?

3rd verse **Kuku hufungwa makumbi nzio hufungwa n'ni?**
A hen is tied to a coconut husks what should a buffoon be tied to?

'Nzio' or 'mzio' in Kitikuu and Kiamu respectively is a buffoon who is untamable and cannot be restrained. The singer seems to say that there are some men who cannot be tamed.

4th verse **Utatuma paka lini umpate mwanamwali?**
You will save until when to get a virgin bride

Here the effect, is created by employing three questions in succession. The rhetorical questions impress on the readers mind. The first question emphasizes the fact that the singer is poor as if she has not worn a 'dira' which is a simpler and cheaper type of dress worn by women as compared to 'deshideshi' which is more elegant and expensive. The hen at least is tied to coconut husks what will be used to control someone who is a buffoon. The third question also stress on the fact of poverty. The young man will save until he can afford to marry a virgin who is expensive in terms of dowry.

Another example of rhetorical questions can be found in the 'solemba' song (pg. 258). The singer asks in the first stanza:

1st stanza **Kama wewe ni mrembo mbona umekataliwa?**
If you are so beautiful why have you been rejected?

The audience have to fathom this, as they have to think of other reasons which have made the woman to be rejected. In the 'Bendera' song (pg. 222), the rhetorical questions are:-

Nambia ah nambia kikulacho?

Tell me, tell me, what is disturbing you?

Nambia ah mke mwenzangu nambia kikulacho?

Tell me my co-wife tell me what is disturbing you?

Here two questions are asked. In the first question, the person asked is not mentioned, she is mentioned in the second question. The audience do not need to be told the answer as they know from the song that it is the sharing of the husband or jealousy which is disturbing the co-wife.

The last examples are in the 'mwanamwali kaolewa' song (pg. 247). The singer asks:

Hela bwana niambie

Lipi lililo kuudhi eeh?

Zima taa, zima taa, eeh

Au umeshindwa na kazi? Eeh

Please husband tell me

What has annoyed you eeh?

Put off the light, put the light off eeh

Or are you not able to perform? Eeh

The effect of the rhetorical questions is to also create a dramatic effect, shifting the dialogue from the singers of the song to between the singer and the audience or listener. Apart from its being artistic, this shift, which literally involves the audience's participation in a song, also affords her with a chance of a better understanding of the message being put across by the singer (Ngara 1985:17).

4.2.2 PARALLELISM

According to Jakobson (1966:429) parallelistic features 'are patterns where certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high frequency.' (see also Leech 1969:62 – 69). In this section we shall use the term in the sense that Wales (1989:335) uses it. That is repetition of the same structural pattern: commonly between phrases or clauses. As parallelism is closely related to repetition, here we will only look at structured repetition. These are reflected as repetitions of expressions that have a discernible syntactic structure.

A good example of parallelism is found in the 'limbuke ni' song (pg. 240). Towards the end of the song, in the chorus, several lines are added which are parallel.

Kama nduguyo hakim

Utajijua mwenyewe

Kama nduguyo polisi

Utajijua mwenyewe

Kama nduguyo mchawi

Utajijua mwenyewe.

If your brother is a judge

You will find for yourself

If your brother is a policeman

You will find for yourself

If your brother is a witch doctor

You will find for yourself.

We observe that the line 'utajijua mwenyewe' is repeated three times. The first two words of the first line are also repeated three times. The third word in the odd lines (1.3.5) is varied by changing the nouns judge, policeman and witch doctor.

Another example of this parallelism is found in the ‘**chenjere**’ song (pg. 226).

Ningekuwa na Pajero
Ninglewa pararira
Ningekuwa na manyanga
Ningekuwa na wowowo
Ninglewa pararira.

If I had a Pajero (a strong virile man)
I would have been over the moon. pararira
If I had a young man
I would have been over the moon. pararira
If I had an attractive back side
I would have been over the moon. pararira.

The singer again varies her lines where the first and second words, that is ‘**ningekuwa na**’ are repeated in all the odd lines (1,3,5,7.), she changes the third word by changing the nouns ‘**Pajero**’ ‘**manyanga**’ ‘**wowowo**’ which are all either borrowed or neologisms. The even lines (2,4,6,8) are repetition of the same line ‘**ningelewa pararira**’.

This type of parallelism is also seen in the chorus of ‘**nasema nao**’ song (pg. 251).

Nasema nao na wabaya ni hao hao
Nacheka nao na wabaya ni hao hao
Nakula nao na wabaya ni hao hao.

Although we chatter together but I know they don’t wish me well
Although we laugh together but I know they don’t wish me well
Although we eat together but I know they don’t wish me well.

In the above example it is only the first word which is changed but the remaining parts of the three sentences remain unchanged. ***nao na wabaya ni hao hao**'. The verb chatting in the first line changes to laughing in the second line and eating in the third line. The singer is saying that although the people are close to her and are her friends, she knows they do not wish her well.

In the **'bendera'** song (pg. 222) there is a form of parallelism which Cope T.(1968) refers to as 'cross linking'. This is where the last word of the first line is repeated initially in the following line or where the first word is repeated terminally in the following line.

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa³

Naatwawe mwana kutwawa.

My co-wife your husband has been taken

Let him be taken let him be taken.

The same verb **'twawa'** taken is repeated in the second line though a bit differently. It is repeated in the word **'naatwawe'** let him be taken.

According to Cope (1968) there is also initial and final linking which is called parallelism by linking. This is where a line is linked to the following line by the repetition of either the first word or initial linking or the last word or final linking in the same position in both lines. Examples of initial linking can be found in the **' mwanamwali kaolewa'** song (pg. 247).

Nimewaalika harusi

harusi

mimi na bwana wa huko

Huko

siku yetu ya harusi

Harusi.

I have invited you to a wedding
wedding
my wedding to a man from there
there
the day of our wedding
wedding.

Another example is in the ‘naolewa’ song (pg. 250)

Usilie hee
Usilie
Na mlango utajifungia
Na mlango utaukomea
.....

don't cry, hee
don't cry, hee
and you will close the door
and you will lock the door

The last example of initial linking is seen in the third stanza of ‘sikusudii lawama’ song (pg. 257).

Nampenda akisema ...
Nampenda kitizama ...
Nampenda akihema ...
Nampenda nishazama ...

I like him when he speaks to me ...

I like him when he looks at me ...

I like him when he groans (in a sexual act or the way he expresses his emotions to me ...)

I am helplessly in love with him ...

The above song expresses the feeling that the lover loves every aspect of her beloved's behaviour. She also takes the initiative herself to initiate the sex act.

The word '**nampenda**' has been repeated four times at the initial position of each line and the different qualities of the lover have been shown. This has been done to show or stress that the woman likes him because of his different attributes. The metaphorical meaning is that she likes everything about him.

In the '**nalia oh**' song (pg. 249), the lead singer varies the lines whereby parallelism occurs. She says:

Amezoea kulalia pajero

mama nalia

Amezoea kulalia mgongo

mama nalia

Amezoea kulala mgongoni

mama nalia

Amezoea kulala kifuani

Mama nalia.

She is used to sleeping with a Pajero (strong virile man)

mother I am crying

she is used to sleeping on the back of the man

mother I am crying

she is used to sleeping on the back of the man
mother I am crying
she is used to sleeping on the man's chest
mother I am crying.

The words '**kifuani**' and '**mgongoni**' imply the various positions they take during the sexual act to show that they are experienced.

This type of parallelism by linking can also fall under initial linking though in between the lines of the lead singer. the chorus and audience come in with their line which is repeated over and over.

Examples of final linking parallelism can be seen in the '**jito**' and '**bendera**' songs (pgs. 235 and 222).

Eeh jito sijema⁴
Eeh jito si jema
Eeh jito si jema
Nalia na jito si jema.

Eeh the eye. what an evil eye (jealous)
Eeh the eye. what an evil eye (jealous)
Eeh the eye. what an evil eye (jealous)
I'm crying with the eye. it is not good.

Hata la nduguyo si jema
Nalia na jito si jema
Hata la jirani si jema
Nalia na jito si jema.

Even your sister's eye is not good
I'm crying with the eye is not good
Even that of a neighbour is not good
I'm crying with the eye, it is not good.

We see **'si jema'** is repeated in every line. The repetition of **'si jema'** is stressed to show that evil comes out of jealousy.

In the **'bendera'** song (pg. 222), the singer says:

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa
Naatwawe mwana kutwawa
Huko endako ende akatwawe.

My co-wife your husband has been taken
Let him be taken let him be taken
And where he has gone let him be taken.

The verb **'twawa'** 'be taken' is repeated several times at the end of each line.

Another form of parallelism is where there is repetition but it is in different verses at the same position. In the song **'waume wa sasa'** the first verse begins with:

Waume wa sasa ...
The husbands of today

The second verse also starts with the same words. This is also the case in the song **'chenjere'** (pg. 226). The first line of the first verse says,

Ukimpata chenjere we njoo naye.

If you get a 'chenjere' (a type of bird) come with it.

In the second stanza the singer says.

Ukimpata sabasi we njoo naye.

If you get a gossip come with her.

The same phrase '**ukimpata chenjere we njoo naye**' is used but in the second phrase it is altered a bit where the word '**chenjere**' is removed and the word '**sabasi**' used instead but the other words remain the same.

In the '**nakuona hujasema**' song (pg. 248), this structured repetition is also seen.

Stanza 1 **nakuona hujasema**
 Hujasema aah hujasema
 Nakwambia mambo bado
 Nakuona umenuna
 Umenuna aah umenuna
 Nakwambia mambo bado.

I see you haven't spoken
I see you haven't spoken nay you've not spoken
I tell you it's not yet time for it
I see you have frowned aah you have frowned
I tell you it is not yet time for it.

Here there is repetition but not in lines following one another but in verses following one another. The word '**hujasema**' in the first stanza is repeated three times and the last line is repeated again in the second verse.

By using such devices as parallelism and other repetitive features, different feelings and emotional expressions are made emphatic.

4.2.3 SENTENCE LENGTH

The songs are dominated by short sentences. This is expected as it is the norm for the spoken word. Short sentences are those that are overly simple. The simple sentences are those that have one main verb. In the songs being discussed, sentences are simple and short, thus they facilitate easy understanding. Even though the singers use elusive language, this is familiar to their audiences and thus serve to heighten the mood.

Many of these sentences used in the songs are statements though there are a few questions (as shown in 4.2.1 above). This type of sentences give the message explicitly.

4.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have looked at the stylistic features at the lexical and syntactic levels of language. We have looked at the vocabulary available to the singer and how she has used it effectively. We have also looked at repetition and parallelism as part of the language resources.

In the next chapter we will focus our attention on the language resources that manifest some kind of allusion in meaning.

FOOTNOTES

1. 'Dira' a simple type of loose dress worn by women.
2. 'Deshideshi' a more elaborate fancy-ful embroidered dress worn also by women.
3. In the Swahili society it is often assumed that if a man marries another wife he is either not satisfied sexually or his wife is inadequate in some way.
4. The Swahili believe in the curse of the evil eye if someone has an evil eye. she is envious and jealous

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AT THE SEMANTIC LEVEL

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we dealt with aspects of style at the lexical and grammatical levels. We looked mainly at repetition and vocabulary choices made by the singers. The thesis investigated the use of neologisms, archaic and foreign words. It also dealt with aspects of code switching and showed their overall effects in the songs. We also looked at the length of sentences.

As language has as its chief aim the achievement of meaning, in this chapter, at the level of semantics, the study focuses on the devices that contribute to the overall meaning. The stylistic devices that are looked at in this section are those that manifest some kind of allusion in meaning. Our attention is focused on all the significant devices of the language through which a singer will have conveyed his message.

5.1 SIMILES

A great deal has been written on the concept of similes both in literature and linguistics (See Leech 1969; Chapman 1973; Leech & Short 1981; Wales 1985). Most of the authorities agree on the basic view that similes have got to do with the transfer of meaning. From a stylistic point of view we seek to view a simile as a figure of speech whereby two concepts are imaginatively and descriptively compared.

Wedding songs display use of similes. The Swahili wedding songs from Mombasa give evidence of the use of similes by singers. By the use of similes the singers have been able to describe various aspects and experiences more precisely in the songs.

In ‘‘**uchekechee nkono**’ song (pg . 260) brought to Mombasa from the Lamu archipelago by the **kishuri** groups¹, which are sometimes invited to entertain in Mombasa weddings, we see examples of similes. The fifth verse of this song says:

Mimi nawe mimi nawe ee

Ni kama kope na jito.

You and me, the two of us

Are as inseparable as the eyelashes and the eye.

The singer is emphasizing the close relationship between the two lovers. This simile of ‘**kope na jito**’ or ‘eyelashes and the eye’ brings out the extent of their closeness, and the fact that they are inseparable. In the Lamu version of ‘‘**nasema nao**’’ (pg. 252) we get another simile.

Bosi langu bosi langu

Hufanya kazi ofisi

Mwendo wake mwendo wake

Ni mwendo kama tausi.

My lover My lover

Works in an office

His gait, the wonderful way he walks.

He strolls like a peacock

(walks with pride and confidence).

The word beloved in English means someone who loves or is loved or ‘**mpenzi**’ in Swahili. The word ‘**bosi**’ has been used metaphorically to mean a rich man who is generous with his money, especially to his women lovers.

The peacock is known for its beauty and graceful strolls. Thus it is no wonder there is an English proverb that says as ‘proud as a peacock’. But in this song the lover’s gait is compared with that of a peacock. This simile brings out the extent of the woman’s pride in her lover to the extent that even his walk is seen as something beautiful. The ‘bosi’ is glorified by using the augmentive adjective of noun class 6. The lover is referred to as ‘bosi langu’ to mean he is big, rich and important. The simile associated with the peacock seems to be universal as it is seen in different communities.

Another simile is used in the “hatuonani” song (pg. 233).

Sakubimbi Sakubimbi	Ukimuona muogope
Akiweko akiweko	Neno lisikudondoke
Anauma kama nge	Anauma kote kote.

Trouble maker, oh you who makes trouble. If you see her be on guard
If she is around, if the one who makes trouble is present. Do utter a word
She stings like a scorpion. She harms in different ways

In this song the troublemaker is compared to a scorpion. This is a significant and effective simile as it shows how dangerous this person can be and how she can attack from different directions.

In the following song, we see the bridegroom and bride being compared to the Prophet (P.B.U.H)² and his wife Aisha. This simile is used in what we call supplication songs. The person who gave the song as a present to the bridegroom’s mother wants the bride and bridegroom to love one another as the Prophet and his wife Aisha did.

Na hao wano wawili Mngu tawasuudisha
Wafurahike wanali katika yao maisha
Wapendane kweli kweli kama mtumi na Esha.

And those two children of yours, God will make them successful
They be happy and shine in their lives
Loving one another truly like the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and Esha.

This comparison with the religious leader is very relevant as it is familiar to all Muslims. Since this simile is a religious one, if one does not know the religion of Islam one would not understand who '**Mtume**' and '**Esha**' are.

5.2 METAPHORS

A lot has been said and written on the concept of metaphor both in linguistics and literature (Leech, 1969, Nowotny, 1965, Wales, 1989, Myers and Simms, 1989, Cuddon 1977). Most of the researchers agree on the basic view that metaphor is a basic device in poetry and metaphors like similes have got to do with the transfer of meaning. Thus a comparison is usually implicit.

From a stylistic point of view we seek to view metaphor as a figure of speech in which one thing is described in terms of another. We shall argue that cases of metaphor are part of the fabric of language.

Singers of Swahili wedding songs make effective use of metaphors. Let us consider some examples from the data. The '**solemba**' song (pg. 258) has a case of metaphorical use when it says.

Umeshindwa kumchunga njiwa³ akakukimbia.

You have not been able to take care of the pigeon, so it has ran away.

The pigeon normally is used as a mark of a beautiful woman for example a dark eyed woman or a woman with pigeon like eyes. Here the pigeon refers to a man. A man whom

a woman could not hold. The man could have sought pleasures elsewhere due to the fact that the woman does not please him. These types of metaphors have been used mostly to refer to women as birds in Swahili songs but the trend seems to be changing and the metaphor has assumed a broader meaning.

Another example of metaphorical use is in the song 'wewe ulonizoea' (pg. 265) where a person is referred to as:

Imamu wa usabasi, Imamu wa usabasi, mwenye tepe za umbea.

Leader of scandal mongering who has medals for scandalizing people.

Imam is an Arabic word that means religious leader of high calibre including the one who leads prayers in the mosque. In the song it is used deliberately in a non-religious context to allude disparagingly to scandal mongers whom the Swahili culture and Islam vilify. Here the leadership is transferred to mean she is leading in the vice of scandal mongering.

In the same song, the singer says:

Umbo langu ni mkizi na jina nakwambia.

My character is that of a cuttle-fish whose name I also bear.

The metaphor here is that the singer is saying that she has a character like that of the cuttle fish. This statement has a deep pragmatic meaning. The cuttle fish is associated with stupid behaviour when it is angry. The fish jumps into the fisherman's boat and does not care of the outcome, however harmful the behaviour is to itself. The Swahilis also have a proverb associated with the cuttle fish 'hasira ya mkizi furaha ya mvuvi', or the cuttle fish's anger is the fisherman's joy. This proverb also alludes to the stupid behaviour that harms the person who perpetrates it.

In the “**kueka goma**’ song (pg. 237), we find another metaphorical use. The singers refer to themselves as :

Ni kunguni kondo yangu ni jioni.

I am a bedbug my bloody attack is in the evening.

As the bedbugs normally bite at night, the singers have compared themselves to the bedbugs. The women also make love at night.

The songs from the Lamu archipelago show a tendency of using many metaphors. This can be attributed to the fact that Swahili language, as most people believe, originated from there and that the dialect has not changed much compared to the other major dialects. It has not been affected much with the modernization process.

In the “**uchekechee nkono**’ song (pg. 260), several metaphors are used.

4th stanza **kama mahaba ni ndege nami ningekuushia**
kama mahaba ni dhahabu nami ningekufulia.

If love were an aeroplane I would have flown it to you
If love were gold I would also have mined it for you.

5th stanza **Mwenginewe mwenginewe kwangu mimi ni uzito**
Litukuwe litukuwe ijapo pendo ni mocho.

it is unbearable that I choose someone else.
You should bear the pain of love although it burns like fire.

7th stanza **Nikawaza nikawaza hadi kukapambauka**
Kweli mahaba ni mori mara moya hudeuka.

I pondered and pondered over it all night till day break
It's true that love is like fat it melts away easily.

In the 4th stanza love is compared to two different items: an aeroplane and gold. Two expensive items which the singer says he would have achieved for his lover to show the extent of love. Gold among the Swahili women is valued highly and it reflects someone's wealth or status in the community. Women like to wear it to show off during weddings.

In the third metaphor of the song love is said to be like fire. This means that love is not an easy thing to bear and that it can burn a person who plays with it. In the last metaphor, love is compared to fat that melts easily. This shows that love does not last for long and how easily it can disappear. The metaphor is emphasizing the ephemeral nature of love.

In the song dokta TX, two metaphors stand out. We are told the following in the first stanza:

TX mpenzi, dokta wangu zamani.

TX darling, my doctor of a long time.

The second stanza reads as follows:

Mimi ndo mgonjwa wake.

I am his patient.

There is transfer of meaning. The lover is compared to a doctor, that is the lover has healing powers. The woman is compared to a sick person, that is she needs to be healed by the lover.

In the song 'umbo langu dawa' (pg. 262) a number of metaphors are also used. The chorus says:

Umbo langu dawa Ameshalipenda

Pete yangu kawa Nami kwake chanda.

My figure arouses his passion, he has already fallen in love with it
He has become my ring, and I am a finger to him

We can say that there are three metaphorical uses here. First and foremost, the figure of a person (**umbo**) is referred to as '**dawa**' or 'medicine'. The figure has healing powers as it can heal someone who is in love with that person. Referring to the man as a ring and the woman as a finger is also metaphoric. As the ring and finger always go together it shows how the two people have become very close and are not going to leave one another, just as a ring sticks to a finger, since rarely does one take off the ring from the finger.

In the '**waume wa sasa**' (pg. 264) song we are told:

Waume wa sasa ni madungudungu.

The husbands of today are shapeless objects.

The husbands of today are said to be bad and confused. Metaphorically they are said to be shapeless and cannot be fathomed.

In the '**limbukeni**' song, (pg. 240) the singer refers to herself in the following manner:-

Mimi kwako n'natamba	Akhera na duniani
Hapa ni sumu ya mamba	Nakwambia si utani
Ni bure ungajigamba	Nakuona hayawani.

I strut proudly to you, in this world and the hereafter
I am like the crocodile's poison. I tell you its not a joke
It is useless for you to brag, I think of you as a stupid animal.

The singer sees herself as very powerful and that she can even kill a crocodile and that she is not someone to play with. The adversary is seen as a stupid animal or 'hayawani'. This word 'hayawani' is normally used to refer to beings with no intelligence.

In the song, 'sikusudii lawama' (pg. 257), the lover has been referred to as a flower in two different places. In the first and second stanza the singer says:

Kuwa naye ni lazima ni ua la moyo wangu.

To be with him is a must he is the flower of my heart.

Yeye ua la haiba lachanua kifuani.

He is a beautiful flower that opens in my chest.

The singer realises that it is not enough to refer to him as just a flower but emphasizes that it is a beautiful flower which opens in the chest of the lover as he is the flower of her heart. The metaphors emphasize that he is no ordinary beloved but someone special.

5.3 SYMBOLISM

In symbolism the singer has the ability to conceal a certain message causing the listener to wonder what exactly it is the singer would like to communicate. In this thesis we interpret symbolism as use of a sign whether visual or verbal, which stands for something else within a speech community as defined by Wales (1989:445). We have adopted J.Kitsao's (1975:129) sense of a 'symbol' that it is a device that stands for representation. Symbolism plays such a crucial role and is so interesting in the Swahili wedding songs, especially in those songs which originated from Mombasa. Different domains within each culture evolve its own special set of symbols as we see in the Swahili wedding songs. Thus a systematic survey and interpretation is necessary if one is to note what is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the songs.

It is very interesting to note the different symbols that have been used by the singers to allude to the male organ. The penis has been referred to or compared to different objects. But the significant aspect to note is that all the symbols have certain features which resemble the penis, as we see in the following songs:

In the 'mwanamwali kaolewa' (pg. 247) song, the penis has been referred to as a 'mshumaha', a candle. We are told:

Mshumaha mshumaha wabubujika matozi
Nilipi lilokusibu mbona miye hunijuzi?
Nieleze nieleze bwana lilokuudhi
Ni utambi kuzimika au kazi huiwezi, eeh ...

Oh candle, candle you are shedding tears
What has happened to you, why don't you tell me?
Tell me, tell me what has angered you.
Is it the wick which has extinguished or you can't do the job, eeh.

The candle is a very rich symbol as the erection of the penis is compared to the candle which stands firm. The tears being shed is the melted liquid which comes out of the candle. The penis is again compared to a wick. The singer is asking, is it the wick which has extinguished, meaning is it that there is no erection or after initial erection the man could not maintain it. Thus the candle is a symbol which symbolises the real message of the song.

In the same song another symbol is used. The singer says:

Kalamu na karatasi⁴
Haimalizi maneno
Baharini kumejaa wino
Nipe kisi nami nisonde mdomo.

Pen and paper
Do not say it all
The virgin is wet with passion
Give me a kiss so that I can suck your lips.

The word **'bahari'** or sea can be interpreted to refer to two things. It could refer to the woman's private parts which are filled with discharge, which needs to be released. The sea could also mean the woman feels sexual excitement that also wants to be satisfied.

In the **'baburau'** song (pg. 222) the penis is referred to as **'mkia'** or tail. The song says:

Baburau ana marere ana mkia
Baburau has a long tail, a penis

The tail of an animal is normally long and in this song the singers are saying that the penis is very long. The tail is also referring to a penis which is erect. The same can be said for the **'bendera'** song; a flag (pg. 222). The male organ is referred to as a flag and normally a flag flies if it is raised thus a penis in erection is compared to it and the sense of pride can also be detected from the flag flying high. If a flag is not raised then something is wrong, this is where there is no erection in the male organ. This symbol can also be interpreted to refer to women. The singer is saying that as long as she has her womanhood she can go on with life.

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa
Na atwawe mwana kutwawa
Bendera yangu n'nayo mwenyewe
Huko endako ende akatwawe.

My co-wife your husband has been taken

Let him be taken and taken away completely
I am in control of myself
And where he has gone, let him be taken.

As we have already noted elsewhere, the act of consummating the marriage is very crucial, thus most of the symbols allude to sex. The word '**mtaimbo**', iron rod in the '**mtaimbo**' songs (pg. 245) also symbolises the penis. These are two songs that are almost similar. The work of the '**mtaimbo**' is to dig or break earth or stones. It is an instrument for breaking and penetrating her since the girl is a virgin. The '**mtaimbo**', which is strong and erect, is used to break her virginity. Sexual organs in Swahili songs are often referred to by colloquial and slang terms because of the taboo in mentioning the actual names of the sexual organs. The colloquial and slang terms also have certain allusions. For example words '**mtaimbo**' iron rod, firm and strong and not flabby, '**wembe**' 'razor: '**kijiti**' 'stick' are colloquial and slang terms.

- i) **mtaimbo ooh mtaimbo**
 nalia yomi nakuimba mtaimbo wangu
 nalia mtaimbo, ooh mtaimbo
 mtaimbo wa ajabu
 unateleza mtaimbo
 mtaimbo, mtaimbo wa zamani
 unateleza mtaimbo
 mtaimbo ooh mtaimboo.

Oh iron rod oh iron rod
I cry for and sing about you my iron rod
I cry for you oh iron rod
An iron rod of wonder
It is a slippery iron rod
An old iron rod

It is a slippery iron rod
Oh iron rod, oh iron rod.

- ii) **Hauna huo**
Hauna laika
Hauna huo
Hauna laika
Unatereza mtaimbo
Naupeleleza
Unatereza mtaimbo.

It does not have
Does not have a single strand of hair
It does not have
Does not have a single strand of hair
The iron rod slips in easily
I am fathoming it
The iron rod slips in easily.

In 'nanasi' song, (pg. 250) the 'nanasi'; pineapple stands for the man and the 'mti'. or stalk refers to the penis. The 'mti' does not necessarily mean stalk, as in English. but it means the hard part of the pineapple.

The singer says:

Napenda nanasi^s ukilila kwa utamu wake
Usipojikisi ukilila ndio raha yake
Ela naogopa katikati siuwezi huo mti wake.
Ela siuwezi huo mti wake
Nami naogopa huo mti wake.

I like to eat the pineapple for its sweetness
And if you let go when you eat it you'll appreciate its pleasure.
I'm afraid of its hard stalk in the middle
But I cannot stand its hard stalk
And I am afraid of its hard stalk.

The pineapple symbol describes the man and his penis and it could mean the woman enjoys love play but when it comes to the act of sex she is afraid. The hard part of the pineapple is again compared to the erection of the penis.

Referring to the penis as a stalk or stick is quite common in Swahili women's wedding songs of Mombasa. In the song '**naupiga papapa**' (pg. 253) we are told:

Kumea mvi si utu uzima
Bora mashine tu kuwa nzima
Kwenda na gongo si utu uzima
Bora kijiti kiwe kizima.

To grow grey hair is not ageing
As long as the machine is in working order
To walk with a walking stick is not ageing
As long as the stick is wholesome.

The singers have symbolised the penis as a stick, and also as a machine. The machine refers to the whole sexual act, an erect penis and the expert way the sex act is concluded. As long as the stick and machine are in good order, even if a man has grey hair or is using a walking stick, he can still perform the sex act satisfactorily. This symbol is very expressive as age does not determine sex performance as long as one is functional, there is no problem.

It has also been referred to as a tendon or groin in the ‘**mtende**’ song (pg. 246). The penis has been referred to as a tendon. **mshipa** . and the virgin has been referred to as a balloon.

Huo mtende umechanua huo mtende umechanua
Hicho kibofu kimepasuka hicho kibofu kimepasuka
Pasu pasu pasuka.

Kuna mshipa umepindika kuna mshipa umepindika
huo mshipa umepindika huo mshipa umepindika
Pinda pinda pindana.

The date tree has flowered, it has flowered
The balloon has burst, burst
Burst burst burst.

There is a tendon/groin which has hardened, it has hardened
All very firm
Harden. hardened.

The flowering of the date tree is also a symbol to reflect the deflowering of the virgin. The hardening of the tendon is the hardening of the penis and the bursting of balloon refers to the breaking of the hymen.

Apart from using symbols that have the same features as the male organ, the singers have also used symbols which demonstrate the working of the penis. It has been referred to as a razor and also a saw. Symbols respectively of sharpness and sew-saw movement.

Waja huo wembe waja huo
Mamae mwari naajitenge

Waja huo wembe waja huo
Mwambie mwana naajitenge.

It is coming, the razor is coming
Mother of the girl should stay away
It's coming, the razor is coming
Tell the girl to stay away

The bridegroom's penis is looked upon as a razor (pg. 264) that is coming to 'cut' the bride or deflower the virgin.

In the 'msumeno' (pg. 241) song the singer sings.

Sinitilie mapengo msumeno wangu
Kama haukerezi nitakwenda zangu
Kama wataka karanga
Kaukarange na huo mdude
Na huo mdude na huo mdude
Kaukarange na ule mdude.

Do not make my saw blunt
If it cannot saw I will go away
If you want to fry it
Go and fry it with that thing
With that thing, with that bloody thing
Go and fry it with that bloody thing.

The penis is compared to the saw and the sawing to its ability to become erect and perform the act. It has also been referred to as 'mdude' or the thing that has no real shape or form, a kind of ugly thing .

The Swahili of Mombasa being from the coast have used their environment to get their symbols. The sea as a symbol is also used again in the **'usiche'** song (pg. 263).

Usiche bwana harusi, usiche Bwana harusi

Ukiona bahari utaogelea

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Ukiona bahari utaogelea uvuke.

Don't be afraid bridegroom don't be afraid. oh you the groom

If you see the sea. just swim across

Don't be afraid bridegroom don't be afraid

If you see the sea just swim across.

'Bahari' or sea is used to symbolise the consummation of the marriage. It could also mean the worry and fear which the husband has as this is a very important day and people are waiting to see if he can perform satisfactorily. Even if he has had sex before it is not the same as on this occasion. The act of swimming symbolises his ability to deflower and overcome all the odds and come out a real man.

Names of people have also been used as symbols in some songs. Names like Swalehe in the **'usinikere swalehe'** song (pg. 264) and Salimu in **'nalia oh'** song (pg. 249) symbolise men in general.

Usinikere Swalehe nenda laza mtoto naja

Usinikere Swalehe nenda laza mtoto naja.

Don't pester me Swalehe. I am going to put the child to sleep.

I'll come to you

Don't pester me Swalehe I am going to put the child to sleep first.
I'll come to you.

Nalia oh, nalia mama niki kumbuka mazoweya

Nimezoea kulala mgongoni

Mama nalia

Nimezoea kulala na Salimu

Mama nalia!

I am crying I am crying mother when I remember how it used to be.

I am used to sleeping on his back

Mother, I am crying

I am used to sleeping with Salimu

Mother, I am crying!

In the first song, Swalehe symbolises men who want sexual favours, and the woman is saying she has to fulfil certain responsibilities first, like putting the children to sleep. In the second song the woman is lamenting that she is used to sleeping with a man and now he is not there anymore. We can deduce that maybe the man has divorced her. The name Salimu symbolises a man.

The majority of the symbols refer to sex or the relationship between men and women. But there are a few which refer to everyday life. In the song 'majumbani' (pg. 241) the singer says:

Mama ukakae na mumeo

Vumilia mambo ya nyumbani kunga

Mwanangu kipande cha papa

Vumilia mambo ya nyumbani kunga.

My child, go and stay with your husband
Persevere, home affairs can be complicated
My daughter, even if it is only a piece of shark's meat for flesh
Persevere, home affairs can be complicated.

The piece of shark's meat is a symbol to symbolise that married life is not a bed of roses. There are troubles of different kinds. It could also mean that she should not expect a high life style and that whatever she gets she should appreciate it and persevere, however little, or inferior its quality is.

In the '**zabibu**' song, (pg. 266), the grapes symbolise love and passion. The sweetness of the grapes symbolises how love is sweet. This is said in one of the stanzas and also in the chorus. Thus it is repeated several times to show its importance.

Leo tena lalaah leo tena lalaah
wataka tena zabibu umekumbuka utamu.

Today again lalaah today again lalaah
You want grapes again, you remembered their sweetness.

The love talked about makes one eternally young.

The '**buzi**' song (pg. 223) is also symbolic. The **buzi** or big he-goat symbolises a man who is rich and the augmentive sense is used to show that he is not just normal rich but unusually rich.

5.4 PERSONIFICATION

Personification usually describes inanimate objects or abstract concepts as being endowed with human attributes, powers or feelings (see Richards et al 1985; Wales K 1985;

Crystal D 1987; and Myers & Simms 1989). Personification occurs in language in general and is particularly associated with literary works especially poetic language, and is common in the Swahili song genres. This figure of speech is used in abundance in Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa and singers have significantly employed this device in the songs. This device gives anonymity in the songs context. It is like in allusion, where one alludes to actual people, events or social beliefs yet people can easily interpret the meaning in their culture.

In the following song ***nasema nao**. (pg. 251). badness an abstract quality is given a human attribute.

Ubayha hauna kwao wala hauna kabila
Wala hauna kituo hutua kila mahala.

Badness has no home nor has it a tribe
Nor has it specific abode. it lands anywhere.

Badness is looked upon as not having a particular home or does not belong to specific people. It does not have a fixed abode as it lands anywhere. The singer is trying to say indirectly that this is not a trait that can be found in a particular tribe or in one area. She is emphasizing that it can be found anywhere in the world. Personification brings out the social commentary the singer is making.

In the song **‘mwanamwali kaolewa’** (pg. 247) analysed below. the candle is said to be shedding tears. This is a quality that only animate beings have.

Mshumaha mshumaha
Wamiminika machozi.

The Candle. the Candle

It is shedding tears.

As we have already noted previously the candle is symbolic as it stands for the penis and the tears are semen which come out of it. This personification depicts the penis vividly.

The bedbug in the song 'ng'onzi' below is given human quality of fighting. The bedbug normally bites at night when humans are asleep. Thus the bedbug fights at night. This is not actual fighting as the symbolic bedbug is in fact the man who wants to be satisfied in bed at night. This shows that to the Swahilis sex is supposed to take place at night.

Ni kunguni kondo yangu ni jioni

Jongoo akenda mato hayaoni

Werevu wa koa werevu wa koa imemgandama nyumba maungoni.

I'm a bedbug I fight at night

When the millipede walks he cannot see

The astute tortoise. is stuck with the inconvenience of his house

On his back.

The 'koa' or tortoise is also given the quality of cleverness that we normally associate with humans. This can also be seen in the narratives of Swahilis and other Bantus in general. Finnegan R. (1970:342) notes:

“Characters of African stories also recur throughout the continent. Most familiar of all are the animals, particularly the wily hare, tortoise, spider and their larger dupes.”

The 'jito' or eye in the song 'jito' (pg. 235) refer below, is said to be evil and that it can kill.

Eeeh jito laua

Nalia na jito si jema.

The eye can kill

I am crying because of the eye that is not good.

The Swahilis in general believe in 'hasadi' that is evil eye. Envy comes from the evil eye that sees and thus become envious. The eye of an envious person is said to be evil yet in reality we know that the eye is good as it helps one to see around him. The eye has also been given the ability to kill. After seeing something, one can be so envious and even wish the demise of those who are envied.

In the song 'uchekechee nkono' (pg. 260), love has been given human attributes where it is said to make fun of the women. It also wakes the women when she is asleep yet we know that it is an abstract quality.

Yomi mame Yomi mamee

Huba huniteza sheree

Huninyua huninyua eee

Hata kama niyele.

Alas mother alas mother

Love is making fun of me

It keeps me awake. keeps me awake

Even when I am asleep.

In the same song 'mazoea' or attachments are said to have beckoned to her, yet it is only a human being who has the ability to call someone.

Mazoea mazoea eee

Ndio yalonamkua.

Habits, habits

Are the ones that beckoned to me.

We can see here that personification has been used several times in one song. Personification in literary language is popular with the Swahilis. Personification is seen more in poetic language and the singers use it more frequently in the songs.

In the 'donge' song (pg. 229), the third stanza of the song says:

Riziki humuania rabi alomteua.

God's bounty goes to those He favours.

The word '**riziki**' or blessings has been given human qualities to show that blessings can fight to get to the chosen one. Swahilis being Muslims believe that everything is planned by God or decreed. The word used being '**qadar**' fate. The human being thus has to follow the decree of God and to a certain extent has no say. Thus if God has willed that one becomes rich or have abundance, then the blessings will come chasing one. This personification is very apt in the beliefs of the Swahili.

The song '**sikusudii lawama**' (pg. 257) meaning I don't intend blame, has also made use of personification. The singer alleges that their love is clever not like that of certain people.

Pendo letu lierevu silao watu fulani.

Our love is astute it's not like that of certain people.

The quality of being astute is a human attribute but here love has been given the attribute to show that it is a special kind of love not like that of other people. The personification device is used to show that it is unique.

In ‘mtaimbo’ song. (pg. 245) the ‘mtaimbo’ or iron rod does not want to sleep and is bald.

Mtaimbo
Hautaki kulala
Hauna laika ni kipara huo.

Iron rod
It does not want to sleep
It does not have a single strand of hair. it is bald.

The personification device rightly suits what is being said in the song. Normally it is humans who sleep but when a man sleeps his penis is also ‘normally asleep’ to mean that it is not erect. The quality of being bald is also a human quality but the singers also refer to the penis as being bald as it is not covered by hair.

5.5 PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

The exact definition of proverb is not easy to give (Finnegan 1970 : 393). We tend to agree with Finnegan and thus adopt her definition that is generally accepted. We look at a proverb as “ a saying in more or less fixed form marked by ‘shortness, sense and salt’ and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it” (Ibid). By adopting this definition we also look at the idiomatic expressions under the proverbs.

Proverbs occur almost everywhere in Africa. They are particularly represented well from the Bantu area (Finnegan 1970). Since Swahili is a Bantu language, proverbs occur in rich profusion. The literary relevance of these short sayings is clear. As Finnegan puts it in her comments of proverbs:

“In many African cultures a feeling for language, for imagery and for the expression of abstract ideas through compressed and allusive phraseology comes out particularly clearly in proverbs. The figurative quality of proverbs is especially striking, one of their most noticeable characteristics is their allusive wording usually in metaphorical form”(Finnegan 1970: 390).

Proverbs are a rich source of imagery and are models of compressed language. The wording of proverbs is allusive and usually in metaphorical form. The Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa display quite a number of proverbs in usage. In the song “**uliyataka mwenyewe**” (pg.262) we are told.

Kila mla cha mwenziwe na chake pia huliwa.

Those who consume what belongs to others will have what belongs to them also consumed.

The proverb has been changed a bit by adding the words ‘**kila**’ every. and ‘**pia**’ also. By using it the singer is emphasising that it is for tat, in a very simple manner.

In the song ‘**hatuonani kwa nini**’ (pg. 233) two proverbs have been used. In the third line of the first stanza we have the proverb,

Kama kwangu kumetota kwako wewe kutazama.

If my home got splashed with water yours will be completely submerged.

Getting splashed with water is not as bad as being completely submerged. Thus by comparing the two, one gets the meaning that one is worse of than the other. The proverb helps to bring out this message clearly.

In the same song in the third stanza a very common proverb is used:

Asofunzwa na mamaye hufunzwa na ulimwengu.

He who is not taught by her mother, the world teaches him.

It stresses that the world is the best teacher.

In the song **'nakuona hujasema'** (pg. 248) another common proverb is used. The singers say:

Taratibu ndio mwendo.

Slow is the pace.

This proverb emphasises that we should tackle problems in a slow manner instead of rushing.

In the Lamu version of **'hatuonani kwa nini'** (pg. 232) we get the proverb:

Kuku hufungwa makumbi nzio hufungwa n'ni.

A hen is tied to coconut husks with what should a buffon be tied to?

Normally at least if a hen has just been bought, he is tied to coconut husks to prevent him from running around and getting lost. This is used to control it but what should be used to control a buffon? It could also be interpreted to mean what should be done to tame a man who moves around? The proverb stresses the point that nothing can be done for such a person who by nature cannot be assisted.

All these proverbs contain some allusion or a picturesque form of speech. They are also expressed in a poetic form. Because of their figurative mode of expression they have helped to convey the message more vividly.

In the **"limbukeni"** song (pg. 240), the singer is lamenting that the **limbukeni** or a first timer, is still in-experienced:

Bado nakuona dama huelewi mkononi.

Still I see you do not understand the stakes in your hand.

This is an expression to mean she does not understand how to deal with the stakes or what is happening, though she has the game of board in her hand, she still does not know how to play. The expression stresses the extent of her ignorance.

In one of the recent songs 'solemba' (pg. 258), we find a new expression '**kuachwa kwenye mataa.**'

Buriani ee mwenzangu umeachwa kwenye mataa.

Bye my friend, you have been left in the lurch.

The '**mataa**' here refer to the traffic lights. But the expression means that she has been left in the lurch. This is a very powerful expression considering that the message of the song talks about leaving one lover for another.

Though there is a distinction in terminology between Swahili songs and other types of literary expression, there is often a practical connection between songs and other forms of oral literature (see Finnegan 1970:391). There is reference of fables in two of the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. In the '**kueka goma**' song, (pg. 237) the singers say:

Jongoo akenda mato hayaoni

Werevu wa koa imemgandama

Nyumba maungoni.

Though the millipede walks, it is blind.

The astuteness of the tortoise has made him got stuck with the house at his back i.e. its shell.

Here the song is referring to two fables. In one of the stories, the millipede lost his eyes. The second story is about how the tortoise came to have his shell on his back. In the Lamu version of '**batuonani kwa nini**' song (pg. 232), the same story of the millipede is referred to again. The song says:

“Una kilio yongoo, nyoka umuhadazie.

The millipede is lamenting, the snake has cheated him.

Here we learn who it was that cheated the millipede into losing his eyesight. Because some of the songs talk about the Swahili stories, this shows that sometimes it is difficult to separate the oral literature genres.

The singer in the '**buzi**' song (pg. 223) says in the sixth stanza, third line:

jijue kabisa na dafu hufui.

understand that you will not succeed.

The expression '**dafu hufui**' means not to succeed, as literally it means you cannot remove the coconut husks. For someone to be able to remove husks from the coconut he has to be really strong. The expression emphasises the meaning of the song, that the woman talked about in the song cannot succeed to steal someone else's lover.

The expression '**kijiba chako cha moyo**' the thorn in your heart is used in the song '**umbo**' (pg. 262). This means your own feeling will kill you and you will be the cause of your own death.

5.6 IRONY

As is the case with symbolism, irony presents messages indirectly. The intended meaning is normally the opposite of that expressed by the words used. Thus irony normally takes the form of sarcasm or ridicule in which laudatory expressions are used to imply condemnation or contempt (Wales 1989:263). By giving the message indirectly, it tends to have more impact. Therefore irony is a forceful literary device and a significant means by which a singer conveys his message.

The Wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa makes use of irony also. In 'limbukeni' song (pg. 240) it is ironical when the singer says:

**Kweli wewe limbukeni watu wote wakujua
Katika mahayawani wewe ni muheshimiwa.**

True you 'limbukeni' everyone knows you
Among stupid animals you are the most respectable one.

Though here it seems as if the singer is praising the 'limbukeni' by calling her the respectable or revered one, in actual sense she is saying that the 'limbukeni' is a stupid animal.

In the song 'wewe ulonizoweya' (pg. 265) we see another use of irony.

Imamu wa usabasi mwenye tepe za umbea.
Leader of gossip who has medals.

The word 'Imam' normally occurs in the context of the religion of Islam to mean a supreme religious leader, and also one who leads congregational prayers in mosques and who is very respectable. But here it is used ironically, as one would expect a leader to

lead in good deeds, and not to engage in gossip. The word ‘tepe’, military decorations or medals are used in the police force. It is used ironically and it emphasises that the person really leads in gossiping to the extent of being awarded medals. Medals are normally worn by a person who earns them from doing good or brave deeds and not by a person who engages in a vice. Here the medals are used ironically.

In the song, ‘**waume wa sasa**’ (pg. 264), the men are ridiculed and made fun of .

Waume wa sasa	hawana nafuu
Hawapati pesa	hata za tambuu
Mahodari k<u>an</u>du	kutia buluu.

Men of today	are no help
They do not get money	even for buying betel leaf
They are only clever in	washing their robes clean.

The singer is in directly saying that men are lazy and are not helpful these days. They do not earn money to even buy small things but they only know how to dress up and be smart. The irony is that the singer is saying that dressing up is superficial and not important.

5.7 VOCABULARY FROM VARIOUS REGISTER USAGES

Register refers to a variety of language defined according to the situation (See Wales 1989:397). A given language will be said to have a register distinction at a certain point only if there are linguistic and situational differences there. Other linguists notably Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1968) have drawn attention to the importance of recognising different uses and therefore different varieties of language that co-exist side by side as against the erroneous assumption that there is only one correct variety.

Though the singers of Swahili wedding songs do not use registers per se, they occasionally use vocabulary used in certain registers to evoke emotions. This kind of usage may also seem like symbolic use of language but we will discuss it as vocabulary from various register usages. A good example is the song ‘Dokta TX’ (pg. 228) where the singer uses medical words. The whole song refers to a patient and a doctor and their relationship. The patient is asking the doctor to perform an operation on her.

We are informed that the doctor is qualified to do his job and has degrees from reputable countries. The patient goes on to say how she likes his injections as they are not painful. She also likes it when he applies his medicine. When he performs an operation, we are told that he uses only one knife. The doctor does not hesitate to perform an operation and that he stitches without the stitches showing up. He also operates in the right place and he never makes a mistake of operating at the wrong place.

Thus the singer has successfully used medical words to talk about the act of love-making and sex. We can give substitutes for all the medical words used metaphorically.

Dakitari	-	doctor	-	The man
Mgonjwa	-	patient	-	The woman
Operesheni		the act of sex		
Digiri	-	degree	-	his experience
Kisu	-	knife	-	his penis
Sindano	-	injections		could mean his acts of love making, caressing
Dawa	-	medicine		love making
Katikati	-	centre	-	The woman’s sexual organs

For one who does not know about the varieties of language, one would think the song is talking about an actual relationship between a doctor and a patient.

The medical words seem quite suitable to refer to the act of sex. We have been able to assume this as we also found another song which says.

Dakitari yuaja kukitia dawa kidonda.

The doctor is coming to apply medicine on the
sore.

The song implies that the bridegroom is coming to give her medicine. The suffering implied is that Swahilis being Muslims are not supposed to have pre-marital sex, thus the medical terms implies the bridegroom is charged to rectify the situation. In the song 'haulali', it does not sleep, the penis is said not to be able to sleep and a question is asked.

“una maradhi gani?

What sickness does the penis have?

Thus all these examples show how medical words are used in the Swahili women's wedding songs of Mombasa.

Vocabulary from the football register is also used in the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. The song 'n'na mpira wangu' (pg. 242) proves this.

N'na mpira wangu

Kila siku ninaubembeleza

Umeingia goli mpira go

Goo goo goo

I have my own game (lit. ball)

Everyday I am cautious

The ball has gone in the goal area, go

Goal, goal, goal

Koo umekwenda koo

Anao mpira

Hatari kwenye lango

Umeingia goli mpira go.

Goal, I have scored

He has the ball

Danger at the goal area

The ball has gone in the goal area.

Here the act of sex is compared to playing football. Everyday the bridegroom caresses his girlfriend, meaning he does not press hard to penetrate inside her. But on that specific day of the wedding, the ball has gone in and he has scored meaning he has deflowered the bride. The singers show how the ball is taken this side and that side and how it is dangerous at the goal area. This could mean that sometimes when the man meets the woman he wants to penetrate but as we have noted earlier the girls are expected to be virgins. Thus he has to have patience. The day the ball goes in and he scores is the day of deflowering of the virgin.

Sometimes words are drawn from the agricultural register to express domestic matters of love. The vocabulary from the agricultural register is appropriate because the Swahilis besides being dependent on mercantile trade and fishing are also farmers (Prince 1961).

In the song 'ndizi' (pg. 254) the singer says '**niajabu kupanda mgomba kisha ndizi nisile**', meaning it is odd that I should plant a banana plant and not eat the fruit. the singers are using words from the agricultural register. The singers mention different types of bananas and how in the shambas there is no peace. because those who planted the banana trees are not able to eat the fruit.

Terms from the automotive register have also been used successfully to describe the art of lovemaking. The song *dereva* (pg. 226). The driver is depicted as the lover. The song says:

Sukani akikamata gari halendi mrama

Gia anapozikita huniacha nazizima

Akikanyaga mafuta masikio hunivuma

Breki akizivuta wakati wa kusimama.

When he holds the steering wheel the car does not roll from side to side.

When he engages the gears he leaves me shivering

When he presses the accelerator my ears ring

When he brakes at the time of stopping.

We are given a picture of an experienced driver, yet all the actions of the driver mean something else. They all describe the process of lovemaking. Thus the terms from the automotive register have been used effectively.

5.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have looked at the language resources which helped the singer to convey his message. We have looked at the different devices that are at the disposal of the singer and how the singers have used them skilfully to achieve the meaning intended.

In the next chapter we will focus our attention on the paralinguistic devices. Since songs are performed, they are attended by audiences and as such a large percentage of their meaning dynamic is created and delivered non-verbally by paralinguistic features.

FOOTNOTES

1. **'Kishuri'** group are groups of women singers from the Lamu archipelago.
2. **P.B.U.H.** are initials that are normally written down or said when Prophet Mohamed's name is uttered. They stand for "Peace Be Upon Him".
3. The pigeon is used as a symbol of a beautiful woman for example a dark eyed woman or a woman with pigeon like eyes.
4. The allusion of **'kalamu na karatasi'** refers to that person in between or a messenger. As the man and woman cannot date in Swahili love, they make use of a person who becomes a go-between. This can be seen also in the poetry of Muyaka (Abdulaziz 1979:220:268:314).
5. The act of eating a pineapple symbolises making love.
6. Normally a Swahili meal consists of meat, fish or chicken, shark's meat is eaten if someone is very poor.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AT THE PARALINGUISTIC LEVEL

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In chapter five we analysed the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs at the semantic level. We looked at the language resources available to the singers and how they use the resources for the vital task of expressing themselves. Aspects examined were similes, metaphors, personification, proverbs, symbolism, irony and words used in specific registers. We showed that all these aspects of style had a role to play in bringing out the meaning more vividly.

In this chapter we look at the para-linguistic features of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. These are aspects which are not linguistic per se, but which communicate messages and help in building overall meaning. To understand how wedding songs do this we need to direct our minds to the moment of the performance of the songs because it is performed openly before an audience to appreciate with their eyes and ears (Ngara 1985:21). On the relationship between the artist and audience scholars such as Jacobs (1959), Tedlock (1972) cited in Mubima (1997:5) have observed that an oral performance may be usefully compared to a dramatic monologue in which the performer supports his verbalization with a due amount of the "semantic component" in the form of gestures and grimaces. In an oral performance, however, the effect is achieved by efforts that go beyond the narration of the songs being sung. A change of facial expression on the part of the singers, the reduction of the volume of music accompanying the performance so as to put the vocal – somatic element in sharp focus, and other factors, are of capital importance in understanding the culture as well as the effort the composer puts into fashioning out the sentiments of the song in his own private circumstances. This is in conformity with Wordsworth's definition of poetry as "emotion" recollected in

tranquility” (cited in Mubima 1997:5). Thus the ultimate success and beauty of the song rests in what the actual performers do with it before the audience.

Although generally, in oral performance the performer is the centre of attention, the source of effect as well as of message, part of the effectiveness of his work, comes from the participation of various persons present at the scene of performance. This indeed is very true of Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs as the audience take part actively. They sometimes make the singer repeat a certain part of the song due to their co-operative interaction.

6.1 HISTRIONICS OF THE PERFORMANCE

Histrionics of the performance or dramatisation (see Miruka 1994:89) are the movements made with the face, hands or any other part of the body as a way of dramatically demonstrating an action contained in the text. It cannot be conceived that a song will be delivered without any form of drama. The Swahili wedding songs have become live and have been able to survive through generations because of these features.

In the song “**bendera**”, (pg. 222) the singers and dancers point to their private parts with their middle fingers of both hands when they reach the word “**bendera**”, flag, in the song.

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa

Natwawe mwana kutwawa

Huko endako ende akatwawe

Bendera yangu n'nayo mwenyewe.

My co-wife your husband has been taken

Let him be taken I do not care

And where he has gone let him be taken away again

My flag is right here with me.

The gesture of pointing to the private parts signifies the importance of sex in a relationship, in the sense that even if the husband moves around he still comes back to her for sexual pleasure. This gesture of pointing to the private parts could also be interpreted differently, that as long as the woman has her sexual organs she knows she can also seek sexual favours elsewhere, if the husband does not come to her.

In the “**naupiga pa-pa-pa**” song, (pg. 253) the women singers and dancers point also to their front and back mid parts of their bodies.

Naupiga Papapa (pointing their fingers to the front)
Naupiga lololo (pointing their fingers to the backside)
Usione mkono umeng’ara
Si kazi yangu kazi ya sonara
Usione kutandika kitanda
Kutandika kuna maana yake
Kwenda na gongo si utu uzima
Bora mashini iwe nzima.

We do it to the front
We do it to the back
When you see the arm shining bright
The gold worn is reward for work done
Making the bed has a meaning
Using a walking stick does not mean old age as long as the penis functions.

The song refers to the different sexual styles. The gesture of pointing to the sexual organs is very significant as it shows how the woman pleases the man in whatever style of

lovmaking or sex they have chosen. It could also mean her readiness to do it. or for the frequency of the act.

The action of making the bed is demonstrated with the use of the hand spread out which also emphasises how the woman looks forward to sex and prepares for it. It also alludes to the fact that sex has no age limit. Even if a man is old and uses a walking stick, so long as he can have an erection, he can still have sex. The dancers demonstrate the old age by bending and holding an imaginary walking stick.

In the “**nasema nao**” song. (pg. 251), ‘they are the ones who are bad’. song: every action which the singer mentions is dramatically demonstrated.

Na sema nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nakula nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Naimba nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nacheza nao na wabaya ni hao hao.

I chatter with them but they are still the ones who I consider bad

I eat with them but they are still the ones who I consider bad

I sing with them but they are still the ones who I consider bad

I dance with them and they are still the ones who I consider bad.

The actions of chatting, eating, singing and dancing are all demonstrated vividly with the use of the body parts. In the second part of the line.

Wabaya ni hao hao.

And they are still the ones who I consider bad.

Whenever this part is chanted the women in the audience and those dancing demonstrate it by pointing their middle fingers at imaginary people or the audience. The use of the

middle finger by Swahili women is quite characteristic. This gesture is used for emphasis and it is as if each of them is telling her secret 'enemies' that she knows what is happening. Though she plays, dances, talks and eats with them she knows that they harbour bad intentions against her. Normally also when this song is sung for those women who have adversaries, that is people whom they do not cope with, or they have their co-wives in the audience that is when they stand and dance and dramatise the actions. They point directly to their competitors or co-wives when the song reaches the place that says:

'na wabaya ni hao hao'.

And they are still the ones I consider bad.

In the song '**baburau**' (pg. 222), the singer asks the audience and dancers a question.

Vile likipwa lapataje?

If it is measured how long will it be?

The women answer, and gesture the size of the penis.

Lapata hivi, na unyandawe na mkono tele likabakia

It is this much, the measure of the fingers and the whole hand, and still it's not the full length of the penis.

They want to show that the character **baburau** has a very long penis. The women emphasize this by twisting their hands.

In the "**kumbatia**" song (pg. 238) the women dancing makes the sign of embracing themselves with their hands, or if two close friends are dancing next to each other in the circle they can also make an act of embracing each other, whenever the word '**kumbatia**' which means to 'embrace tightly' is repeated. This gesture shows the action of telling the partner to hold on tightly.

In the “**zabibu**” song, (pg. 266) the women make a sign of swearing when they reach the place where the singer says:

Wallahi sina wazimu wewe kukuregeshea.

I swear to God, I am not crazy to love you again.

The gesture is to pass the index finger across the throat to show the act of swearing. “**Wallahi**” is an Islamic utterance which means By God.

This gesture is also done in the ‘**solemba**’ song (pg. 258) when the last line of the first stanza is sung.

Nimejitolea Muhanga Wallahi sitamtowa.

I am determined, By God I will not let him go.

This gesture emphasises the seriousness of what is being said as it goes to the extent of involving God as a witness. The index finger is also used in “**sikusudii lawama**” song (pg. 257). When the singer says “**mtajiudhi wenyewe**” or you will only succeed in upsetting yourselves, she points with her index finger to the audience. This emphasises her point that if they interfere in her love it is only them who will get hurt in the process.

In the “**mtaimbo**” song (pg. 245), the women make a gesture with their hands to show that the penis is slippery and does not have any pubic hair.

Hauna huo

Hauna laika

Unatereza mtaimbo.

It doesn't have

It doesn't have a single strand of hair

The penis is slippery.

They shake their hands as a sign of denial to show that it does not have any hairs then pass their palm on the skin of their hands to show that it is smooth and slippery.

The “**kitabu achore**” song (pg. 237) is another one where the women show the histrionics of performance.

Bwana harusi asema

Ataka kitabu achore¹

Na kalamu ashachonga

Ataka kitabu achore.

The bridegroom is saying

He wants a book to write on

And he has already sharpened a pencil

He wants a book to write on.

The singers and dancers dramatise the writing with the palm of the hand as the book and the finger as the pen. They also dramatise the action of sharpening the pencil with the hands and finger by forming a sharpener with the thumb and index finger of one hand and inserting the index finger of the other hand as the pencil. The gesture of sharpening is symbolic as it also dramatises how the bridegroom will penetrate the bride.

When the singers interchange the lines of the song, they say the bridegroom wants a book to read.

Bwana harusi asema

Ataka kitabu asome.

The bridegroom is saying
He wants a book to read.

The women hold their palms high as if holding a book and they look at it pretending to read. This can also be interpreted symbolically that the bridegroom wants his bride so that he can feel her and know her.

In 'sikusudii lawama' song (pg. 257), the singer makes a gesture with her hand directing them to an imaginary person in the audience and then towards her heart. This gesture implies that her lover is close to her heart.

Nimezama ninasema: Mesabili pendo langu
Kuwa naye ni lazima: Ni ua la moyo wangu.

I am drowning in the sea of love
To be with him is a must, he is the flower of my heart.

In the same song, when the singer says:

Nampenda akisema hunyong'onya mwili wangu
Nampenda akihema atajapo jina langu.

I like the way he talks he makes my body shiver
I like the way he pants when he calls out my name.

The singers make their eyes look sexy and also pant in such away to demonstrate how the lover calls out to the beloved.

In the ‘**donge**’ song (pg. 229), when the words panda ‘**juu**’, climb up, are mentioned the singers and dancers point upwards with their index fingers and also gesture the action of climbing stairs with their hands.

Mwaliona donge

Hilo donge hilo

Kama mna’weza

Panda juu mkazibe.

You are feeling bad

Feeling bad, feeling bad

If you can

Go up and block the blessings from God.

The action of ‘**panda juu ukazibe**’, go up and block the path, is also enacted where they make the action of pointing upwards and blocking the way with the hands. These actions emphasise that riches come from God who is watching over us and no-one can challenge and prevent God from doing what He wants. This gesture signifies the fact that all gifts are from God.

In the song entitled ‘**nalialia oh**’ (pg. 249) the action of crying is enacted where the women touch their eyes with their fingers to show the action of crying.

Nalia ooh nalialia mama

Nikikumbuka mazoea.

I am crying I am crying, mother

When I remember the attachment.

In the following song the action of crying is also gestured. This symbolizes the bride's fear of sexual intercourse for the first time.

Nalia he he nalia he
Moyo wangu una wasiwasi
Maana kazi sijaizoea.

Usilie hee Usilie hee
Hio kazi ukishaizoea
Na mlango utajifungia
Na mlango utaukomea.

I am crying I am crying
My heart is nervous
Because I am not used to sex.

Don't cry don't cry
Once you get used to sex, making love
You will be closing doors yourself
You will be locking doors yourself.

Several actions mentioned in the song are also enacted. When she says "and you will close and lock the doors", this action is demonstrated by the action of bolting doors. The various flower arrangements made from jasmine flowers mentioned in the song like 'vikuba'¹, 'vishada'², are all demonstrated by the action of showing where they are kept. The gestures show that once she is used to sex she will be doing all the things like closing the door and preparing jasmine flowers which give good smell.

The sensation that the ‘buzi’ song (pg. 223) arouses when it was sung can be seen when the different actions mentioned are enacted. The action of wearing tights to show the body is demonstrated when the singer says.

Waazima taiti	uonyeshe jointi.
You borrow tights	to show your curves.

The action of kneeling when one sees money is enacted. The dancers go to the extent of actually kneeling right down.

Wapiga magoti	ukiona noti ³.
You kneel down for the money.	

The women dance backwards and also point backwards with their thumbs when the chorus is sung.

Mchezo gani huo wakurudi nyuma huo, mchezo gani huo wakurudi nyuma
Wakuacha wako huo wakufuata wangu
Wakuruka ukuta huo.

What kind of game is this of moving backwards, what kind of game is this of
moving backwards
Of leaving your spouse and go for mine
Of crossing the limits.

They also make the action of depicting someone leaving her partner by pointing at someone else and then to herself to show how she is following her man. Then they also jump.

These gestures mentioned above are very relevant, such as that one of moving backwards. This can symbolise how the world and people are supposed to be moving forward and not backwards and the gesture of jumping a wall shows the boundaries and expectations that are supposed to be in a community. That is one is expected to be faithful to his partner and not to move around.

In the **“usiche”** song (pg. 263), the bridegroom is being told that he should not fear and that when he comes across the sea he would be able to swim.

Ukiona bahari utaogelea

Usiche bwanaharusi.

If you see the sea, just swim across

Don't be afraid bridegroom.

The gesture of swimming is shown whereby they enact the free style of swimming. In the **“nimepata babu”** song (pg. 256), the action of massaging and applying medicine are enacted when the singer says:

Kucha utakanda na kupaka dawa.

The whole night you will be massaging him and applying medicine.

6.2 DANCING

Dancing is indeed closely related to dramatisation in the oral performance. It is a way of making the performance a thoroughly attractive spectacle (Okpewho 1992:47). But certain dance movements are specifically aimed at giving vivid emphasis on actions expressed in a song and may indeed suggest these actions, without the use of words.

Throughout the Mombasa Swahili wedding there is dancing. There is dancing at the ‘**kueka goma**’ ceremony where women dance when the great drum is kept. There is dancing after the ‘**nikah**’ ceremony to celebrate the marriage ceremony. There is dancing after the deflowering of the virgin to celebrate the happiness of the family that their daughter has not let them down and not shamed them, as this proves that she comes from a respectable family. On the bridegroom’s side there is also dancing by women to celebrate the virility of the bridegroom and that their son is a grown man. There is also dancing at the ‘**kupamba**’ ceremony to make it more live and to keep the guests entertained.

Dancing is also performed when the women gather in the home where there is a wedding to help during the preparations of cooking the food. One purpose of the dancing is that a house where a wedding is taking place should not be quiet. Dancing also serves as distraction for those who are working and keeps them entertained so as not to feel tired. There is also dancing after the work is done. The women, who have been working, sing and dance to the bride’s mother or bridegroom’s mother. They ask for a token of appreciation for completing the work and doing it very well.

A song like the following may be sung.

Kina mama kazi imekwisha

Tupe kinuwa mgongo

Japo pande la muhogo.

Mothers (women) the work is done

Give us a consoling gift (for our labour)

Even if a piece of cassava (something cheap to obtain).

These lines are repeated several times as they dance. They do not really want or expect anything, this is just a dance of celebration that they have completed what they have set out to achieve, but that it also gives them an excuse to dance.

Many of the dances are no longer in existence in Mombasa. The most common dance nowadays is the '**chakacha**' or '**kiuno**'. This has become the popular dance where women gyrate their hips to the beat of the music. This is also referred to as bedroom dance.

According to Campbell (1974:27):

"Most of the dances which are performed exclusively by women are associated with weddings and emphasize a circular hip motion. It is said that these dances were at one time part of the education of young girls at the initiation schools. However, now that these schools are no longer held, the dances have been incorporated into the wedding festivities."

As we have already noted, Swahili women are not supposed to have any sexual relationships before marriage, thus most of the wedding songs and dancing allude to the occasion of the sexual act that is of paramount significance.

The '**makungwi**' who dance during the keeping of '**goma la makungwi**' also dance '**chakacha**'. But theirs is not ordinary '**chakacha**'. With the ordinary '**chakacha**' any woman can dance. There are women who are experts and others who just join in, for the fun of it. The '**makungwi's chakacha**' dancing is a vivid recount of the different positions of lovemaking and doing sex. They dance lying down on the floor. The dancers enact the sexual positions: that is, one is down and one is on top and they dance in these different positions. They gyrate their hips while kneeling, bending their backs and tilting their heads. They dance in almost every position a woman can take during the act of sex.

Another form of dancing is the swaying and clapping while seated in the chairs. Occasionally some women stand and dance to the music while moving in a circle at the front of the audience. Also a woman could stand and dance to the music as she moves to the front to give money to the singer. This happens most often in taarab songs.

'Vugo' is another type of wedding dance. This is characterised primarily by the use of buffalo or cow horns that are struck rhythmically with a small stick. This dance is normally performed during the 'kupeleka bwana harusi' ceremony or 'kilemba' lit turban. "Vugo" is normally danced at a slower tempo than 'chakacha' and is considered to be more sedate dance. The horns are struck at regular intervals during the dance as the women sway from one side to the other in tune with the music and then the horns are lifted over the heads of the dancers and struck in a faster pattern while the drums accompanying the horns, play loudly.

These wedding songs got their name from the horns which were struck with a wooden rod to produce the rhythm, as they lacked rhyme and the measure of vocal syllables (Campbell 1974; Harries 1962 : 177) think that 'vugo' songs could have been the earliest type of indigenous Swahili songs to be recorded.

Another type of dance is 'lelemama'. This is now almost extinct and is held rarely in the weddings of certain families only. This type of dance was popular in the early 50s and 60s, when there was competition between different dance groups (Strobel 1974, 1976). This is a type of dance performed while standing on a bench where the women sway themselves in different positions with decorated 'mbiu'; very small horns in their hands. In later versions the women used handkerchiefs.

6.3 ACCOUTREMENTS & INSTRUMENTS

This refers to attire of the performance and other physical paraphernalia. These aspects are particularly significant in song performance. The use of clothes and instruments create

a visual impact during performances to the audience. The instruments play a symbolic role in relation to the text of the performance as well as enhancing the dance and dramatic roles of the singers and dancers.

Instruments accompanying wedding songs are not found in abundance among the Swahili of Mombasa. The most common instrument is the '**pembe**' horn and wooden stick for striking '**vugo**'.

As Ntarangwi (1998:66) notes:

"**Vugo** is a musical genre that is centred around the procession that moves from the groom's home to the bride ... The musical performance entails the hitting of buffalo horns".

These implements are normally preferred but the '**vugo**' tradition is almost dying out in Mombasa as it is only among few families in Old Town who still use the horns.

Another instrument is the '**goma**' (referred to in the introduction) This is a very big wooden drum. In Mombasa, particularly in the Old Town as far as we could gather, there maybe only one or two of these drums left where the families who have them lend them out to those who have weddings. This drum plays a symbolic role as it informs the community that there is a wedding at a certain house where it is kept. The '**goma**' is kept by ordinary people, or the drum '**makungwi**'. As the girls nowadays are not sent to '**makungwi**' to be instructed, one can have a friend who could have been a '**kungwi**' or a member of '**makungwi**' associations thus might want to give a friend a present. This is where the '**makungwi**' come and dance at the occasion. They are the ones who come to place the drum. The '**makungwi**' are dressed in just one '**leso**', a piece of square cloth tied around the chest and with the other piece tied around the hips when they dance to place the drum. The type of clothing and the manner in which they dance are very relevant as we have already said that sex is given a priority, as Swahili girls are supposed to be virgins. The '**leso**' is also used at almost all the other occasions to tie around the

hips when the women dance as it helps in showing vividly how the hips moves. This tradition of '**kueka goma**' is also fading out as it is only among those who can afford to spend to feed the guests who place the '**goma**' ceremoniously. Other families just place the drum with few relatives.

The '**goma**' serves to announce a public marriage, as opposed to 'secret' marriage. It also serves to announce a guest has come into the house. Whoever comes into the house where a wedding is taking place has to strike the drum. The drum is normally kept two or three days before the actual wedding day. Once the bride is deflowered the '**goma**' is also sounded to inform the people that all is well. Thus it serves different purposes.

In dancing '**chakacha**', the '**msondo**⁴' drum is one of the key instruments used and is accompanied by other drums such as the cone shaped '**vumi**' a two sided drum, '**chapuo**' and brass plates.

The '**mbiu**' or very small horns are used in dancing '**lelemama**' these horns are decorated with brass and bells so that they can make some sound when they are used. In dancing '**lelemama**' there is also a uniform for the dancers. The dancers either wear two '**lesos**' and cotton pants called '**suruali za njiwa**'. These are tight fitting trousers that have frills at the end. They could also wear dresses and drape themselves with '**lesos**'. For those who do not have the '**mbiu**' or small horns, they use handkerchiefs. This dance is performed on top of a bench that serves as a platform.

On the day of the luncheon all the close relatives and friends wear dresses made from the same material. This kind of 'uniform' is known as '**sare**'. The '**sare**' identifies the people who are closely related to the wedding. As it is these people who will dance, they dancers must seem to be dressed uniformly. Gold adorned by the women also serve as implements.

6.4 MUSIC

Music has a deep impact on the performance of oral literature. 'Music is the griot's soul' (Niane 1965:15). The implication of this is that music provides the basic inspiration for whatever these women singers say in Swahili wedding songs.

There is always a close relationship between music and lyrics in an oral performance. Music plays the role of supporting the oral material in such a way as not only to drive home a point but also to make the overall performance a more impressive spectacle. As Okpewho (1992:51) observes it is clear, that the oral text is at the mercy of the musical accompaniment. In such a situation and for the whole performance to be a successful event, there has to be a correct balance between the two. This is especially so with respect to songs in general.

In the delivery of verbal art, much of the delight that the audience or the participants get, comes from the quality of the music which is heard during the singing of the oral songs.

We agree with Mubima (1997:7) that generally in most of the African performances, two kinds of music can be identified. There is the instrumental, that is music produced from drums, horns and wooden sticks, hand clapping, rattles and humming accompanying the song, as is the case with Swahili weddings of Mombasa. We also concur with Okpewho (1988:10) who says:

“the value of this accompaniment is not only that it helps to regulate the words of the song into measured movement, but also that it inspires in both singer and audience a general afflatus which results in several line or passages being sung over and over again, that is in repetition.”

This is very true for Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. Different musical instruments are used by the singers, like drums of different sizes, rattles, horns and wooden sticks. In **vugo**, buffalo horns are struck with sticks in triple rhythms that compliment the duples played by the accompanying drummers (see Franken 1986:149). In '**chakacha**' interlocking rhythms of duples and triples constitute the performance. Fast beat rhymes with intense hip gyration dance movements which is characteristic of this performance. The audience and dancers are also expected to clap throughout the performance in order to make it lively. The singers go to the extent of telling off the audience that they are 'bad' and that they are spoiling the wedding by not clapping, and singing the chorus.

The second type of the music we get during the performances of African poetry (Mubima 1997) is verbal or vocal. The singer uses a highly pitched tremolo to provide an appropriate pace and level of excitement for the words sung at considerable speed.

Taarab music is also a form of verbal and instrumental music. Taarab is often performed at Swahili weddings songs. **Taarab** is the Swahili equivalent of the Arabic word '**taarab**' which implies the concept of entertainment and enchantment (Anthony 1983; Askew 1992. Topp 1992). As used among the Swahili, **taarab** denotes the performance and singing of songs with instrumental accompaniment (Knappert 1979; Campbell 1984) and also carrying the connotations of entertainment and expression of emotions.

Women's **taarab** (Topp 1993, Ntarangwi 1998; is the one that is more common among the Swahili of Mombasa. This is the style of **taarab** that is performed at Swahili weddings to audiences expected to be constituted of women only and which also borrows heavily from the styles of Swahili music associated with women. The **Taarab** songs of Mombasa weddings are normally divided into two parts. The vocal part of the song includes a soloist and a chorus, while the instrumental accompaniment includes the harmonium, '**tabla**', bongos, an electric guitar, a '**chapuo**' drum and a tambourine.

Sometimes **taarab** music may not be even originally from Mombasa. In many weddings instead of hiring singers, they hire loud speakers and big stereo systems whereby they use tapes from **taarab** groups from Zanzibar. But because this is quite common we have looked at these songs as part of the data from Mombasa. The women know all these songs. They sing the response chorus in unison with the soloist whether on tape or actually sung by a singer present.

The other kind of music is provided by the local women called 'Takaungu' groups. They do not have state of the art musical instruments but they use different types of drums (3 or 4) and rattles. The 'Takaungu' groups perform short musical lines borrowed from popular **taarab** songs to triple and duple drum rhythms. In this type of music the audience and the dancing women, clap and hum with the singers.

6.5 CONCLUSION

We can conclude that the paralinguistic features have an important role in understanding the over-all message. All features have helped in highlighting the sexual significance of the songs (Campbell 1974:130). The gestures and dance steps and to a certain extent even the clothes and implements all add to a sense in painting an illuminating picture of how the Swahili of Mombasa view sex.

In the following chapter we will make our conclusions and test our hypotheses.

FOOTNOTES

1. Vishada are jasmine arrangements which are tied on the bride's hair
2. Vikuba are also jasmine arrangements meant to be tied on the neck using a neckless or on the shoulder using a pin
3. Muslims are not supposed to kneel down in front of other people. It is a posture in prayer and during supplications. One kneels down in reverence. A muslim kneels to God only. In this song the women are depicted as being possessed by greed as they kneel in front of money.
4. Msondo is a type of round drum.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 CONCLUSION

In this chapter our intention is two fold : firstly to review the study , and secondly , to suggest possible areas for further research . We highlight the achievement of this thesis. test the hypotheses that we put forward and indicate the problems encountered.

This thesis devoted the first chapter on the introduction, stating the aims and hypotheses and the theoretical framework. In the next chapter a description of a Swahili wedding and examples of songs of different occasions are given. Attention is here focused on the Swahili of Mombasa. We showed that a wedding gives an opportunity to Swahili women to meet , sing and dance freely. A wedding is a ceremony whose activities provides opportunities for social gatherings and entertainment . It also gives them an opportunity to show off their best. as mentioned earlier, and it functions as a mechanism that reinforces moral values .

The rest of the chapters then subjected sample texts from the wedding songs genre of oral literature to the stylistic treatment. This study was based on 75 songs collected in Mombasa but only fifty songs were actually analysed, the rest are in the appendix.

The thesis made use of a large quantity of corpus data because of the qualitative approach applied. The main aim was to make an intensive analysis of each song we selected. In our field work we collected a fairly large amount of songs in Mombasa by participant observation . We finally decided to focus on the 50 songs chosen . This was done purposely and intentionally because the different levels of language we are studying or the different aspects of style like metaphors , repetition , rhyme . vocabulary choice etc. were fairly represented in most songs analysed .

Though the fundamental role of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs is to express and reiterate, in their content, the beliefs and values associated with weddings, we did not concentrate on this essence but we were more interested in how style is used in the songs. We focused on four main levels of language, namely the level of phonology, the lexical and syntactic level, level of semantics and lastly the para linguistic level .

At the phonological level we looked at the dialects used. We found out that sometimes the singers change the dialect of the text of a particular song using their own variety if the song is borrowed from another place and at times they sing it in it's original dialect . In the event there is a group which has come to Mombasa, for example from Lamu, then even the Mombasa people will sing it in the original dialect of the song but if it is just singers from Mombasa and it is a borrowed song they will sing it in Kimvita or in it's original dialect .

It was found that the local wedding songs of Mombasa differ significantly from those that are borrowed from other places and also from the songs we have called 'supplication' songs. The local songs do not follow the rigid symmetry of lines, rhymes and syllabic measure. Here we found a type of rhyme that is closely related to the tune and melody of the song.

In Chapter four we focused on several features. The features are neologisms, archaisms, foreign words, code mixing, lexical prominence and sentence length. These features are important in the overall stylistic study of wedding songs of Swahili women of Mombasa. We sometimes found it difficult to classify some of the words that were included. It is difficult to differentiate a word which is rare and archaic or archaic and dialectal. New words have been coined to denote something new or fresh. We also found that some English words are also used in the songs. Though some of these English words are assimilated fully, some of them are employed for communicative effect. Arabic and Swahili languages have had a long history of co-existence (Bakari 1982:140; Abdulaziz 1979:9-11) and many Arabic words have been totally assimilated in Swahili. But there

are some that have not been assimilated and are mostly found in the 'supplication' and taarab songs. These are mainly words that refer to the different attributes of God and thus the singer uses them for stylistic effect. Sometimes they are used to complete the rhyming scheme .

Repetition and lexical prominence were especially favored by the Swahili wedding songs. This concurs with Finnegan (1971:163 and Nketia (1955:77) who found a high count of repetition in African poetry. The repetition is of different types as seen previously, and apart from it's aesthetic impact , it also has more specific stylistic value within the song . At the semantic level we looked at features such as similes; metaphors ; symbolism ; personification ; proverbs ; irony and vocabulary tied to a certain register . We found out that most of the devices used by the singers have been used to conceal the meaning. All the devices refer to the act of deflowering of the virgin. Since speaking of sex openly is taboo, the singers apply devices like metaphors and symbolism. A lot of figurative language is used at this level and many times with a hidden meaning, known only to the women who take part in the songs . The imagery and the metaphors used in them are normally derived from the environment of the people, that is from the sea and domestic life (see **usiche** song pg. 263; **buzi** pg. 223).

Lastly in chapter seven we looked at the paralinguistic features which appear in the Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa. We found that these are an essential part of performance and that words of the songs by themselves are not sufficient. The paralinguistic features are necessary to help in building overall meaning. We looked at histrionics of the performance, dancing, clothes, and use of instruments and music. We found out that all these features have helped to highlight the sexual significance of the songs. The gestures and dance steps have contributed in showing how the Swahili women of Mombasa view the sex act.

Our data was collected in Mombasa. The aim of collecting songs from Mombasa was to find out the stylistic devices available to the Swahili women in this particular

environment and their overall effect. In this research it was apparent that Mombasa singers employed the devices effectively to help in conveying the meaning clearly and effectively.

One of the problems of analysing the song today, as we have pointed out before, is that of an appropriate theory. There is not a body of tenets that can analyse and interpret the song phenomena adequately. In this thesis we have used an eclectic approach. Three approaches have been used to account for disparate aspects of songs. The three theoretical approaches mentioned above work in a fitting sense in analysing the style of the songs.

This study had five hypotheses. The first hypothesis has been positively tested by showing that Swahili wedding songs have stylistic features pertinent to the Swahili people of Mombasa. As many of the songs are dealing with taboo, we have seen that the stylistic features were pertinent for the Swahili people as they enabled them to convey their message. The study has also tested the hypothesis regarding the effectiveness of the stylistic features as a means of positive communication. By using the different stylistic devices, the singers have been able to communicate effectively. This study has also tested its third hypothesis positively by showing that components of performance like clapping, music and dancing matter and so does poetic structure of syllabic measure, rhyming and verses. The fourth hypothesis has been positively tested by showing that Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa are a separate form of oral performance in terms of language used, choice of words, nature of performance and musical instruments.

The study has tested its last hypothesis and proved that by using an eclectic approach we were able to make an adequate analysis of the formal properties of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs.

The study has also revealed that improvisation has a big role to play in the songs. As the local wedding songs are not regular in form, different singers can add different wordings

to suit them. For example in 'umbo' song (pg. 262) the singer sometimes substitutes the words 'karamu imeshaliwa' (the food is already eaten) with 'mke ameshakwenda', (the wife has already been taken). The singer says:

Umechelewa jamvini karamu imeshaliwa

You were late in joining the guests on the eating mat, the food is already eaten.

And substitutes it with:

Umechelewa jamvini na mke ameshakwenda

You were late in joining the guests on the eating mat, the wife has already been taken

Another example is found in 'usinikere Swalehe song', (pg. 264) where the singer says:

Usinikere Swalehe, nenda laza mtoto kwanza

Don't pester me Swalehe, I am going to put the child to sleep first.

Instead of: **"Usinekere Swalehe, nenda laza mtoto naja"**

Don't pester me Swalehe, I am going to put the child to sleep I will come to you.

By and large the study has proved that the wedding songs have their own style. It seems that the majority of the local weddings songs of Mombasa can be classified as erotic poetry as nearly all of them talk about sex and sexual love (Cuddon J. 1977:242). As Carole Beckwith and Angela Fisher (1999:240) note:

"..... all the women of the wedding party gather in a private court yard to perform the '**chakacha**' dance, rolling their hips in unison to music, ululating and singing songs filled with sexual overtones'.

7.1 SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This is a pioneer study in the stylistic analysis of Swahili wedding songs data in Kenya . As already mentioned in our literature review, very little effort has gone into studying the different genres of Swahili oral literature . More specifically not enough literature has been built on the genre of song and the sub-genre of wedding song . Our study has provided the foundation for such a research . This has been evidenced by the broad based approach taken in the seven chapters .

For future research, we suggest a narrow and a more focused study, looking at only one aspect of language instead of touching on different levels of language or at only one aspect of style . We tend to agree with Okpewho (1992 : 361) when he says :

“ The days of ‘ rag bag ’ or ‘ dragnet ’ collecting , when one went into the field and collected everything one could find – songs, tales , proverbs , riddles etc – and published the entire thing under a catch – all title like Ashanti Folklore , must be judged pretty well over. Individuals should be encouraged to be more discriminating in their interests and make up their minds what specific type of oral literature from what specific community they want to investigate . It might even help , for intensive analysis , to concentrate on one group of performers or one artist ”.

It might help for intensive analysis to concentrate on only one type of song that is either original wedding songs of Mombasa or taarab songs or concentrate on songs from only one group of performers or one artist . One might also attempt to look at the paralinguistic features only, and their impact on the Swahili weddings songs.

Another area which might be worth studying is the interaction between oral literature and other forms of folk culture, for example music . A lot of oral literature especially songs is performed against the background of musical accompaniment . But due to limited time, we could not study it beyond the fact of recognizing where the music occurs. To properly understand the total performance of songs, we have to look at the other aspects of performance including melody and rhythm. As mentioned this is a complex issue. Future analysts can look at lyrics, rhythm and language. We hope in future we will be able to analyse the total performance.

7.2 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The main problems encountered were in the capturing of the paralinguistic features and the dancing in general . Though we employed the use of a video recorder , Swahili women normally do not want to be recorded on video especially when dancing. Many people get to see video cassettes and it is un-Islamic for a Muslim woman to dance in front of men , especially those who are married, for fear that other men might see the cassettes. Thus it was very difficult to record the paralinguistic features.

It was also difficult to get ‘**lelemama**’ songs as this dance is dying out and in the last ten years it was only performed in one or two weddings . Very few women know these songs and when we got one who knew them, she was very reluctant to part with the songs she knows. This was due to the contents of the songs. The songs were talking about certain people in the community. Even though many of these people are already dead, the people who knew the songs refused to sing the songs as it was not good to talk about people who are already dead. The singers feared that their relatives will be offended . We think the fear is due to the fact that the researchers are local people, thus they felt the thesis will be seen by others in the

community . Our feeling is that had it been a foreigner they might have got more songs .

Another problem is in the transcribing and translation . It took a lot of time and and many hours of hard work listening to the tapes. The music sometimes was very loud; thus it was difficult to get some of the words, and this sometimes forced us to sit with our ears close to the speaker to clearly hear the song . Other times extra effort had to be employed to go back to the sources, to get the correct forms of the words or seek clarification. As already mentioned, the language of the songs is highly figurative, and we encountered a major problem of translation in order to do justice to the poetic appeal of the Swahili songs. We ended up striving to achieve the effectiveness that we feel in the indigenous text .

Certain highly valued kinds of Swahili wedding songs of Mombasa women like **'lelemama'** songs, have been lost and this has proved the correctness of the well known adage credited to Amadou Hampate Ba, (cited in Olabiyi B.Y 1982:8) that 'In Africa every old man who dies is a library set a blazed'.

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DISCOGRAPHY

In this section we have included the song texts cited in the dissertation text. We have arranged them alphabetically following the Swahili titles of the songs. Some of the songs are recorded and available in leading music stores in Mombasa, Kenya. Songs that were collected but not analyzed in the body of the thesis are listed in appendix B.

BABURAU

Baburau ana marere ana mkia

Wapataje?

Wapata hivi na unyanda we na mkono tele ukabakia

Vile likipwa lapataje?

Lapata hivi na mkonowe na unyanda we na mkono tele ukabakia

BENDERA

Nambiaa ah? Mke mwenzangu nambia

Kikulacho

Nambiaa ah? Mke mwenzangu nambia

Kikulacho

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa

Naaatwawe mwana kutwawa

Mke mwenzangu mumeo metwawa

Naatwawe mwana kutwawa

Na huko endako ende akatwawe

Bendera yangu n'nayo mwenyewe

Na huko endako ende akatwawe
Bendera yangu n'nayo mwenyewe

Eeh bendera yangu
N'nayo mwenyewe
Eeh bendera yangu
N'nayo mwenyewe

BUZI

Hauna tena urongo, usibabaishe wenzako
Hauna tena urongo, usibabaishe wenzako
Wenzako ooo wenzako ooo wenzako

Haha haha wataka tenda
Haha haha wataka tenda

Haha haha wataka buzi
Haha haha wataka buzi

Haha haha wataka ngwenje
Haha haha wataka ngwenje

Umebachokoza ndo ndo ndo
Ukapata talkini ndo ndo ndo
Umebachokoza ndo ndo ndo
Sasa wachezeshwa foliti

Wapiga magoti ukiona noti
Waazima taiti uoenyeshe jointi

Kumbe tafauti hataki kuchunwa

Umebeba begi umekuwa rogi

Watafuta tenda watafuta buzi

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu

Mchezo gani huo wakurudi nyuma huo

Wakuacha wako huyo wakufata wangu huyu

Wataka upate ndo ndo ndo

Vilivyo Dar na Unguja

Wataka upate ndo ndo ndo

Vya mjini na vya kuja

Wewe kiokote hujali natija

Wachanganya wote bosi na mesenja

Kwako zote zote zafaa kuchunwa

Umebeba begi umekuwa rogi

Watafuta tenda watafuta buzi

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu

Mchezo gani huo, wakurudi nyuma huo

Wakuacha wako huyo wakufata wangu huyu

Wakuruka patupu huo wakuruka ukuta huo

Hungoji kuitwa lo lo lo paparazi wajipeleka

Hungoji kuitwa lo lo lo paparazi wajipeleka

Hungoji kuitwa lo lo lo paparazi wajipeleka
Hungoji kuitwa lo lo lo paparazi wajipeleka

Unapofundishwa mambo wayataka
Unapoambiwa sisi watuliza
Wataka kujua nani wakuchunwa
Umebeba begi umekuwa rogi
Watafuta tenda watafuta buzi

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu
Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu
Mchezo gani huo wakurudi nyuma huyu
Wakuacha wako huyo wakufata wangu huyu
Wakuruka pa tupu huo wakuruka ukuta huo

Kama jarife la vua aaa nalivue tulione
Nalivue tulione nalivue tulione
Nalivue tulione nalivue tulione

Yote hayo tisa lo lo lo kumi jarife huvui lo lo lo
Yote hayo tisa lo lo lo kumi wangu humchukui
Wacha vyako visa wako huyu hawi
Jijue kabisa na dafu hufui
Kwangu amenasa hakuna kuchunwa
Umebeba begi umekuwa rogi
Watafuta tenda watafuta buzi

Nafanya hisabu sipati jawabu
Mchezo gani huo wakurudi nyuma huo
Wakuacha wako huyo wakufata wangu huyu

Wakuruka patupu huo wakuruka ukuta huo

CHENJERE

Ukimpata chenjere weee

Njoo nae, tumchinje tumuonje nyamae

Bwanjuma nipigie kwa kwa ru

Kwa kwa ru kwa kwa

Kwa kwa ru kwa kwa

Ukimpata sabasi wee

Njoo nae tumtunde tumuone surae

Ukilala ulalie kwakwaru

Kwa kwa ru kwa kwa

Kwa kwa ru kwa kwa

Ningekuwa na pajero

Ningelewa pararira

Ningekuwa na Manyanga

Ningelewa pararira

Ningekuwa na wowowo

Ningelewa pararira

DEREVA

Dereva nimempata ananiendesha vyema

Sukani akikamata gari halendi mrama

Nami nimempakata katulia katuwama

Mwenzenu mimeukata semeni mtayosema
Mwenzenu nimeukata ukata ukata semeni mtayosema

Dereva wangu tulia hapa kwangu umetua
Nami nimekuachia ukipendacho chagua

Gia anapozikita huniacha nazizima
Akikanyaga mafuta masikio hunivuma
Nabaki naitaita kwa uredani kihema
Leseni aliopata hakuna nchi nzima
Leseni aliopata ipata ipata hakuna nchi nzima

Dereva wangu tulia hapa kwangu umetua
Nami nimekuachia ukipendacho chagua

Breki akizivuta wakati wakusimama
Sio zile zakugota za vishindo na kuzoma
Huniacha n'nkwita kwa maraha nikipuma
Poleni mnaosota huko siko nimehama
Poleni mnaosota sota sota huko siko nimehama

Dereva wangu tulia hapa kwangu umetua
Nami nimekuachia ukipendacho chagua

Enyi muendao tata wanagenzi mulokwama
Ujanja hasa kupata kuwahi hakuna neema
Njiani nikiwapita bwagani zenu lawama
Dereva nimempata sioti nimewapima
Dereva nimempata pata pata sioti nimewapima

Dereva wangu tulia
Nami nimekuachia

hapa Kwangu umetua
ukipendacho chukua

DOKTA TX

TX mpenzi dokta wangu zamani
Ameipata laizi digiri yake Sa Joni
Ananipasua tezi siku nyingi tumboni
TX nipasue toa maradhi ya ndani

Nipasue daktari nipasue toa maradhi ya ndani wee nipasue
Nipasue Tx nipasue
Napenda da uperesheni wee nipasue

TX hasiti kufanya uperesheni
TX ana cheti kapasi Ujerumani
Hunipa nusu kaputi nazimia kitandani
Na fahamu siipati nangoja uperesheni
TX nipasue taja vyote sikukhini

Mimi ndo mgonjwa wake bibi jiweke pembeni
Napenda sindano zake haziumi mwilini
Abinyapo dawa zake azitele maungoni
TX nipasue taja vyote sikukhini

TX akipasua raha hupanda kichwani
Kisu anachotumia kimoja sio thinini
Hafanyi kwa kuripua apasua kwa makini
TX nipasue mwengine simthamini

TX hasiti	kufanya uperesheni
Anapenda katikati	hanipasuiwi pembeni
Kwa nyuzi za gati gati	ashona ndani kwa ndani
TX Nipasue	niipate afueni

DONGE

Hamtuwashii
Hamtuzimii
Mwaona donge la nini
Kama mnaweza pandeni juu mukazibe
Wanadamu walimwengu
Kama yetu yawakera
Mbona mtakereka sana
Na mtakereka sana

J <u>i</u> to la kutuonea	hawanalo walimwengu
Wanatuonea haya	aloturuzuku mungu
Ya shari watuombea	yatufike walimwengu
Ya shari watuombea	yatufike walimwengu
H <u>a</u> ta hawaoni haya	wana mambo walimwengu

Alopewa enyi waja	mola hakumkosea
Alonyimwa enyi waja	mola hakumuonea
Ak <u>i</u> taka Yaillahi	riziki humshushia
Ak <u>i</u> taka Yaillahi	riziki humshushia
Apangalo Mola huwa	mja hazuwii njia

Nawaovu wavigengi	waja mnajisumbua
Mukipata Ma <u>t</u> ilawa	alopewa amepewa

Njia ukimzibia	mola atazifungua
Njia ukimzibia	mola atazifungua
Riziki humuwanja	rabi alomteuwa
Tokea sifa azali	mpewa kaandikiwa
Kwa hali kupokonyeka	ukampeleka pewa
Lazima hustirika	mpewa kabarikiwa
Lazima hustirika	mpewa kabarikiwa
Hasada za walimwengu	himaya amejengewa

Mwaliona donge, hilo donge hilo
Mwaliona donge, hilo donge hilo
Kama unaweza, panda juu wende ukazibe
Waona donge, donge la nini
Kama unaweza, panda juu wende ukazibe

Hamtuwashii, hamtuzimii
Wanadamu walimwengu, mwaona donge la nini
Kama mna hamu, kama mnaweza
Mukazibe riziki kwa mungu
Kama mna njia
Walimwengu donge hilo

DUA A

Swafiya Binti Salimu	nikupendae mwanangu
Hukuombea Karimu	Ilahi mwenyezi mungu
Uyatakayo yatimu	anijibu <u>d</u> ua yangu
Hukuombea kahari	upate mataakwa yako

Harusi iwe ya kheri	usipate maudhiko
Na mambo yawe mazuri	ufurahi moyo wako
Na hao wano wawili	mungu tawasuudisha
Wafurahike wanali	katika yao maisha
Wapendane kwelikweli	kama Mtumi na Esha
Rabi kabuli tatiya	naloomba dua zote
Na mengine kuzidiya	yatengee mambo yote
Salimu na wake Raya	wapendane siku zote

DUA B

Naanda Bismilahi	kuwaombea Qudusi
Kwa uwezo wa Ilahi	awakundue nafusi
Inshallah mutafurahi	bwana na bibi harusi
Huwaombea Manani	aliye pweke kahari
Sitowata dua hini	kutwa kucha kukariri
Atawapa Rwahamani	tangamano lenye kheri
Huwaombea kwa Rwaba	Ilahi mola Karima
Yatimie matilaba	tufurahike mtima
Yadumu yenu mahaba	muishi paka khatima
Rwabi tawajaaliya	furaha kila namna
Mulingane kwa tabiya	huruma kuoneyana
Mukiswafi zenu niya	daima mutapendana
Kwa nyimbo tamati	duwa taomba zaidi

Hukuombea kwa dhati upate kila muradi
Kipendi wako khalati mimi Rukia wa Sudi

HATUONANI KWA NINI - LAMU VERSION

Kibanda hiki na kijumba kile
Hatuonani Kwa nini?
Hatuonani Kwa nini?
Hatuonani Kwa nini?

Dunia hii ya leo si ya watu kusemana
Kila alie na mwana aombe Rabi salama
Kama kwangu kumetota chako wewe kitazama

Umaskini si ila mtu nduye hamteki
Nami pia sikuiza kuwapa soda na keki
Mimi siyavaa dira tavaaye deshi deshi?

Nina ujumbe wangu tausema hadharani
Mvulize firingani imi nalimtendani
Kuku hufungwa makumbi nzio hufungwa n'ni?

Wamekuya wa Mombasa na watokao Dubei
Safari zao za ndege mashua hayawelei
Mabarobaro hulia wake wamepanda bei

Kuna panya kuna panya huuma wakivuzi ya
Tangu wana tangu wana hata na wazee piya
Sifa sina sifa sina na aibu sitotiya

Barobaro masikini taabani zao hali
Kutwa huwenda kazini hupata shilingi mbili
Utauma paka lini umpate mwanamwali?

Maneno muyanenao mwenyewe nisikiziye
Asili nisiwajibu huwaona mudhidhiye
Mtu hutengeza lake iwapo usuluhiye

Nilikwambia nazima kisha nikurudishie
Nikikionda ni tamu nikitwaa nitwazie
Una kilio yongoo nyoka umuhadazie

HATUONANI KWANINI - MOMBASA VERSION

Hatuonani kwa nini
Hatuonani kwa nini hatuonani
Kibanda hiki na kibanda kile
Hatuonani kwa nini
Kibanda hiki na kibanda hiki
Hatuonani kwa nini

Dunia hii ya leo	si ya watu kusemana
Kila aliye na mwana	naombe Rabi salama
Kama kwangu kumetota	kwako wewe kutazama

Sakubimbi sakubimbi	ukimwona muogope
Akiweko akiweko	neni lisikudondoke
Anauma kama nge	anauma kote kote

Sitambae sitambae	atambae ni tungu
-------------------	------------------

Sambe naye sambe naye alo tini ya mvungu
Asofunzwa na mamaye hufunzwa na ulimwengu

HONGERA MWANANGU

Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Mama utungu mama utungu nyamala mwanangu hoyee
Nyamala mwanangu hoyee nyamala mwanangu tumbo la undere
Linauma mno we hoyee
Linauma mno we hoyee
Mama utungu mama utungu
Nyamala mwanangu hoyee
Nyamala mwanangu tumbo la undere
Linauma mno we hoyee
Ooh linauma mno
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh linauma mno tumbo la undere
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh linauma mno wee
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh tumbo la undere
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee

Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwanangu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera
Hongera mwananagu we hongera nami ni hongere we hongera

Mama utungu mama utungu
Nyamala mwanangu
Hoyee
Nyamala mwanangu tumbo la
Undere linauma mno hoyee
Hee mama utungu mama utungu
Nyamala mwanangu
Hoyee
Nyamala mwanangu tumbo la undere
Linauma mno hoyee
Ooh linauma mno
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh tumbo la undere
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh linauma mno hoyee
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee
Ooh tumbo la undere
Hoyee linauma mno hoyee

JITO

Nalia na jito wenzangu
Nalia na jito wenzangu
Watu wote wako hapa waniona mie
Nalia na jito wenzangu
Sijema

Eeeh jito si jema
Eeeh jito si jema

Eeeh jito si jema
Nalia na jito si jema
Nalia na jito si jema

Hata la nduguyo sijema
Nalia na jito si jema
Hata la jirani si jema
Nalia na jito si jema

Eeeh jito laua
Nalia na jito si jema
Hata la mumeo si jema
Eeeh jito si jema

KIINUA MGONGO

Kina mama kazi imekwisha
Tupe kiinua mgongo
Japo pande la muhogo
Kina mwana hatutoki
Tupe kiinua mgongo
Japo pande la muhogo

KIKUBA CHA ASIMINI

Kikuba cha asimini
Hakikuja bure eee
Uliyataka mwenyewe
Waliyatotore
Uliyataka mwenyewe

KITABU ACHORE

Eeee leo achore

Eeee leo achore

Bwana harusi asema

Ataka kitabu achore

Na kalamu ashachonga

Ataka kitabu achore

Eeeh leo achore

Eeeh leo achore

Bwana harusi asema

Ataka kitabu achore

Na kalamu ashachonga

Ataka kitabu achore

KUEKA GOMA

Waiyo yo

Hiyo shime mabibi

Hiyo aah aah

Koma inukani mwime

Kingali ngali na maondo yasimame

Yawe sandali

Namaondo ya simame

Yawe sandali

Mama Niwilia radhi

Godoro sina na mwenye nalo godoro

Sendi kwazima

KUMBATIA

Kaume changu kumbatia

Karume kangu kumbatia

Kaume kangu kumbatia

Kichuna changu kumbatia

Kaume kangu we kumbatia

Karume kangu we kumbatia

Kaume kangu we kumbatia

Kichuna changu we kumbatia

Karume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Karume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Karume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia
Kaume kangu	kumbatia kumbatia

Kadogo dogo we kumbatia

Kadogo dogo we nikumbatia
Kachuna changu we nikumbatia

Kumbatia
Kadogo dogo we
Kaenge enge
Ndugu zangu
Nikibembeza

KUTIA CHOONI

Harusi chooni
Howa harusi chooni hoa
Hoa hoa wa marashi
Mavumba ya udi
Hoa hoa marashi
Mavumba ya udi
Na mavumba ya udi
Yanukayo oto

Na mavumba mema
Yanukayo oto
Nivujiani mwanangu
Hiowa tawalipa
Nivujiani mwanangu
Hiowa tawalipa
Tawalipa tawalipa siwa
Mpeleeni ndia huyo yuwaja
Yuwaja mpeleeni ndia
Apuaye akapua

Mzigo kitwani

Anukuaye akatua

Mzigo kitwani

Yakushindwa ni ada ya waume

Yakushindwa ni ada ya waume

LIMBUKENI

Wimbo huu n'naimba nakupa shua fulani

Nakuona wanichimba wanitafuta undani

Wimbo huu n'naimba nakupa shua fulani

Nakuona wanichimba wanitafuta undani

Sina nilichokuomba wakereka kitu gani

Naona wanitafuta limbukeni wee

Mimi nakuangalia limbukeni wee

Vipi wanipakatia

Ole wako nikianza utajijua mwenyewe

Ole wako nikianza utajijua mwenyewe

Uso haya na heshima kwangu wanitaka nini

Wala hunitii homa nakwambia limbukeni

Bado nakuona dama huelewi mkononi

Kweli wewe limbukeni watu wote wakujua

Katika mahayawani wewe ni mheshimiwa

Huna upatacho sini kutwa unajizuzua

Mimi kwako n'ntamba akhera na duniani

Hapa ni sumu ya mamba nakwambia si utani
Ni bure ungajigamba nakuona hayawani

Naona wanitafuta limbuke ni weee
Mimi nakuangalia limbuke ni wee
Vipi wanipakatia
Ole wako nikianza
Utajijua mwenyewe
Kama nduguyo hakimu
Utajijua mwenyewe
Kama nduguyo polisi
Utajijua mwenyewe
Kama nduguyo mchawi
Utajijua mwenyewe
Hata wende kwa waganga
Utajijua mwenyewe
Ukafanye makafara
Ole wako nikianza

MAJUMBANI

Majumbani kuna mambo twawambia
Majumbani kuna mambo twawambia
Mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Vumilia
Mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Vumilia
Mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Vumilia

Mama ukakae na mumeo
Vumilia mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Mama hatutaki mashitaka
Vumilia mambo ya nyumbani kunga
Mwanangu kipande cha papa
Vumilia mambo ya nyumbani kunga

MPIRA WANGU

N'na mpira wangu nauteza
Kila siku naubembeleza
Umeingia goli mpira, gol
N'na mpira wangu nauteza
Kila siku naubembeleza
Umeingia goli mpira, gol
Umeingia goli mpira, gol
Goo, goo, goo
Goo, goo goo
Ko unakwenda ko
Anao mpira
Hatari kwenye lango
Umeingia goli mpira, gol

MISTER MAHMOUD

Helo, helo, helo I love you Mr. Mahmoud
Helo, helo, helo I love you Mr. Mahmoud
Usiku huwaza sana kukicha silali tena
I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Nakushukuru mpenzi	kwako kuipata jaha
Kunipa mema makazi	na maisha yenye raha
Kunipa mema makazi	na maisha yenye raha
Kuijenga yangu enzi	kwa pendo lenye furaha

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Menidhibiti kikweli	mpenzi menizuiya
Umeitweka akili	yangu imenipotēa
Umeitweka akili	yangu imenipotēa
Sitoki sendi mahali	kwako nimeshazoea

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Kiwa na wewe yakini	jenginewe siliwazi
Kwa maneno ya imani	unipayo ya mapenzi
Kwa maneno ya imani	unipayo ya mapenzi
Hupiga kite moyoni	kateremsha pumzi

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Kwa hakika ni mwalimu	mwenye makini kufunza
Hodari ulohitimu	mambo yako miujiza
Hodari ulohitimu	mambo yako miujiza
Huna usilofahamu	kila mtezo wateza

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

Kiwa nae kuku kuku

mikononi kinibana

Hupenda ubaki huku

usende mahali tena

Hupenda ubaki huku

usende mahali tena

Huusahau usiku

nikaona ni mtana

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

I love you Mr. Mahmoud

MSUMENO WANGU

Siniharibie msumeno wangu aeh

Kama haukerezi ntakwenda zangu haaeh

Siniharibie msumeno wangu aeh

Kama haukerezi ntakwenda zangu aeh

Ntilia mapengo msumeno wangu

Kama haukerezi ntakwenda zangu hayae

Siniharibie msumeno wangu aeh

Kama haukerezi ntakwenda zangu

Kama wataka karanga eeh

Kaukarange na ule mdude

Kama wataka karange eeh

Kaukarange na ule mdude

Karanga nami nikarange

Kaukarange na huo mdude

Kama wataka karanga

Kaukarange na huo mdude

Kaukarange na ule mdude

Kaukarange na ule mdude

Kama wataka karanga eeh

Kaukarange na ule mdude

Karange nami nikarange

Kaukarange na ule mdude

MTAIMBO

Hauna eeh

Hauna laika

Eeh laika eeh

Hauna laika

Ooo hauna huo

Hauna laika

Naupeleleza m_taimbo

Unateleza m_taimbo

M_taimbo oooh m_taimbo

Nalia yomi kikumbuka m_taimbo wangu nalia

Nalia yomi kikumbuka m_taimbo wangu nalia

M_taimbo wa ajabu

Unateleza m_taimbo

Mtaimbo wa zamani
Unateleza mtaimbo
Mtaimbo oooh mtaimbo
Hautaki kulala
Hauna laika
Ni kipara huo
Hauna laika

MTENDE

Huo mtende
Umechanua
Huo mtende
Umechanua
Na baada kuchanua
Chanu chanu chanu a

Huo mnazi
Umepasuka
Huo mnazi
Umepasuka
Na baada kupasuka
Pasu pasu pasu ka

Hiyo nyumba
Imebomoka
Hiyo nyumba
Imebomoka
Na baada ya kubomoka
Bomo bomo bomo ka

Hicho kibofu

Kimepasuka

Hicho kibofu

Kimepasuka

Na baada ya kupasuka

Pasu pasu pasu ka

MWANAMWALI KAOLEWA

Mwana huyu leo aolewa

Mwateni aolewe anenepe aote mkia

Nimewalika harusi eee

Harusi eee

Mimi na bwana wa huko eee

Wa huko

Siku yetu ya harusi eee

Harusi

Nimpikie muhogo eee

Muhogo

Alalapo kitandani eee

Kitandani

Ningawie kidogo

Mwanamwali leo kaolewa

Mwana huyu leo aolewa

Mwateni aolewe anenepe aote mkia

Mshumaha mshumaha

Mshumaha

Wamiminka matozi

Matozi

Hela bwana niambie eee

Niambie

Lipi lililokuudhi eee

Kuudhi

Zima taa zima taa eee

Taa

Au umeshindwa na kazi ee

Na kazi

Saada kaolewa mwateni aolewe

Anenepe aote mkia

NAKUONA HUJASEMA

Nakuona hujasema aeeh

Hujasema aeeh hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

Nakuona umenuna

Aeeh umenuna aeeh umenuna

Nakwambia mambo bado

Nakuona hujasema

Aeeh hujasema aeeh hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

Aah nakuona hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

Aah nakuona hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

Aah nakuona umenuna

Nakwambia mambo bado

Aah nakuona hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

Aah taratibu ndio mwendo

Nakwambia mambo bado

Nakuona hujasema

Aah hujasema aah hujasema

Nakwambia mambo bado

NALIA OH

Nalio ooh nalia mama

Nalia ooh nalia mama

Aah nalia oh nalia mama

Nikikumbuka yake mazoea

Nalia ooo nalia mama

Nikikumbuka yake mazoea

Nalia ooo nalia mama

Nikikumbuka yake mazoea

Amezoea kulalia pajero

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulala mgongoni

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulalia pajero

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulala mgongoni

Mama nalia

Mama nalia oooh mama nalia, mama nalia oooh mama nalia

Amezoea kulala mgongoni

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulala kifuni

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulalia pajero

Mama nalia

Oooh mama nalia oooh

Mama nalia

Amezoea kulala na Salimu

Mama nalia

NANASI

Napenda nanasi ukilila kwa utamu wake

Usipojikisi ukilila ndio raha yake

Ela naogopa katikati huo mti wake

Ela siuwezi huo mti wake

Nami naogopa huo mti wake

NAOLEWA

Naolewa hee

Naolewa hee

Moyo wangu una wasiwasi

Maana kazi sijaizoea

Usilie heee

Usilie heee

Hio kazi ukishaizoea

Na mlango utaifungia

Na mlango utaukomea

Na vikuba utamfungia

Na udi utamtilia

Na vishada utamfungia

NASEMA NAO MOMBASA VERSION

Ubaya hauna kwao	wala hauna kabila
Wala hauna kituo	hutua kila mahala
Kwa utaratibu huo	binadamu hana hila
Wala hauna kituo	hutua kila mahala
Kwa utaratibu huo	binadamu hana hila

Nasema nao na	wabaya ni hao hao
Nacheka nao na	wabaya ni hao hao
Nakula nao na	wabaya ni hao hao

Kuwajua wato hao	si rahisi na ghafula
Cheko midomoni mwao	na furaha kwenye kula
Kariba ya roho zao	husuda zimetawala
Cheko midomoni mwao	na furaha kwenye kula
Kariba ya roho zao	husuda zimetawala

Nasema nao na	wabaya ni hao hao
Nacheka nao na	wabaya ni hao hao
Nakula nao na	wabaya ni hao hao

Kuwasengenya wenzao	na kuwatia madhila
Hizo ndizo kazi zao	watu wasio fadhila
Na hayo ndio mazao	wanovuna wenye hila
Hizo ndizo kazi zao	watu wasio fadhila

Na hayo ndio makao wanovuna wenye hila

Nasema nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nacheka nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nakula nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Kusema nasema nao ahlan wa sahalan

Kucheka nacheka nao bila shaka wala hila

Nakula na kula nao na huku kumbe wanila

Kucheka na cheka nao bila shaka wala hila

Nakula na kula nao na huku kumbe wanila

Nasema nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Naimba nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nakula nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nacheza nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Nakunwa nao na wabaya ni hao hao

Naimba nao na wabaya ni hao hao

NASEMA NAO LAMU VERSION

Hucheka nao, na wabaya ni hao hao

Hulia nao, na wabaya ni hao hao

Nenda kwa mwalimu wangu kanisomeshe ya dini

Niisome tabaraka pamoja na yasini

Chai hutiwa sukari mahaba hutiwa nini

Kama mahaba huliwa singalikula kingine

Ningelikula mahaba
Wadhwahiri nakwapia

kiasi cha nyaka nne
ni wewe sina mwengine

La waridi la waridi
Maridadi maridadi
Mahasidi mahasidi

ua la kwanda kwalika
katukuwa kapatika
maini yawakatika

La waridi la waridi
Kalibusu kalibusu
Mimi wako mimi wako

shada liko mlangoni
asubuhi na jioni
sijui wewe wa nani

Nataka kusema siri
Niandike na chai
Huwauliza wapambe

siri ya watu wawili
ninwe nituze akili
kama hatuna hatuli

Yuko mbali yuko mbali
Si sahali si sahali
Licha wali licha wali

nikupendae rafiki
mahaba ni kitu dhiki
hata mai hayashuki

Bosi langu bosi langu
Mwendo wake mwendo wake
Ana ila ana ila

hufanya kazi afisi
ni mwendo kama tausi
kupiga kisi haisi

NAUPIGA PAPAPA

Naupiga papapa
Naupiga lololo

Naupiga papapa
Naupiga lololo

Usione mkono umeng'ara
Si kazi yangu kazi ya sonara

Usione watu kutandika
Kutandika kuna maana yake

Usione kutandika kitanda
Kutandika kuna maana yake

Naupiga papapa
Naupiga lololo

Ukitaka mumeo asitoke
Akilala mguu mpachike

Kumea mvi si utu uzima
Bora mashini kuwa nzima

Kwenda na gongo si utu uzima
Bora kijiti kuwa kizima

Naupiga papapa
Naupiga lololo

NDIZI

Mie sikatai kutajwa mtegoni
Wala siajabu kuambia chameni na mabalozi
Ela niajabu kupanda mgomba kisha nisile ndizi

Huko mashambani kumengia chabuka
Wala si ajabu kuwa nataja ndizi
Naona ajabu kupanda mgomba nisile ndizi

Mkono wa tembo na kipukusa na kikuruwe
Mimi nimepanda nkaṭoa na pesa nipaliliwe
Leo takuwaje tutendeane visa ni dunguliwe

Hayo usemayo hayana umaizi shaṭi ujuwe
Wala si ajabu kuwa nataja ndizi na mgombawe
Ela ni ajabu kupanda kisha nisile ndizi

Kaṭafute kapu upande mgomba wako
Wayatoa maṭo na mate yakutoa
Ndizi si yako

Sioni ajabu kutaja ndizi na mgombawe
Ni kitendawili chaṭaka mteguzi akitambue
Ulipoondoka kanachia huzuni na sikiṭiko
Yule limbukeni anaṭaka ndizi ndizi si yako

NG'ONZI

Ng'onzi eeh
Eeh eeh eeh
Mwana ng'onzi eeh
Nguvu za mwanangu zapotea bure
Hae mama eeh

Ni kunguni kondo yangu ni jioni
 Jongoo akenda maoto hayaoni
 Werevu wa koa
 Imemgandama nyumba maungoni
 Kupata sahani
 Kupata sahani
 Umezisahau sima za mivure

NIMEPATA BABU - MALIKA

Mama leo wajibu	kwako natasua
Sipande ghadhabu	moyo kutukiwa
Nimepata babu	ataka nioa
Fikiria mwana	mimi ni mamako
Jitulize sana	kwa umri wako
Tafuta kijana	alo sawa yako
Nimepeleleza	yote yuatenda
Angali aweza	ngome kuivunda
Mamangu nioza	shebe nampenda
Fikiria hali	siwe mkaidi
Tafuta rijali	aliye jadidi
Latilie mbali	hilo shuga dedi
Haya nenda rudi	mambo ayaweza
Kwake nafaidi	anibembeleza
Ngawa shuga dedi	mamangu nioza

Kipanda kitanda	heshi kuugua
Mara anapindwa	mara akohoa
Kucha utakanda	na kupaka dawa

Haidhuru haya	ni mapenzi yangu
Nitavumilia	si neno mamangu
Lakini ridhia	awe mume wangu

Nimejitahidi	kwa hili lisiwe
Wako ukaidi	tajua mwenyewe
Huyo shuga dedi	sasa nakuoe

Ni jaala yangu	ni jaala yangu
Huyo shuga dedi	kuwa mkwe wangu
Kunioza shebe	takula nishibe
Huyo shuga dedi	kuwa mkwe wangu

SIKUSUDII LAWAMA

Sikusudii lawama	kuwalaumu wenzangu
Wanaonisemasema	mimi na mpenzi wangu
Nime eee nimezama nina sema	mesabili mesabili pendo langu
Kuwa naye ni lazima	ni ua la moyo wangu

Wacheni kulia wivu	tulopendana ni siye
Bure yenu uchukivu	mtajiudhi wenyewe
Yeye ua la haiba	lathanua kifuani
Pendo langu kwake tiba	na ishara zi moyoni
Siba sibakhili wa mahaba	na mimi na mimi sikumkhini
Kwa pendo lake meshiba	mwengine simtamani

Nampenda akisema
Nampenda kitazama
Nam nampenda akihema
Nampenda nishazama

ashiki wa moyo wangu
hun Yong'onya mwili wangu
atajapo atajapo jina langu
bahari tamu si chungu

Kiwewe na uchukivu
Mnatulilia wivu
Pendo ooo pendo letu lierevu
Kupenda si upumbavu

pasha wamekupa
na huku mwatufitini
silao silao watu fulani
hata nanyi mwatamani

SOLEMBA

Umeachwa, umeachwa solemba
Umeachwa, umeachwa solemba
Umeachwa, umeachwa solemba

Ata kujivunga vunga
Umeshindwa kumchunga
Na mimi sijajivunga
Nimejitolea muhanga

eti nimekuibia
njiwa akakukimbia
nami nikampokea
wallahi sitomtowa

Huyu sasa mali yangu
Pole sana we mwenzangu
Sishutuki na mafumbo
Kama wewe ni mrembo
Kwake nafaidi mambo
Wewe huna lako jambo

nina haki ya kutamba
umeshaachwa solemba
ya kanga kunivalia
mbona umekataliwa
ni siri kusimulia
umekwisha ekspaya

Wacha kumfata fata

na simu kumpigia

Na kuvaa yondasista

Utazimaliza mita

Nafasi hutaipata

na blauzi za maua

hakutaki kanambia

wanja utakuishia

Buriani eee mwenzangu

Hilo sio kosa langu

Karidhika kaja kwangu

Na mpa ahadi mungu

umeachwa kwenye mataa

kupendwa sitokataa

hapati ya manufaa

huwezi kunipindua

SOMOE MWANA

Mamie mwari ndoo ukaole

Ndoo kaole mgeni kangia

Mamie mwari ndoo ukaole

Ndoo kaole mgeni kangia

Mgeni kangia

Iyaya eeh leo

Mgeni kangia

Mamae harusi ndoo ukaole

Ndoo kaole mgeni kangia

Mamae harusi ndoo kaole

Ndoo kaole mgeni kangia

Iyaya eeh leo

Mgeni kangia

Iyaya eeh leo

Mgeni kangia

IAKAUNGU SONG

Tumeingia uwandani	yuwapi mama harusi
Ione yake uyuni	hao wake wafuasi
Wote ni oldie towni	tufurahike nafusi
Kuja huku harusini	vijana ni wetu piya
Hapa ni kwetu watani	jadi yetu nakwambiya
Shina pale kibokoni	ngome kiteremkiya
Tumeingiya Londoni	kwa mapenzi sote piya
Afifa mwenye imani	yeye kumfuatiya
Tukae hapa jamvini	wali kujiliya
Jumuiko la furaha	Rabi taliduumisha
Maarusi wape jaha	katika yao maisha
Itakuwa maftaha	ya stara kuwavisha

UCHEKECHEE NKONO

Uchekechee nkono eeh uchekechee nkono

Ulie wali bario eeh uchekechee nkono

Karatasi ya barua eee ina maneno machachu

Ukifungua hushiba eee ukizisoma huli kichu

Ni kweli ukitambua eee aso ahadi si nchu

Nkono, uchekechee nkono eeh uchekechee nkono

Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Yomi mame yomi mame eee huba huniteza shere
Huninyua huninyua eee hata kama niyele
Rabi nafu Rabi nafu eee wenye kujera wajere

Nkono, uchekechee nkono eee uchekechee nkono
Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Madhoya madhoya eee ndio yalonamkua
Kasimama kasimama eee hadi kapigwa na vua
Hunitaki hunitaki eee ya nini kunamkua

Nkono, uchekechee nkono eee uchekechee nkono
Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Kama mahaba ni ndege eee nami ningekuushia
Kama mahaba ni dhahabu ee nami ningekufulia
Lakini sasa ni lavu eee waweza kuitumia

Nkono, uchekechee nkono ee uchekechee nkono
Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Mimi nawe mimi nawe eee nikama kope na jito
Mwenginewe mwenginewe eee kwangu mimi ni uzito
Litukuwe litukuwe eee ijapo pendo ni moto

Nkono, uchekechee nkono uchekechee nkono
Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Mama hunambia imba eee nakuimba sina koo
Kila kitaka kuimba eee hushikwa na kikohoo

Tumewatia wenyewe ee ipera na mayongoo

Nkono, uchekechee nkono ee uchekechee nkono

Ulie wali bario eee uchekechee nkono

Yana usiku wa yuzi eee nalimuona nzuka

Nikawaza nikawaza eee hadi kukapambauka

Kweli mahaba ni mori eee mara moya hudeuka

ULIYATAKA MWENYEWE

Uliyataka mwenyewe utanitambua

Ulioanza ni wewe vya watu kuvitukua

Kila mla cha mwenziwe na chake pia huliwa

UMBO

Umbo langu dawa

ameshalipenda

Pete yangu kawa

nami kwake chanda

Utanuna na kuvimba

pumzi zako kutowa

Kisha urudi mwembamba

hali yako ulokuwa

Madhali hukunimba

huwezi kuniumbua

Umbo langu dawa

ameshalipenda

Pete yangu kawa

nami kwake chanda

Kwa umbo wanifitini

nipate kukataliwa

Wanifata shughulini

ugomvi kuununua

Umechelewa jambini

karamu imeshaliwa

Umbo langu dawa

Pete yangu kawa

ameshalipenda

nami kwake chanda

Umbo langu hili hili

Nae amelikubali

Juu yangu hana hali

ndilo nilojaaliwa

kuniganda kaamuwa

kwa mahaba kanogewa

Umbo langu dawa

Pete yangu kawa

ameshalipenda

nami kwake chanda

Utabaki na kilio

Hasada zako na choyo

Kijiba chako cha moyo

umbo langu kwake dawa

huna wa kukuokowa

mwenyewe kitakuua

USICHE

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Ukiona bahari utaogelea

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Ukiona bahari utaogelea uvuke

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Usiche bwana harusi usiche

Usiche bibi harusi usiche

Usiche bibi harusi usiche

Usiche bibi harusi usiche

Bwana akitaka tafadhali mpe

Usiche bwana harusi usiche
Usiche bwana harusi usiche
Usiche bwana harusi usiche
Umetowa pesa kununua chako
Usiche bwana harusi usiche

USINIKERE SWALEHE

Usinikere Swalehe nenda laza mtoto naja
Usinikere Swalehe nenda laza mtoto naja
Namlaza mtoto naja
Naja namlaza mtoto kwanza
Nenda laza mtoto kwanza

WAUME WA SASA

Waume wa sasa	ni mad <u>u</u> ng <u>u</u> du <u>u</u> ngu
Hungia mekoni	wakaramba vyungu
Mama pika tule	nguo zina mungu

Make hoyu hoyu
Eeh hoyu eh hoyu eeh

Waume wa sasa	hawana nafuu
Hawapati pesa	hata za tambuu
Mahodari k <u>u</u> ndu	kutia buluu

WEMBE

Waja huo wembe waja huo
Mamaee mwari naajitenge
Waja huo wembe waja huo
Mwambie mwana naajitenge

WEWE ULONIZOWEYA

Wewe ulonizoweya, koma kunitajataja
Utaumbuka vibaya, siku yako kwangu mmoja
Siku yako kwangu mmoja

Imamu wa usabasi, mwenye tepe za umbea
Mungafanya ni harusi, vigaro kuniwekea
Utaumbuka vibaya, siku yako kwangu moja

Sinichukue rahisi, sinichukue rahisi, meno nikikutekea
Umbo langu ni mkizi, umbo langu ni mkizi, na jina nakwambia
Najua kila utezi, najua kila utezi

Kusema kwa reja reja, kusema kwa reja reja, nitakujibu jumla
Usinitaje nikome, usinitaje nikome, tazama lako mwenzangu
Nakama unachosema, nakama unachosema, ni kwa wivu na machungu
Ni tabu yako ungama, ni tabu yako ungama

YALAITI

Yalaiti napenda pasi kifani,
Tafauti sikutilii moyoni.

Sikuati leo na kesho peponi,
Hahaha ha haha – I love you.

Siyafiti nasema yalo moyoni,
Kwangu dhiki kuwa mbali na mwandani,
Yangu haki kuwa nae mikononi,
Simuati leo na kesho peponi,
Hahaha ha haha – I love you.

Maashiki twawapima kwa makini,
Ya hakiki nisemayo hadharani,
Kwangu dhiki kuwa mbali na mwandani,
Huwachiki leo na kesho peponi,
Hahaha ha haha – I love you.

Chemchem ya huba twaogelea,
Kwa nidhamu mpenzi kanipokea,
Na matamu mengi anitunukia,
Ni timamu yeye sitomuatia,
Hahaha ha haha – I love you.

Nibembeze pendo nipate kupea,
Unituze viumbe waone mbaya,
Yawachanje maneno kuwaishia,
Tuongeze raha na kutekelea,
Hahaha ha haha – I love you.

ZABIBU

Nimepokea salamu hizo ulonitumia

Kuwa sasa unahamu	mapenzi kuyarudia
Pendo nilo kukirimu	kwa dhati na safi nia
Nawe usiliheshimu	mara ukalisusia
Wallahi sina wazimu	wewe kukuregeshea
Mempa mwenye nidhamu	roho ilomtulia

Leo tena aaah aaah aaah aaah
 Lea tena aaah aaah aaah aaah

Kuna jambo maktumu	hilo shoti ufahamu
Ulinifikiri <u>d</u> ubu	sina akili <u>t</u> imamu
Nimepata mabhubu	anayenitia <u>d</u> amu
Pendo <u>t</u> iba ya hubu	mwenye mapenzi <u>m</u> atamu
Wataka tena zabibu	umekumbuka <u>u</u> amu
Hata kama umetubu	kukupa tena haramu

Lau hukunikashifu	pengine ningekubali
Mola kaku <u>t</u> oa khofu	hisani hukuzijali
Nimepata muad <u>i</u> lifu	twappendana kweli kweli
Kwako nishast <u>a</u> afu	kurudi mustahili
Mtu asoinswafu	Heri kuwa naye mbali
Usilete <u>t</u> aklifu	kuchezewa sikubali

Huyo nilo naye sasa	anipendeza kwa mengi
Raha na kila anasa	ndo ukaona sikongi
Sikurejei kabisa	nilipovunja sijengi
Menit <u>o</u> sha vyako visa	na kujua kwako kwingi
Ulidhani nit <u>a</u> kosa	hukujua mko wengi
Shika kama huna pesa	ukaniroge Ginigi

10.0 APPENDIX II

DISCOGRAPHY II

As it was noted in the data collection we collected seventy-five songs but analysed only fifty. It was found necessary to include the songs incase anyone wants to analyse them differently e.g. linguistically. The rest of the songs collected are the following:-

CHIMBA CHIMBA

Chimba chimba ee mn'gon'go umepata nyumba leo
Ee jama chimba chimba ee mg'gon'go umepata nymba leo

Mamiye mwari usife moyo, ufahari haufai neno
Babiye harusi usife moyo , na uvivu haufai neno
Ee mn'gon'go umepata nyumba leo

DUA

Bismilahi awali ndiyo takayoanziya
Nahimdi ni ya pili na swala kufuatiya
Nimeinyosha miwili ya kheri kukuombeya

Kwa marashi nimetuwa nipokeya wa jamali
Sandali na lema liwa usinge wako muili
Rwabi idumishe ndowa mahaba yaliyo ali

HAOLEWI

HAOLEWI

Mulisema haolewi

Mbona kaolewa

Mulisema hampendi

Mbona kampanda

Mlisema hamuowi

Mbona kamuowa

Mlisema hamtaki

Mbona kamtaka

Mbona kaolewa leo eeh

Mbona kaolewa leo eeh

Mbona kaolewa leo eeh

Mlisema hapendezi

Mbona kapendeza

Leo mbona kapendeza

Leo mbona kapendeza

HUNU NA HUNU

Hunu na hunu nitunde upi?

Kila n`tundao una maua

Kila n`tundao una maua

IBINAL 1

Asalaam Aleikum Yadakhilina

Wa alaykum salaam ya ibinaa al watan

Ibinal wataan shababii

Mashi ndevu

Wala sharbu

Wale watu maneno ya pwani

Asoseshi

Ibnaal watan

Kraufu hibro majastar

Ibinaa si watofu hata kwa vyembe hufuma

Hawakumuhofu ndovu na alo mwituni nyama

Kila aliye muovu Rabi tampeka nyuma

Rabi muinua ngao utukinge zetu zimo

Kwa kula atutajao utukinge yake miomo

Akifi na shari lao hatumo sisi hatumo

IBINAL 2

Ibinaa Ringo

Wazee na wana

Hatumuhofu mtumwa wala muungwana

Litakalokuja sisi twaliweza

Tuko mpakani twaishambulia

Tu ndani ya ndege twawatangulia

Mizinga na bomu tawachachia

Jaribuni kama mtaweza

Kula kwa vijiko kama Waengereza

Kula kwa vijiko kama Waengereza

Bunduki ziweke begani

Bunduki ziweke begani

Mwataka kututekesha

Mwataka kututekesha

Kututia furahani

Nyinyi ng'ombe awatisha

Mtainda nyama gani

JUA

Jua toka eee jua toka eee

Jua toka eee jua toka eee

Nianike kibangile changu

Kimenidondoka

Nianike kibangile changu

Kimenidondoka

KIDONDA

Taratibu jirani

Usinitoneshe kidonda

Taratibu jirani

Usinitoneshe kidonda

Dakitari huyo yuaja

Dakitari huyo yuaja

Yuaja kukitia dawa kidonda

Taratibu jirani

Usinitoneshe kidonda

Taratibu jirani

Usinitoneshe kidonda

KINA MAMA

Kina mama hatutaki shari

Tumewakanya na barua tumewaitea ya usalama

Koma mama jitu zima ambiwa koma

Kina mama hatutaki shari

Tumewakanya na barua tumewaitea ya usalama

Koma mama jitu zima ambiwa koma

MAJI YA WIMBI

Maji ya wimbi yakijaa

Yanaringa mtoni

Maji ya wimbi yakijaa

Yanaringa mtoni

Hebu ringa

Ringa n'kuone

Hebu cheza

Cheza n'kuone

Hebu lala

Lala n'kuone

MAMBO NI LEO

Mamae harusi asema eee mambo ni leo

Mamae harusi asema eee mambo ni leo

Mambo ni leo

Ni leo

Mambo ni leo

Nduguze harusi wasema eee mambo ni leo

Nduguze harusi wasema eee mambo ni leo

Mambo ni leo

Ni leo

Mambo ni leo

Shangazile harusi asema eee mambo ni leo

Shangazile harusi asema eee mambo ni leo

Mambo ni leo

Ni leo

Mambo ni leo

MGOMBA

Hoya yee hoye yee maneno mengi ni ya nini

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Leo twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba huo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Twaupanda mgomba leo

Leo twaupanda mgomba huo

Twaipanda mgomba leo

MUME NI MOSHI WA KOKO

Huno ni wasia wako mwanangu nakupa shika

Itunge hishima yako upate kusitirika

Mume ni moshi wa koko usipowaka hufuka

Huno ni wasia wako mwanangu nakupa shika

Mkae na mume wako hatutaki mashitaka

Mume ni moshi wa koko usipowaka hufuka

MWANA MBUZI

Mwana mbuzi meeh meeh

Kamlilia mamae

Kamwambia kwea

Kwea mlima wa mawe

NAHANGAIKA

Nahangaika kia n'kilala nahangaika

Kumbe ni wewe

Nahangaika kila n'kilala nahangaika

Kumbe ni wewe

Aaah kumbe ni wewe

Aaah kumbe ni wewe

Nahangaika kila n'kilala nahangaika

Kumbe ni wewe

Nahangaika kila n'kilala nahangaika

Kumbe ni wewe

POPO

Popo popo alewalewa

Popo popo alewalewa

Hoyo ndie popo

Ala maembe pekee

Hana kazi kutubwagia koko

Ala maembe pekee

Uzione alewalewa

Ndio yake maumbilie

Popo alewalewa

Popo popo alewalewa

Popo popo alewalewa

Hoyo ndie popo

Ala maembe pekee

Hana kazi kutubwagia koko

Ala maembe pekee

RIBO RIBO

Aah mwaiona ribo ribo

Aah mwaiona ribo ribo

Ribo Ribo

Aaaaah

Ribo ribo

Mambo sasa

Aah mwaiona ribo ribo

Aah mwaiona ribo ribo

Ribo Ribo

Aaaaah

Ribo ribo

Mambo sasa

SHAURI YAO

Ni shauri yao wanayoyasema

Yatawadhuru wao simimi

Nishauri yao hiyo

Nishauri yao wanayoyasema

Yatawadhuru wao simimi

Nishauri yao hiyo

SHEMEGI

Mama usinipige bure kwa sababu ya shemegi

Mama usinipige bure kwa sababu ya shemegi

Nilikuwa nimelala kaja usiku eee kanambiya twende

Nilikuwa nimelala kaja usiku eee kanambiya twende

TENDE

Niwape kisa cha tende ambacho kimetokea

Nalitamani nionde tamu nipate sikia

Kumbe si tende ni mende

Kimdara mekimbia

Niwape kisa cha tende ambacho kimetokea

Nalitamani nionde tamu nipate sikia

Kumbe si tende ni kende

Kimdara mekimbia

WAKE HOYA

Wake hoyo

Hoya ye hoyo ye

Hamuna maneno ya kutwambia

Gogo tutalichoma

Twaliona hilo gogo

Hilo gogo twalichoma

Hilo gogo twalichoma

Hilo gogo twalichoma

Wake hoyo

Hoya ye hoyo ye

Hamna maneno ya kutwambia

Gogo twalichoma

Hilo gogo twalichoma

Hilo gogo twalichoma

PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

We have included a list of people who were interviewed in relation to the thesis.

Ahmed Sheikh Nabhany - A reknown swahili scholar and poet. Interviews held with him on 12/01/96 and 16/05/96

Amina Abdulrahman An ederly woman who composes supplication songs in Malindi. Interviewed her when the researcher attended a wedding in Malindi on 12/04/97.

Amina Said Education Officer at Fort Jesus. Several informal discussions and interviews on 15/01/96 and 18/01/96.

Asha Ngoma A middle aged woman of 'Kishuri' group from Lamu who sings and beats drums. An interview held with her and her group on 06/03/96 and 15/08/96. We also observed her on several occassions in Lamu and Mombasa.

Bihawa One of the two elderly ladies who remembered a 'lelemama' song. Interview held on 19/09/96.

Faiza Badi A woman with great interest in singing songs and keen attendant of weddings. She hails from Lamu but leaves in Mombasa. Interviewed her on 09/08/96.

Fatma Aidarus A reknown composer of wedding songs and sings in wedding gatherings in Tanga if requested. She hails from

Mombasa. Interview with her when the researcher attended a wedding in Tanga on 22/08/97.

Fatma Bwana Ali

Education Officer at the Lamu Museum interviewed on 10/03/96 and 07/08/96.

Hadija Salim Muhashamy
(now deceased)

An elderly lady of old town interviewed on 15/01/96, 01/02/96 and 22/03/97.

Jaka (Mwanamjaka)

A member of the Wamiji and an ullulator in weddings. Interviewed her on 05/12/96.

Khulaita Said

A re-known composer and singer in Mombasa. Interview with her on 20/01/96 and 04/08/96. I also observed her when she performed at a few weddings.

Kulthum Moh'd

Bin Abdalla

An elderly lady and Member of Muslim Women Association. Interview held on 18/01/96.

Mariam wa Chuba

A member of the Kumbatia/Takaungu groups of singers in Mombasa. Observed her in a number of performances in weddings and interviewed her on 30/11/96 and 15/02/97.

Mariam Sharbaidi

A member of the Takaungu Group of Singers. Observed her performing in Takaungu and some weddings in Mombasa. Interviewed on 10/08/96 and 30/01/97.

Mazuenza	A very old lady who provided information on the early ceremonies and dances of Swahili weddings on 25/11/96.
Mbwana	Proprietor of a music store interviewed on 16/11/96.
Mzee Maulid (now deceased)	Used to be a singer with the Morning Star. Interview held on 04/08/96.
Nuru Salim (Hababa Nuru)	Chairlady of Maendeleo ya Wanawake Lamu District. Interview held on 08/03/96.
Nassor wa Chaka	A singer of male dance songs and member of Wamiji interviewed on 12/05/96.
Rukiya Harithi	School teacher at Lamu girls and assistant researcher. Interview held on 09/03/96.
Saada Machele	An elderly lady used to be married to a poet. Interviewed on 12/09/96.
Sabah Salum	Singer with all Star Taarab. Dar-es-Salaam. Interviewed on 10/10/96.
Salum	Sabah's husband who is a key board player in the all Star Taarab group Dar-es-salam. Interviewed on 12/10/96.

Shamsa Sanura	A reknown singer from Tanga who is at times brought to Mombasa. An interview was held with her when the interviewer attended a wedding in Tanga on 28/08/96.
Sheikh Said Abdalla	A reknown composer of wedding supplications songs in Lamu. Interviewed on 12/03/96.
Sophy Abdul	A young lady who likes to dance and sing. Interviewed her on 10/10/96.
Swafia Salim Said	A reknown scholar and woman organiser. Composer of wedding supplications songs. Interview held on 20/10/96 and 21/12/96.
Tahiya Hamisi	A reknown singer and who is normally chosen to sing the supplication songs in many weddings. Interviewed on 12/08/96.
Uba Thabiti	An elderly lady of the Wamiji. Interview held on 04/12/96.
Zahara Shee	Founder member of Lamu Education Foundation Trust and composer. Interviewed on 28/07/96.

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