DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING
IN
CHOSEN SWAHILI LITERARY TEXTS.

By

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for the degree of Master of Arts in the
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DECLARATION

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

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Ahsanteni Nyote.
In this thesis we will be concerned with the examination of deviation and foregrounding in three literary texts: Asali Chungu, a prose text by Said Ahmed Mohamed, Swifa Ya Nguvumali, a poem by Hassan bin Ismail, and a play, Wakati Ukuta by Ebrahim Hussein.

According to our definition, Deviation is the violation of the established rules and conventions of the language. Foregrounding, on the other hand, is the deliberate manipulation of the language for the purpose of highlighting and emphasizing a message in a piece of literary text. Ultimately the two terms are merged and foregrounding is considered as a general term with deviation an important subvariety of it.

Studies on foregrounding, to quote Mukarovsky (Freeman ed. 1970:40)" have sought to establish what methods a writer of poetry or prose uses to make particularly prominent - more prominent than in ordinary, non-literary language - certain aspects of texture in a given literary work." Whereas our approach does not very much deviate from this view, our focus of attention and emphasis will be on the effect produced by the features in question and how they enable the reader to understand a particular text. In other words we hypothesize that whenever a writer employs a deviant or foregrounded feature, it enables the reader to gain a deeper understanding of the text he is reading. Deviant and foregrounded features have above
everything else a communicative role and are therefore treated as devices through which a writer puts across a literary message to the reader. According to this view, deviation and foregrounding are treated as a bridge between the form and content in a piece of literary writing.

The thesis has been divided into five chapters as shown below:

The first chapter is the introductory chapter. It discusses the statement of the research problem, aims and objectives, hypothesis, rationale and the scope of study. It will also discuss the concepts of deviation and foregrounding and norm. Finally it will discuss the theoretical framework and methodology for the thesis.

Chapter two will discuss the effects of deviation and foregrounding in the prose text Asali Chungu.

Chapter three will discuss the effects of deviation and foregrounding in the prem Swifa Ya Nguvumali.

Chapter four will discuss the effects of deviation and foregrounding in the play Wakati Ukuta.

Chapter five will be the conclusion for the thesis.
1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS.

Kiswahili being a fast developing language has generated a lot of interest in most scholars. There are several studies on its various aspects, including phonology and syntax, and on several aspects of its literature. But language being so vast a phenomenon, it offers endless possibilities for its study. For example, although there are various stylistic studies on the language, there are still some aspects of style which have not been dealt with.

In this thesis we want to study two stylistic aspects of the language called deviation and foregrounding.

In doing so we shall attempt to examine both the artistic as well as the communicative effects created through the employment of deviation and foregrounding in Kiswahili.

Kiswahili, as already said, is a fast developing language. Most of its development is likely to be reflected in language use. Deviation and foregrounding, being phenomena through which the writer's creative ability in using language is reflected, is also an important way through which this developmental aspect would be reflected.

In undertaking studies on deviation and foregrounding we want to attempt to show the following:
1. How deviant and foregrounded features are manifested in Kiswahili texts.

2. How effective these features are in conveying textual messages to the reader.

3. That when pursuing an integrative approach involving a combination of linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and literary criticism in the exposition of a message in a text, the analyst is likely to come out with a more comprehensive analysis of a text, thereby gaining a better understanding of it than when only one of the techniques is adopted.

In analysing deviant and foregrounded features our aim is to highlight the objective aspects of a text against which the analyst can base his interpretations and evaluation of that given text. In other words in examining deviant and foregrounded features we want to establish objective correlates for subjective impressions which we may have of a style of an author. Our approach to the analysis of deviant and foregrounded features will be based upon this objectivity - subjectivity view to style.

1.2. HYPOTHESIS.

Our hypothesis is that although every writer must of necessity use language as his material for communication, the literary aspect of the communication carried out
through deviation and foregrounding, enhances the effectiveness of communication to a very high level. Thus we argue that whenever a writer employs a deviant or a foregrounded feature, he is able to express his message to the reader more effectively and more forcefully than if he employed non-deviant and non-foregrounded language. Thus we start with an assumption that through the use of deviant and foregrounded features the authors of the texts we have chosen will be able to communicate to us more forcefully and effectively. In this study we will want to prove this through examples in the texts being referred to.

1.3. RATIONALE.

Despite the fact that Kiswahili has a long literary tradition, modern analysis on Kiswahili literary texts is relatively a new phenomenon (see Kitsao 1975:25). The pioneering works in fact do not go beyond the 1960's. And although these works are useful in that they set forth the study of an important aspect of the language, there is one main criticism that has been levelled against them: they do not seem to be guided by a definite theory of approach "which accounts for why the analyses tend to be done haphazardly" (ibid:30). A few recent exceptions, however, are studies by Joan Maw (1974), and Kitsao (1975) which we would like to discuss briefly.
Maw's interest as she herself has said and done have been "to try out some of the linguistic parameters sentence length, sentence structure, clause relationship, groups, rank shift etc. which might distinguish different styles in Swahili. She has, for example, attempted to show what features distinguish spoken from written texts, and she has also attempted to show what features are manifested in texts based on intention, for example in story telling, dialogue, persuasion and argument.

Kitsao's work has been oriented towards the stylistic analysis of various Swahili texts with a view to showing what particular features, linguistic or otherwise, manifest themselves in them. He has, for instance, examined the various sentence types employed in the texts. He has also examined the vocabulary choices, including non-standard forms, colloquial words and proverbs. Finally at the semantic level he has examined themes and patterns of thematic development and their effects. However, although the two analyses, as already said, are guided by a definite approach, they do not concern themselves with the examination of deviation and foregrounding which is the intention of this work.

As regards the texts we have chosen for our study, analyses on them have been done on aspects other than deviation and foregrounding as we will presently show.
Wakati Ukuta has been analysed several times by different scholars. Most of these analyses are based on literary criticism, with concentration on the thematic aspect as well as characterization Sengo and Kiango (1974: 15), and Nocha (see Farouk Topan 1977:12) are an example of such scholars.

The only stylistic analysis of the play that we have come across is by Kitsao (1975), who apart from examining the theme of the play, and patterns of thematic development he has also commented on the language use, paying particular attention to vocabulary choices, sentence types, clause structures, and other devices like metaphors, proverbs, similes and their effectiveness in the texts.

We have not come across any analysis on the poem Swifa ya Nguvuiali, except a note on its form by Abdulaziz (see Lienhardt 1968:81). Neither have we come across an analysis on Asali Chungu. We therefore expect our thesis to make a contribution to the study of deviation and foregrounding in Swahili.

1.4 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

We intend to limit ourselves in examining the deviation and foregrounding in the three chosen texts Asali Chungu, Swifa ya Nguvuiali and Wakati Ukuta. We will look at deviation and foregrounding from three dimensions. One will be from the linguistics dimension where deviant and foregrounded features, as manifested
at the Linguistic levels of graphology, phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax and semantics.

Secondly we will look at the concepts from the point of view of conventions. In the meantime we will treat the term convention as being a generally accepted literary form, more or less in the sense of a genre. In this sense, such features as \textit{vina}; rhymes, \textit{vituo}; caesura, \textit{mizani}; metre etc. exemplify the conventional features of swahili poetry.

Thirdly we will look at deviation and foregrounding from the point of view of frequency. All these will be elaborated when we discuss the concepts of deviation and foregrounding in detail, and also when we come to discuss the framework and methodology.

1.5. \textbf{LITERATURE REVIEW}

1.5.1 \textbf{Introduction}

Although what we are set to study in this thesis is primarily the effectiveness of deviation and foregrounding in the communication of literary messages, we must not lose sight of the fact that these two terms cannot be isolated from other stylistic concepts. For example, such concepts as registers, dialects, idiosyncrasy and expressiveness, will occasionally be referred to in our analysis. It will therefore be fruitful if we discuss them and then show in what way they are interrelated.
1.5.2 THE NOTION OF STYLE

There is a multitude of definitions that have been ascribed to the term style, each in a different way. Despite this heterogeneity ultimately the definitions all point to the fact that the concept of style revolves around a common phenomenon - language use. The apparent differences arise from the way one views and approaches style.

For example, style may be conceived in terms of registers. Registers, a fundamental notion in Neo-Firthian stylistics, is based on the premise that language is not a monolithic institution but a vast heterogeneous phenomenon. And that this heterogeneity is accounted for by correlating instances of actual language use and social situations thereby giving the language a purpose or function. For example, what is called legal language, religious language, advertising language etc., imply both situations and functional use of language or styles.

Style may also be viewed in terms of norms and deviations. Enkivist (see Chatman ed. 1971; 47-59) and Bernard Block (see Enkivist et al 1964:25) are among the proponents of this view.

The Prague linguists conceive style in terms of foregrounding, that is the deliberate aesthetic violation of the norm. Since deviation and foregrounding are the concerns of this thesis they will be discussed in greater detail later on.
Style has also been conceived of as those linguistic elements which distinguish one writer from the other. According to this view style seems to have a psychological import for through observing the writer's consistent language use his language habits may also be revealed. The style may also expose the writer's personality or what Murry (see Lodge 1956:50) has called the personal idiosyncracy.

Other scholars like Stephen Ullman think of style as the expressive elements in the language, that is those linguistic features whose appropriacy in usage make speech or writing effective. Usually a writer or a speaker has a number of expressive resources at his disposal. So that in order for him to express himself effectively he has to choose between two or more alternatives. Therefore, besides looking at style as expressiveness, we may also look at it in terms of choice. These two conceptions of style are largely compatible. They show quite a considerable overlapping so that it would be misleading to draw lines between them.

Ultimately all the conceptions of style discussed above show considerable overlapping. For instance if we take the idea of deviation and foregrounding as being the creative ability of the writer in using language we then at once see that we cannot escape seeing some
instances being the writer's idiosyncratic use of language. Deviation and foregrounding tend to individualize language. At the same time the concepts as we will attempt to show later in the thesis are associated with literary language. But literary language in a broad generalized sense implies the notion of register in that it tends to manifest some linguistic features that are consonant with it. Deviant and foregrounded features are predominantly found in literary language. They reflect the literariness of the language; they could also therefore be viewed as the register markers for literary language. Above all, all the conception of style imply choice and expressiveness. All of them have an expressive import (See Kitsao 1975:16-17).

Viewed in this light it could be argued that style is better understood when approached as a unified concept. However, if this were done, it would be difficult to highlight all its aspects equally well. Thus in this thesis we will concentrate only on some of the aspects.

1.5.3 DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

1.5.3.1 Introduction

In this section we want to discuss what is generally meant by the terms deviation and foregrounding; how deviant and foregrounded features are manifested in literary texts and their purpose. This is a necessary pre-requisite to the analyses of the texts being examined,
It is also necessary for the differentiation of the two concepts which some scholars have treated as one and the same. (See Levin Word Vol. XXI 1965: 225).

It must however be noted from the beginning that to distinguish between deviation and foregrounding is not to deny the fact that these two terms are closely related. In most cases deviation is an essential condition for foregrounding, that is to say, it is possible for example, for foregrounding to be constituted through deviation. But the reverse may not be true. This argument will become clear as the terms are discussed.

Much of the discussion on the concept of foregrounding will be drawn from the Prague School linguists with particular references to Mukarovsky, Freeman ed. (1970:40-56), Garvin (1958), Havrenek Kozenkova and Dubsky (Fried ed. 1972). These scholars discuss the concept from a classical point of view. References will also be made from the works of more recent treatment of the term by Scholars like Halliday (Chatman ed. 1971:330-365), Leech (1969 and 1981), (1976), and Levin (1963, 1965 and 1977). These scholars stress the communicative role of foregrounding and are opposed to foregrounding for an artistic sake as it is manifestly reflected in the classical treatment of the term.
At this juncture we would like to point out that studies on deviation and foregrounding have mostly been applied to poetry. In this thesis, unless otherwise stated or understood we will occasionally treat poetry and poetic language to mean literary language.

Also to be discussed in the section is the concept of norm. It should be noted from the beginning that all studies on deviation are possible if a norm is defined. This is because the concept of deviation is comparative, the methodological implication being that deviant features cannot be identified in a text but emerge from a comparison of the text in question against a certain norm. Logically, therefore, we are expected to talk about norms before talking about deviations. That in this thesis we are going to do the reverse is only because we wish to acquaint the reader with what is the major concern of our study and also provide for continuity of our work.

Ultimately our general aim of this section is to put the reader into a perspective from which it will be helpful for him to view what important features are studied in this thesis. The section begins with a discussion of deviation.
1.5.3.2 Deviation

Deviation in a general sense implies a departure from certain expected ways of doing things. In stylistics, for example, deviation implies a departure from the expected ways of writing and speaking.

A survey of various definitions of the term indicate that deviation is primarily a linguistic phenomenon, that is, it operates at the levels of grammar and semantics. Grammar has been used in its wider context to include morphology, syntax and phonology. However, as it will become clear in the course of our discussion, it is possible for deviation to assume a wider context than merely linguistic.

The Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (Hartman and Stork 1973) defines deviation as follows:

"A collective term for any utterance which is not in keeping with the acceptable grammatical or semantic forms of the standard language."

We assume that the term grammar in this context has also been used in the sense cited above, and that standard language has been used in a non restrictive context to mean current language. Viewed in this way the foregoing definition is not different from that of Cluysenar (1976;31) who describes deviation as
"... departure from expectations regarding different levels of language, semantic, lexical, grammatical and phonological, and different "ranks" within grammar and phonology at the rank of sentence or phrase..."

The departure from the expected as described by the two definitions above implies the contravention of rules of the language, resulting in speech or writing being seen as unorthodox, abnormal or not typical (see Leech 1969:5, and Levin, Word Vol.XXI 1965:225). Thus Leech (ibid) talks of deviation as the violation of the generally observed rules of the language, and Enkvist says deviation involves "an actual tinkering with the normal systems of rules".

The foregoing definitions ultimately may be taken to be describing what is generally thought of by both linguists and literary scholars as deviation. However, confining the phenomenon to only linguistic description is likely to lead to making an assumption that deviation cannot be manifested in other ways, which, as we will attempt to show in due course, may not be true. The implication of this view is that the cited definitions are not comprehensive enough for they do not have the ability of circumscribing all the aspects of the concept. When considered in this way, we are inclined to think the definition given by Todorov (see Chatman ed. 1971:30)
seems to be quite appropriate: he describes deviation as the "infraction, transgression of a norm." For the present moment we will describe "norm" as the background against which deviations can be measured, implying that the background may be linguistic or otherwise. In other words we find Todorov's definition to be appropriate in that it has the advantage of being inclusive and, therefore, being able to account for non-linguistic deviance.

Deviation, for example, may be contextual. That is, it may result from using language in such a way that it may seem inappropriate in a given situation or context. Thus, for example, the use of an informal language in a formal situation would result in the formal language being seen as deviant. So would the use of poetic language in a prose narrative.

Deviation may also be statistical. Statistically, deviation is determined by the frequency of particular usages or features. Thus for Chapman (1974:26), a deviant feature, lexical, syntactical or phonological, can simply be noted as the infrequent item in the total. Other scholars, for example Chomsky (see Ohman in Chatman ed. 1970:244) calls such deviation a rarity. Essentially this means that a writer establishes a regular pattern the disruption of which constitutes deviation. For instance, the most common narrative tense in Kiswahili is "-ka-" which also marks the narration of past events.
This being so as it were the established pattern tense usage in most of the prose texts. Any change from this pattern, for example, a change to present tense, would constitute deviation. It must however be noted that in this regard the fact of deviation is not given by the violation of the linguistic norm but rather by the departure from the dominant pattern.

1.5.3.3 Deviation and Literature

Deviation, as we have already pointed out in this thesis, is associated with literature. Most scholars look at deviation as the differentiating factor or characteristic between literary and non-literary language. Jeniffer Schiffer Levine for example, (P.M.L.A. Vol. 94 No. 1:107), has put this claim forcefully declaring that "the central distinction of literary language is that it is a consciously willed deviation from the ordinary language." Other scholars talk of literary language as being subject to systematic and rigorous description, while the latter deviates or rather shows various degrees of deviation from the linguistic norm (see Stankiewicz in Sebeok ed 1964:70). All these assertions point out to the fact that the oppositional relationship between literary and non-literary language is set about by the fact of deviation. It is also important to note that since the popular view about literature is that it is an artistic creation, these scholars also
see deviation as the criterion of artistic value.

(See Jennifer Levine op cit:71).

There are, however, some contrary views to the foregoing discussion. For instance, Winfred Nowotny (1978:72) in discussing the question of literary language remarks that the chief difference between language in poems is that it is more highly structured than the other. One notes that there is not explicit implication of deviation in this statement. And even where there is, for example in Chapman's statement that the language of literature is often notably deviant we note that the word often implies that it is possible to have situations in which literary language could exist without being deviant, in essence implying that the impression that deviation is the sole trait, or the only important element, by which literature could be identified and be distinguished from non-literature is a misleading one. This view seems to be supported by Fowler (1966:10) when he suggests that:

"It is unlikely that any formal features, or set of features, can be found, the presence or absence of which will unequivocally identify literature. Put another way, there is probably no absolute formal distinction between literature and non-literature: neither of these two categories is formally homogeneous. This conclusion must be of prime importance to the
linguist, for it relieves him of the necessity of making special assumptions about the nature of literary language."

Whereas the points raised in the foregoing arguments are ultimately valid, in order for us to be able to discuss the concept of deviation with elaborate clarity in its relationship with literature, we have to treat literary language as if it were indeed different from the non-literary language. The very definitions of deviation as we have shown above, imply a departure from what is usually considered normal and therefore also imply a difference of type and kind. In the ensuing discussion we want to attempt to show how literary language is reflected; the corollary of it being a discussion on the place of deviation in literature in general. Our point of departure is a discussion on language in general.

Linguists invariably agree that language consists of patterns that are rule governed. And that it is only through the use of these rules that language can be put into use meaningfully. In other words linguists do not visualize a language system that is not affected by the property of rulelessness. If this condition is accepted unconditionally, then it would mean that every user of language must use the rules of the language otherwise, in principle, he would not be understood.
On the contrary, literary language consists of some usages that are quite different from what may be called normal or non-literary language, it tends to include some features which when measured against the latter (which is governed by rules) appear to be abnormal and unconventional. These features are, as it were, the distinguishing marks between literary and non-literary language. They are the deviations in the sense that no linguistic rules will be able to account for them. How does this peculiarity come about? Again this necessitates us to look at some other generalizations about language.

Generally, as is often pointed out, the primary function of language is to communicate. It would, therefore, be logical to assume that the aim of all writers is to communicate since all writers use language as their material. Whereas this may be true, there is another dimension which the literary writers usually treat with equal importance. This is the artistic dimension. Put in other words, literary writers do not only regard "what is said" as the only important aspect of communication, but also attach equal importance to "how it is said" as well.

What is conceived as artistic is the ability to manipulate the language in such a way as to be reflected as different from the ordinary non-literary language.
This is achieved by transcending the normal communicative possibilities of the language available to the writer (Leech 1969:24), implying that compared to other writers, the literary writer has more freedom; he is not bound by rules and conventions of the language as non-literary writers are. The resultant use of such freedom is deviation, and as we have already pointed out in this thesis, it is equated with novelty, creativity, originality and thus artistry.

1.5.3.4 The Significance of Deviation

In the study of deviation there are two main issues that are of profound importance. First there is the issue of motive, that is, what and why has driven the writer to say what he is saying. Secondly, there is the issue of response, which partly depends on the interpretation of feature; and partly on its evaluation by the reader. All these two factors make up for the significance of a given feature, and are the main purpose for our examining deviation in the chosen texts.

1.5.3.5 The Motivation for Deviation

Deviation assumes meaning when it is seen from the perspective of function and purpose. Deviant expressions, as has been suggested by Huddleston (1976:13) are not accidental errors. They are used for specific purposes. They are, in most cases, deliberately employed.
The main purpose for using language deviantly on the part of the writer is to enhance communication. Thus it can be argued that whenever a writer resorts to the use of deviation it is solely for communicational purposes. This is the point that is emphasized when Kibedi Varga (see Adam Makhai ed. 197C:23) says that when one resorts to the use of absurd language it is because he wishes to communicate something that which can no longer be communicated by the customary logical language. In other words for a deviant feature to be deemed significant, that is to justify its inclusion in a text, it must have a communicative effect. Situations may arise where deviation may lack the communicative effect, that is the reader may not be able to find the link between the feature in question and its meaning. Still by act of faith he might assume that there is one or at least he should give the writer the benefit of doubt (Leech 1969:58-59).

Viewed in this way, the foregoing discussion seems to suggest that deviation is meaningless if style is generally viewed evaluatively, that is, through, setting standards between good and bad, correct and incorrect usage of language. For then deviations would be reflected as perjorative and deviant features as hinderances to communication. On the contrary, because of its role (that is the role of communication which the reader is presumed to be aware of), when he comes across a deviant feature it not only provokes his attention (because of its
abnormality), but also provokes him into thinking about its significance (Leech op. cit:58). And in trying to get the link between the feature and its effect in the text he is reading; his awareness is heightened and this enables him to gain a deeper understanding of the text in question. However, his response to and appreciation of the features and their effects demands an interpretation. In other words interpretation essentially seeks to unearth the motive and purpose of the writer within the overall context of the literary work.

1.5.3.6 The Interpretation of Deviation

Most scholars agree that deviant features are ultimately interpretable. It is equally agreed that there is no formal logical criteria that would enable an analyst to arrive at the said interpretation. This means that given a deviant feature, one would be expected to derive its meaning through one's own intuition, creativity, innovation and imagination (see Huddleston 1976:13). In this sense interpretation of any deviant feature is generally a subjective matter (see Leech 1969: 60); that is, it depends on the sensitive response and critical assessment of the reader. Despite this fact, however, if the interpretation has to attain some kind of plausibility, certain factors, especially textual factors, cannot be ignored.
The organization of the language in the text, for example, is an important element that cannot be dismissed when an analyst attempts to impose an interpretation on a deviant feature. Language exhibits patterns that are meaningful. These patterns are regular, systematic and rule-governed and are opposed to deviations which occur as irregular and abnormal patterns in the sense that they are rare, or do not conform to the rules of the language. In literary language these two patterns occur together to form a whole text; they provide for an essential principle through which interpretation of deviant expressions and other features could be made.

For example, it is likely to be difficult to interpret a deviant feature that occurs in isolation. However, it may not be so, if the feature in question is viewed in relation to the whole text or in terms of other contexts. For instance, how does one interpret the expression "Aliporojeka poropore"; without an appropriate context?

By implication this means that the interpretation and therefore, the significance of a deviant feature is realized from the text itself. This is an important observation that does not relate only to deviation but also, as we shall show later on, to the norm as well. It has been shown that even where intuition is involved in aiding interpretation, it must have its basis from the
text itself. Cluysenaar puts this point more forcefully when she suggests that:

"However accurate our intuitions may be, unless we can show how they arise from the text, we shall be merely exhorting, even brow-beating our audience." (1976:19)

It is through such considerations that interpretation of a deviant feature can be said to have what Cluysenaar (ibid:20) calls inter-subjective validity. Essentially it means an interpretation can be or should be convincing and be measurable against the responses of other analysts. Leech (Op. cit; 60) points out that "there is such a thing as a consensus of interpretive judgement."

But to arrive at both the intersubjective validity and consensus of interpretive judgement needs certain approach.

There is a possibility of making interpretations plausible if the analyst starts with a linguistic context. First a deviant feature is noted. Then using the linguistic mode of description in which it is analysed, to show in what way it is deviant. Next it involves trying to discover the significance of the feature concerned. This may involve interpretation or evaluation or both. The aim should be as Leech (ibid) suggests, "to correlate the objectivity of linguistic analysis and the subjectivity of critical interpretation." This is what our approach to study of deviation aims at.
In the next section we shall discuss the concept of foregrounding.

1.5.4 FOREGROUNDING

Before we discuss the concept of foregrounding we would like to start by pointing out that some of what has been said in the previous section is relevantly applicable to what is going to be discussed in this section. This is because, as we have already pointed out or implied, the concepts of deviation and foregrounding are, to some large extent, closely related. Notwithstanding the relationship, it is hoped that by the end of this section any marked differences between the two terms will be made clear.

1.5.4.1 The Classical Origin of Foregrounding

Foregrounding is the brain child of the Pre-war Prague School of Linguistics. The term, apparently borrowed from Gestalt psychology, was coined to describe the characteristics of poetic language which was seen as being opposed to all other kinds of language in the general theory of style.

These linguists conceived of style "as a correlation of language with its realization in concrete acts of speech, based at the same time upon the wider issue of the function of language." (see Dubsky, Fried ed. 1972:112). According to this view, styles seem to be divided into two
broad categories as determined by their specific purpose or function. Thus a style may have a utilitarian function, mainly communicative, or a non-utilitarian function that is non-communicative. The latter is also said to have the artistic or the aesthetic function. Considered in this way, standard language has first and foremost a communicative function whereas in poetic language the aesthetic function dominates. What usually distinguishes these two kinds of style is the process of automatization and disautomatization. The former, according to Garvin (1972:182), refers to the stimulus normally expected in a social situation; it can be equated to the use of language in such a way that it can refer, unobstructed, to the objects under discussion. Disautomatization, on the contrary, refers to stimulus not culturally expected in a social situation (Garvin:ibid). In essence, disautomatization involves a realization of new possibilities in the language or what the Prague Linguists themselves called "aktualisierung," the English rendering of which is foregrounding.

Mukaro Sky, the originator of the term, conceives of foregrounding as the intentional violation of the norm of the standard language (see Freeman ed.:1970:42) and he asserts that it is this ability to violate the norm that creates the literariness or artistry in language.
It seems quite impossible, according to him, to visualize the artistic nature of a language without invoking the idea of foregrounding. Thus he says:

"The violation of the norm of the standard, its systematic violation is what makes poetic utilization of language. Without this possibility there would be no poetry."

From the statement above, two very important issues could be observed. First, we observe that foregrounding is equated with deviation, since as we have already seen, deviation involves the violation of norm. Secondly, it would seem to support the belief that literary language, specifically, is distinct from language used otherwise in that according to him, poetry is the only language that is capable of foregrounding. There is no question in Mukarovsky's mind that foregrounding is a differentiating factor between literary and non-literary language.

Most scholars, as we will presently show, are agreed that deviation is an important aspect of foregrounding. They have in fact described or defined the term with the deviational aspect in mind.

Chapman (1974:48), for example, suggests that "the word 'foregrounding' is used to describe the kind of deviation which has the function of bringing some item into artistic emphasis so that it stands out from its surrounding."
Leech (see Allen & Corder 1974:222), has also defined foregrounding as the deliberate deviation from the rules of the language code or from the accepted conventions of its use which stands out or is foregrounded against a background of normal usage.

Similarly, the Dictionary of modern Critical Terms (Fowler ed.1973), describes foregrounding by saying that:

"In literature, foregrounding may be most readily identified with linguistic deviation: the violation of rules and conventions, by which a poet transcends the normal communicative resources of the language, and awakes the reader, by freeing him from the grooves of cliché expressions, to a new perceptivity..."

It will be seen that all the foregoing definitions invariably equate foregrounding with deviation. This has a methodological implication on the part of the analyst. Treating the two concepts as one and the same would mean that he has also to treat deviant features as the only features that are capable of being foregrounded. However, as the rest of the discussion will attempt to show, this may not be the case. It has been amply demonstrated that foregrounding features need not be deviant. Cluysenaar (1976:57) has clearly illustrated this fact when analysing the poem FLYING CROOKED showing that foregrounding could also be dependent on the positive appeal to the norm or on semantic
appropriateness. The fact is also supported by Halliday's analysis of the INHERITORS (see Chatman ed. 1971:330-365). A

Both Cluysenaar's and Halliday's studies are important in that they point out by implication the inconclusiveness of the above definitions of foregrounding. Thus Halliday (op.cit: 339) describes foregrounding as prominence that is motivated, the term being defined as "a general name for linguistic highlighting whereby some feature of the language of a text stands out in some way."

We find the foregoing definition most appropriate in that it does not confine the concept to deviation only. He, Halliday, (op.cit:340) himself says about the definition:

"In choosing this term I hoped to avoid the assumption that a linguistic feature which is brought under attention will always be seen as a departure. It is quite natural to characterize such prominence as departure from a norm, since this explains why it is remarkable, especially if one is stressing the subjective nature of the highlighting effect... But at the same time it is often objected, not unreasonably, that the "departure" view puts too high a value on oddness, and suggests that normal forms are of no interest in the study of style."
According to Halliday processes that bring about the prominence could be viewed as negative, positive and statistical. Negative prominence which he says constitutes the departure from the norm, could be equated with deviation in the sense that deviation as we have already seen, violates the norm.

Positive prominence he says is the attainment or the establishment of a norm. By way of illustration let us examine the text below:

"Huu ndio uonevu tulioletedwa;
huu ndio udhalimu tuliozolelezwa;
huu ndio unafiki tuliokataa;
hii ndio dharau ambayo hatukuweza kuivumilia."

In the text, what is manifested as prominent is the uniformity and the regularity of the use of a syntactic structure. It arrests our attention not because it is deviant, on the contrary, it is because of the insistence of the writer to deliberately choose a certain option, despite the fact that he can use others, and yet keep within the conventions and rules of the language. This is an example of the attainment or establishment of norm. One thing that should be noted though, is that such manifestations become clear when the analyst examines foregrounding Intra-textually.
The difference between negative and positive prominence, according to us, seems to mark the main distinction between deviation and foregrounding. Whereas the former is always manifested as negative, the latter is manifested as both negative and positive. Considered in this way, foregrounding emerges as the main concept whereas deviation can only be said to be an important subvariety of it.

As with deviation, the significance of foregrounding can be discerned when interpretation is made.

1.5.4.2 The Significance of Foregrounding

According to the Prague linguists, and as we have already pointed out, foregrounding is conceived of as the use of language for its own sake. Its purpose is, to quote Kozenkova (see Fried ed. 1972:197) "to impress the reader" and "to create active approach to the reader."

This view is elaborated by Mukarovsky (see Chatman ed 1971:43-44). When he claims that:

"In poetic language foregrounding achieves maximum intensity to the extent of pushing communication into the background as the objective of expression and of being used for its own sake; it is not used in the service of communication, but in order to place in the foreground the act of expression, the act of speech itself."
Although the above argument is held to have great validity in the realm of aesthetics (see Huqaiya Hassaan for example in Chatman ed. 1971:300), it is, all the same, a very contentious issue.

In discussing literature as discourse, Widdowson (1975:27) observes that a piece of language use, literary or otherwise, is not an exemplification of linguistic categories but also a piece of communication. This affirms the fact that language is unavoidably dual, that is, it cannot escape being representational and expressive, and therefore also affirms the fact that literary language cannot escape being seen from two perspectives, namely the artistic and the communicative. It seems that this is the basis of Cluysenaar's (1976:62) argument when she says:

"It is hard to believe that the reader's everyday 'set towards the message' (his spontaneous search for meaningfulness) could be so strangely reversed when it comes to poetry or any other sort of language. More plausible to assume, on the contrary, is that the intensity of his concentration on meaningfulness is increased, that is he looks more deeply into the structure of the act of speech seeking more and more subtle clues as to its communicative value, especially since literary language comes to him isolated from situational clues."

The same views are implied in Leeches (1969:4) statement that stylistic devices should aim at a higher goal of enriching one's appreciation and critical understanding of literature. This can only be achieved if the communicative aspect of literature is taken into consideration.

From the foregoing views it is apparent that, looking at language from the point of view of its being used for its own sake is no longer popular with scholars. Traditionally, studies on foregrounding, to quote Mukarovsky, "have mainly concerned themselves with establishing what methods a writer of poetry uses to make particularly prominent - more prominent than in ordinary non-literary language - certain aspects of texture in a given literary work." Whereas this may still be valid, the impression we get is that it is thought to be narrow. The growing need to make stylistics more meaningful, especially in terms of providing for insight into the writers' works has definitely necessitated the adoption of new perspectives. The modern trend, therefore, is to consider the texture, the motive and effects for foregrounding studies, all as worthy of careful study. It is in this way that foregrounding studies can enable the reader to gain a deeper understanding of a given literary text. It is also the way we are going to approach our study in this thesis.
For foregrounding to be of any significance it should be seen from the perspective of communication. Foregrounding, as the above discussion indicates, is assumed deliberate and purposeful. So that when a reader comes across a foregrounded feature in the text he is reading, apart from provoking special notice, it also sets him thinking what could be the possible intention of the writer in employing it at that particular place in the text. The issue of motivation which we pointed out while discussing deviation is therefore relevantly applicable to foregrounding as well.

Halliday (see Chatman ed. 1971; 339) emphasizes the motivation aspect to the point of almost making a criteria of foregrounding when he says:

"... It is not difficult to find patterns of prominence in a poem or prose text, regularities in the sounds or words or structures that stand out in some way, or may be brought out by careful reading: and one may be led in this way towards a new insight through finding that such prominence contributes to the writer's total meaning. But unless it does, it will seem to lack motivation; a feature that is brought into prominence will be foregrounded only if it relates to the meaning of the text as a whole. This relationship is a functional one: if a particular feature of the language contributes, by its prominence, to the total meaning of the work, it does so by virtue of, and through the medium of its own value in the meaning is derived. Where that function is
relevant to our interpretation of the work, the prominence will appear motivated."

Foregrounding therefore also implies choice, the rationale being that no every feature will be relatable to the text but only those features that seem to provide information about a text are foregrounded.

Ultimately, however, what brings out the significance of a foregrounded feature is interpretation which through the reader's effort and imagination enables him to perceive some connection between the feature and the text he is reading, thereby giving him a new insight to the work he is reading.

1.5.5 NORMS

1.5.5.1 Introduction.

In this section we want to attempt to look at the problems that are likely to confront the analyst when he wants to establish norms. We will also discuss the various proposals that have been suggested by various scholars for establishing norms; Finally we will discuss the frames of reference upon which we will establish the norms for the texts that we have chosen to analyse in this thesis.
1.5.5.2 The Problem of Definitions

The major problem that confronts the analyst who wants to establish norms for the data he is examining arises from the fact that, like the concept of style, norm is also quite elusive. It lacks a definition that yields a meaningful background upon which deviant features could be measured.

Most definitions that have been offered for the term are characterised by imprecision and unclarity. They are unable to say explicitly what the concept means or what it is so that the analyst could know and be sure of the phenomenon he is dealing with and how it is manifested in the texts.

Why this should be so is because, as Enkvist (see Enkvist et al 1964:25) has pointed out, there is a tendency for some scholars to take for granted that when style is defined then norm(s) (is) are also automatically defined. But as the rest of the discussion will show, when such definitions are offered, they tend to be circular; neither deviation nor norms are explicitly defined. As a way of illustration Enkvist (ibid) has quoted and discussed Bernard Block's (Enkvist et al 1964:25) definition of style which we also quote below:
"The style of a discourse is the message carried by the frequency distributions and transitional probabilities of its linguistic features, especially as they differ to those of the same features in the language as a whole."

On the face of it this definition may seem plausible enough. But a closer examination may prove it otherwise. One may, for instance, be tempted to consider the "frequency distributions and the transitional probabilities" of the linguistic features to be the norm, and probably, the departure from these features to be the deviations. He may be right. But he may be asked, what are the transitional probabilities of the language? How can they be identified in a text? Freeman (see Freeman ed. 1970:5) has strongly argued that it would be difficult to know what these transitional probabilities of the language would be. And even if they could be ascertained, he further argues that they would constitute no particular revealing insight into the language or style. In effect, therefore, what Enkvist and Freeman would seem to emphasize is that such definitions are vague and, therefore, do not give the analyst a meaningful insight of what norm is. And therefore for the purpose of analysis such definitions are unoperational.

Ironically, though Enkvist critically argues against the kind of definitions given above, he himself does not
clarify the issue better when he glibly says: "style can be defined as deviations from a norm" (op. cit:25).
What becomes apparent in this definition is the fact that, like the definition of Bernard Block above, neither the norm nor deviation are explicitly defined. Secondly, by defining style in this way, one tends to get an impression that norms and deviations have definite identifiable features. But as we will attempt to show in the next sub-section of this discussion, this may not be the case. Thus it can be said that, like the definitions he has critically argued against, his too is not meaningful enough to help the analyst to identify the norm(s).

1.5.5.3 The problem of universalizing the norm.

Another problem in establishing norm(s) arise(s) when the whole language is used as the norm, for example, as is stated in Bernard Block's definition above and implied in Hymes' (see Sebeok ed. 1960:109) that: "the norm is a system of coherent ways or patterns of doing things." Such definitions, as we will attempt to show shortly, are unlikely to circumscribe fully all the aspects of the norm. This is because they tend to treat language as though it is a monolithic institution. But when language is viewed from the perspective of its social functions, that is, in terms of registers, at once it becomes clear that it is a fallacy to treat it thus. Viewed in this light, it will be seen that the idea of having a universal norm is a misleading one.
1.5.5.4 Various Proposals of how to establish norms.

Despite the problems highlighted above, there have been meaningful proposals that have been put forward as suggestions for establishing norms, some of which we also will adopt for the purpose of analysing the text we have chosen. For example, Kitsao (1975:13) is of the opinion that registers could be meaningfully used as norms. Thus he says:

"Although in short, one could define the norm by using Hymes' wording-'a system of coherent ways or patterns of doing things' it may be advisable to talk of norms for communicating in different registers, and bear in mind that the norm for register A may be a department in register B."

Though Kitsao's proposal is helpful in that it narrows down the norm from the whole language to a small manageable dimension of a register, it only suggests one possible way of solving the problem of establishing norm(s).

Generally stylisticians agree that the starting point for looking for norm(s) is the individual work of the writer itself. Both Riffateer's and Enkvist's statements seem to confirm this (see Adam Makhai ed. 1976:11 and Enkvist et al 1964:24 respectively). For example Riffateer suggests "since the construction of a norm independent of literary and/or poetic texts, and having
validity encounters great difficulty, both the norm and the deviation from the norm are to be located within one given text under analysis."

Enkivist in agreement with Riffateer, especially as he stresses the difficulty of establishing a norm using the entire language, says that:

"Altogether, it seems advisable first to define the norm against which the individuality of a given text is measured, not as the language as a whole, but as that part of language which is significantly related to the passage we are analysing."

Ultimately, this would seem to be another logical approach for establishing norms for the texts. Locating norms within particular works would also seem to have as one of its aims to minimize generalizations and objectivise the norm. This is because in locating norms within a text itself the question of arbitrariness does not arise. Within a text norms could be established internally or externally. Apparently, this is what Levin's discussion (see Word XXI 1965:225-237) aims at showing and it is upon it that we will draw the frames of reference which will serve as norms for the texts being examined in this thesis. The next section discusses this framework in detail.
1.5.5.5 Levin's Frame-work of Norms.

As stated above, the frame-work upon which we will establish norms for the texts we will examine in this thesis will be that of Levin. The framework has been chosen particularly because of its advantage of enabling the analyst to establish norms dually.

That is, it has the advantage of enabling the analyst to establish norms relative to some other texts or corpus of data outside, as well as within a text itself. Levin has called these two dimensions of norm as external and internal respectively, and explains them by way of looking at deviations. Although the frame-work had been designed to show how norms could be set in poetry it could helpfully be extended to other kinds of texts also.

According to Levin external deviation is that type where the deviation is to be explicated against some norm which lies outside the limits of the poem in which the deviation occurs.

Internal deviation, on the other hand, is that type of deviation which takes place against the background of the poem, where the norm is the remainder of the poem in which the deviation occurs.

According to this view, therefore, texts must be seen to have dual norms which could be viewed simultaneously.
Levin looks at norms from three levels, that is from the level of conventions, grammar and statistics. These will also be our frame of references for norms.

1.5.5.6 The Conventional norm.

The moment we talk about poetry, drama and prose, we are consciously or unconsciously touching on the question of genre and therefore by implication, the question of conventions. Briefly a genre is a literary form which presupposes the adoption of certain conventions. Levin (ibid.) describes conventional features as "Those features which a text incorporates as presenting a particular literary form, those features, that is, which the author obligates himself to observe - or at least to consider - by mere election to write in a certain form." Viewed in this light, conventional features can be seen to be largely setting the distinction between the various genres and can be regarded as defining features. By way of illustration let us take the case of Kiswahili traditional poetry. Apart from the poetry being in verse form, conventionally it is also expected to incorporate certain other features, among them, the mizani (the metrical measure), the rhymes, both middle and end of the line rhymes etc. There could be some stylistic variations of poetry but strictly speaking these are among the features that traditionally would make Kiswahili poetry. They are also features, not withstanding some areas of
overlap, that distinguish the poetry from prose and drama texts. Prose and drama texts also have their own conventions. This implies that they also have their own norms.

As regards the poem we are going to examine, we will treat the traditional poetry framework as our norm. The ngano model will serve as our norm for the prose text, while the drama conventions as reflected by the use of characters on stage whose actions and dialogue will be used as our norm for the drama text. These conventions will be discussed in greater detail under relevant chapters later in this thesis. Suffice it to say that whenever applicable, we will examine the deviation and foregrounding both internally and externally.

1.5.5.7 The grammatical norm.

Again here we are treating the term grammar in its wider sense to include phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax and semantics. Both external and internal deviation will be examined. This implies that there will be external and internal grammatical norms. The transformational generative grammar (herein called TGG) will be used to explain both the facts of deviation as well as the norm.
1.5.5.8 The external norm.

While we theoretically accept the dichotomy between literary and non-literary language, in actual discourse situations there is substantial degree of overlap between the forms of the two types. For this reason norm and deviation, realistically can only be defined in terms of predominance rather than in terms of exclusivity.

Bearing this in mind then we shall define deviation as the totality of those linguistic forms which are predominantly found in literary usage, and the norm, therefore, as the totality of those linguistic forms which are predominantly not found in literary texts.

We shall assume, with respect to contrary opinion, that only those forms that would be acceptable to the native speakers of the language, and therefore, generatable by the rules of the grammar will be accepted as norms. The deviant forms, some of which may be intuitively acceptable to the native speaker/hearer will not be generatable by the rules of the grammar. The grammar that will account for the norm has the following structure.

1.5.5.9 The base component.

This contains the categorial symbols S, NP, VP, V, N, Det, etc. which are lables as specified by a set of phrase structure rules (PS rules). The PS rules generate a defined acceptable underlying phrase Markers as follows:
Modifiers are Adjectives both quantitative and qualitative, for example mmoja, wengi etc. and mzuri, mweune etc., respectively. They can also be possessives, for example changu, wangu etc. or demonstratives: buyu, hao, wale etc.. We wish to point out that in these structures a modifier cannot be a possessive pronoun so that an expression like "Kitabu changu", for example, would be grammatical and acceptable, whereas an expression like "Changu Kitabu" would not.

Complimentizers will include various forms of relativizers, for example Amba ye yo cho etc., some forms of ku-, for example in Alikwenda kusoma. It may also include subordinate conjunctions, for example, "kwa sababu," "ili", "kwa hivyo", "nindi" "ikiwa" etc.

1.5.5.10 The transformational Component

Besides the PS rules discussed above the grammar also has a transformational component. Transformations
are ordered rules which derive surface PMs from the corresponding underlying PMs which are also called deep structures. These transformations are:

1. The deletion Transformation
2. The permutation Transformation
3. The Passivization Transformation
4. The Topicalization Transformation.

With these transformations we also have spell-out rules. These are rules which convert fully specified forms into their affixal forms for example, *Ikiwa nitakwenda* changes to *Nikienda*, *Wakati ambapo nilimwona* changes to *Milimwona* etc.

1.5.5.11 The Phonological and The Semantic Components.

The semantic and the phonological components have the interpretative function. The phonological component generates phonetic forms from underlying phonological rules. The semantic component of the language, through a dictionary or a lexicon, specifies items in terms of selectional restriction rules and sub-categorization rules. Through such rules semantically impossible forms are ruled out. For example, a sentence like *Pambo jinga hupeleka pabaya skilini* is unlikely to be generated because it is semantically impossible. However, we would like to point out that, for the purpose of our thesis we will not use transformations to explain the deviations or the norms. This is because it is likely
to involve a lot of work that may not be of great significance in our study. We shall therefore limit ourselves to the phrase structure rules and the semantic component.

1.5.5.12 The Internal Norm.

As we have pointed out above, texts have their own norms making it possible therefore for certain features of the language within the text to depart from them. Thus Levin (op. cit.: 231) says, "given a response that a feature is deviant, if it is internally deviant, then, by definition, the norms which condition the response will be found in the text itself. It appears to us that the establishment of internal norms and deviation is a function of frequency, so that if a particular feature is used rarely it becomes deviant, and if on the other hand, the feature is used frequently then it might very well serve to establish the norm. Thus in the case of internal lexical deviation, if the analyst establishes that the norm is set by standard Kiswahili words then colloquial, dialectal, archaic and foreign words become deviant. In syntax too Levin (Ibid) shows that any devices of sentence construction can be used to develop a pattern of expectations which the appearance of a counter-instance will disrupt. Thus, for example, a norm might be set by the frequency of complex sentences, or any other kind of sentences the disruption of which may
constitute deviation. In this thesis, we too will limit ourselves to the use of frequencies to establish internal norms.

1.5.6 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY FOR THE THESIS

1.5.6.1 Introduction

This section largely discusses the way we are going to approach the analysis of deviant and foregrounded features in the texts we have chosen. Before we do that, however, we want to point out that our approach to the study will be eclectic; it will draw from several models and frameworks. This is because there does not seem to be any one model that can account for the features comprehensively. Thus, for instance, whereas our framework for establishing norms has been derived from Levin, our linguistic model will be that of Leech (1969). And we will use the Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) as developed by Chomsky (1957) for explaining grammatical structures. TGG is capable of accounting for the relationship between sentences whose variation is purely stylistic. Thus for example, the grammar can show the structural differences between:

1. Juma alikuja chuoni jana

and

2. Chuoni Juma jana alikuja.

It is also capable of formalizing the semantic component
of the language through a dictionary or lexicon which specifies items in terms of selectional restriction rules and subcategorization rules. However, we would like to stress that, where an objective criteria cannot be used for judging and determining a stylistic feature, we will use our own intuition.

As a point of departure to this section, we will first of all discuss the methodological implication of the application of linguistics to style. There are two main reasons for this. First it is because our approach to the study of deviation and foregrounding will rely heavily on linguistic explication; linguistics accounts for most of the features that we designate deviant or foregrounded. Secondly, we want to show the limitations of linguistic description to stylistic analysis in general, and therefore argue for the extension of the analysis beyond linguistic description. In other words, we want to argue for why it is meaningful to correlate the objectivity of linguistic techniques with the subjective impressions that an analyst may have about the text.

1.5.6.2 The application of linguistics to stylistics and the objective-subjective views to stylistic analysis.

Scholars are agreed that linguistics is an indispensable tool in stylistic analysis. This is demonstrated, for example, by the following remark:
"Stylistics, of course cannot be pursued successfully without a thorough grounding in general linguistics, since precisely one of its central concerns is the contrast of the language systems of a literary work of art with general usage of time." (see Welleck and Warren 1970:177, also Welleck, in Chatman ed. 1970:65).

The application of linguistics to the study of style, it has been argued, has the advantage of enabling the analyst to arrive at a measure of objectivity in describing most of the features which he may designate stylistic (see Sebeok ed. 1964:85). And in doing so probably give stylistics a scientific orientation.

Despite this realization there are some views that, as we will attempt to show shortly, seem to point out that a purely objective approach to stylistics may not be meaningful. Fundamentally, these scholars holding these views do not deny the usefulness of the linguistic techniques in stylistic studies. But they argue that in order for the analysis to be a total representation of what is contained in the text, linguistics need to be complemented. They argue, for instance, that "mere linguistic description of a text is just applied linguistics," (see Clysonaar 1976:16) in essence implying that although stylistics must rely heavily on linguistics in the description of the stylistic feature, nevertheless, there must be a differentiation between the two, both as
disciplines and as methodology. Thus they strongly believe that in order for the analysis to be meaningful it must go beyond linguistic description.

This argument is based on the nature of literature itself and what is generally considered the goal of stylistics.

Sol Sarporta (see Sebeok ed. 1964:85) in his paper An Application of Linguistics to the Study of Literature, has shown that literature has two dimensions: the linguistic as well as the artistic. The former is an obvious one, "literature is only literature against the background of language as a whole (ibid). The artistic dimension, though inherently manifested in the language, is extralinguistic and therefore cannot be accounted for by linguistics. That is to say the artistic nature of literature is such that it involves considerations beyond which linguistics can offer adequate explanation and therefore needs other techniques and methodological procedures for its explication.

We note that whenever a literary text is discussed, the central issue which is almost inescapable to the analyst is that of aesthetics - the ornamental aspect of literature that can be equated with its beauty. We also observe that it would be impossible to consider the aesthetic nature of the text based on a linguistic criterion only.
The determination of the aesthetic nature of a particular expression, device, or even the whole text involves making subjective judgements and statements. And may also entail employing traditional approaches to literature, for example, literary criticism. This view is supported by Halliday (1966:67) for instance, when he says that:

"Linguistics is not, and will never be, the whole of literary analysis and only the literary analyst - and not the linguist can determine the place of linguistics in literary studies."

It is also further supported by Strelka's statement (1971:52) that:

"Science in literature will never replace or oust traditional approaches and methods. Interpreting and evaluating therefore remain essential to literature as well as to all other artistic creations. Even in classifying groups of texts that we wish to analyse from a common point of view, we must call upon the traditional methods of literary and artistic research."

The foregoing views by implication assert that meaningful stylistic analysis should not be couched exclusively in general linguistics but that it should combine insight and techniques from other disciplines, for example literary criticism. It should also combine insight from other branches of linguistics, for example, socio-
Linguistics, pragmatics etc. By doing so the analyst is likely to come out with a comprehensive analysis of the feature he is examining.

Stylisticians are also of the view that a stylistic analysis should go all out to show how a particular device, expression or even a whole text is relevant to a given text, otherwise the goal or purpose of stylistics is narrowed.

The goal of stylistic, to quote Leech (1969:6), is to give "insight or understanding" of a particular text. In order for this to be achieved the analyst should strive to elicit meaning out of the features he is examining. Again this is possible if interpretation and evaluation is included in the analysis.

Whereas the evaluation component could turn stylistics into a prescriptive discipline if not handled well, we also note that its inclusion gives a stylistic analysis a much broader perspective than a mere linguistic description of the stylistic features would do. Our approach in this thesis is to settle for the interpretive component, though evaluative comments regarding a particular device or style may be given whenever a need for it arises.
In conclusion we would say that the facts are such that in order to have meaningful stylistics we must correlate the objectivity of linguistic description with the subjective impressions arising from the text which the analyst may have. This is the way we will approach the study of deviation and foregrounding in this thesis.

1.5.6.3 The Model for the Analysis of the Texts.

As already stated above, we are going to adopt Leeche's model for analysing the texts we have chosen in this thesis. The model sets out three principal levels from which stylistic features could be examined. The levels are as follows:

1. The level of realization
2. The level of form
3. The level of semantics.

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

The form refers to the vocabulary in constructing sentences using a set of rules. Put in other words, this level consists of the grammar 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 linguistics levels:

a) graphological/phonological level
b) Lexical level
c) grammatical level
d) semantic level.

Apart from examining language from the aforesaid levels, that is from the descriptive linguistic point of view, Leech also adds three other dimensions which allow language to be examined as it varies. These dimensions, which he calls the ancilliary branches of linguistics, are dialectology, which looks at language variation from the point of view of the user; register study, which concerns itself with variation of language according to the function in society; and historical linguistics, which looks at the development of language through time.

It will, therefore, be seen that the model has been preferred for the thesis because of its ability to account comprehensively for all the stylistic features in a given text. What follows shortly is what we will actually study under the various headings.

1.5.6.4 The graphological/phonological level

According to Leech (ibid) graphology is a more inclusive term than orthography. Thus punctuation, paragraphing as well as spelling, for example, fall under graphology. To some extent when the term
graphology is used in this sense, it tends to overlap with phonology, for as Leech notes, (op. cit.:30) "to a greater extent English imitates phonology—that is the written version of the language is a visual coding of its spoken version. This is even more conspicuous in Kiswahili.

Viewed this way, the level seems to offer quite a lot of interest for study. However, the materials we are going to look at are such that aspects of phonology and some of graphology may be of little significance to our study. Therefore, unless a relevant feature is so conspicuously manifested as to call for attention, we may not involve ourselves in discussing it.

At the graphological level, therefore, we intend to look at capitalization and italicization. We will want to show that these are expressive devices that focus attention to some important aspects of the message in a text. We will not, however, discuss liniation, spacing, punctuation etc. since as we have already said they are unlikely to yield anything significant especially as regards the materials we are examining.

1.5.6.3 The Lexical level

The level involves the study of vocabulary choices. Under this level we will interest ourselves with several aspects of vocabulary. For example, we will interest
ourselves with neologism, that is words that have been coined and are non-existent in the lexicon or the dictionary—the "baba-sukari" (sugar daddy) type (see Kitsao 1975:40). And since our norm(s) is the standard language, we will also treat archaic, foreign, dialectal and aspects of code mixing as defiant, and we will want to show their overall effects in the texts.

Also under this level we will discuss the effects of lexical prominence. Lexical prominence refers to the frequency with which a writer selects certain lexical items for emphatic effects.

1.5.6.6 Grammatical level

Most studies on deviation and foregrounding lay great emphasis on explaining features at the grammatical level. This is so because in most cases people do not communicate using isolated words but do so in sentences. In this section therefore our focus of attention will be on sentences both of their types and structure. In other words we will look in at the system of sentence.

While not losing sight of the methodological implication of the notions of internal and external deviation we will concern ourselves with:

a) The sentences that actually violate the rules and conventions of the language. But since these are likely to result in metaphorical expressions and
personification, we will discuss them under semantic deviation and foregrounding. We will also look at inversions.

b) **Sentence types.**

These will be discussed as examples of internal deviation. Thus for instance, we will look at sentence lengths. Short sentences will also be regarded as simple, that is, as those having one clause structure. Long sentences, on the other hand will be either compound or complex, consisting of one or more clauses and depending on their frequency we will designate them as deviant or foregrounding.

c) Besides sentence types as described above, we will also examine clause structures. Thus statements, questions, imperatives, subjunctive sentences etc. will be looked at in terms of rarity and prominence. Syntactic prominence will be treated as the frequency with which a writer selects certain key syntactic options for foregrounding effects. It is the frequency that establishes the syntactic structures in question as prominent.

d) Next we will look at parallel sentences. A parallestic feature in the words of Jakobson (see language Vol. 42 1966:429) "are patterns where certain
similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high frequency" (see also Leech 1969:62-69). Thus for example, in a sentence like Aliuvaai uliwengu, akaivua hadhi vake. The pattern of identity is given syntactically as (NP) VP NP, and (NP) VP NP Poss. The pattern of contrast is given semantically by the verb vaa which is also a direct opposite of the word Vua. Looked at in this way, parallel sentences are not different from what Kitsao (1975:40) calls balanced sentences, for according to him, balanced sentences are achieved essentially by constructing a sentence so that two or more of its parts are grammatically equivalents or coordinates. This however is not radically different from the parallelsitic sentences as discussed above. Therefore according to us balanced sentences will be treated as parallelsitic features.

1.5.6.7. Semantic Deviation and Foregrounding.

Under this heading we will look at devices that involves the use of language that affect meaning in some way. Some of these devices can be linguistically explained, for example, metaphors and personification. Some are just figures of speech or rhetorical devices, which by virtue of their being artistic are also considered to be
foregrounding devices. These are such devices as irony, sarcasm, similes and symbolism. They will be explained in detail as appropriate examples are discussed from the texts being examined.

**METHODOLOGY**

Each text will be studied individually. First there will be an introduction which will discuss some relevant aspects of the text in relation to the study. This will be followed by a discussions of themes and their development in the texts.

The analysis will begin by looking at deviation and foregrounding in relation to conventional features in the texts. Next, passages which exemplify certain features under discussion will be extracted from the texts and examined. These passages will be considered as texts on their own. Though in discussing their reference will be made to the rest of the text.

In examining the passages we will identify the deviant or foregrounded features and analyse them in terms of why we think a feature/s has/have been included in the text. Their effects will be discussed in the light of what will have been understood of the rest of the text as a whole.
CHAPTER II

2.0 DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING IN PROSE TEXT -

ASALI CHUNGU

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine deviation and foregrounding in the novel, Asali Chungu, by Ahmed Said Mohamed. We shall look at the devices at all levels of the language - phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics etc. wherever justification for its examination arises. Other foregrounding devices like symbolism, repetition, parallelism etc, will also be examined. We will not, however, follow a specific order in discussing these devices.

As an introduction to the material being discussed, we will first of all give a brief overview of the Swahili novel. This introduction will essentially be general and is intended to give the reader a general idea about the development of the novel and its formal aspects. Later on we will use some of the aspects of this discussion to argue for deviation in the text being studied.

2.2 The Emergence of the Swahili Novel

In this section, we will attempt to make a survey of definitions or views about what scholars generally agree to be a novel. This, eventually, is intended to give us a basis for determining the emergence of the Swahili novel, for the existing views about this issue are, according to us, very controversial.
In very general terms, scholars agree that a novel is essentially a story written in prose or narrative form. This view is in consonance with Forster's (1927: 33) assertion, for example, that the fundamental aspects of the novel is its story telling aspect. Such a view is broad enough to allow, particularly, most of the early Swahili written prose texts to be regarded as novels.

For instance, according to this view, Habari za Wakilindi written by Abdalla Bin Wemedil Ajjeniy in 1905 could be regarded as a novel, for, although Whitely calls it a classic - historical document (Kitsao staff seminar paper 1978), it is essentially a story whose narration is arranged chronologically. However, despite this fact, scholars do not regard it as a novel, instead what is considered as the first Swahili novel is Uhuru Wa Watumwa by James Mbotela:

"After the end of slavery the first Swahili novel was launched when James Mbotela wrote Uhuru Wa Watumwa. This is the first authentic Swahili novel, it had an East African setting, its characters were Swahili and its theme concerned the Swahili people. To add, even the author himself was a Swahili. (Senkoro Kisw. Vol.10/2 1976:75).

Although these two texts, that is Habari za Wakilindi and Uhuru Wa Watumwa were written at different times, a close examination of their form and content reveals that they have a lot in common. Most important is that
Both of them have been written based on the East African setting and both of them are narrative descriptions of real historical situations. We can therefore argue that since Habari za Makilindi does not qualify to be a novel, then, for the same reason Uhuru wa Watumwa cannot also be considered the first novel—not even a novel.

Apart from agreeing that a novel is a story, scholars also tend to stress the fictionality of the story. Most of the definitions of the novel treat fictionality as the main characteristic of the novel. As an illustration we will make a survey of a few of these definitions.

The shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines a novel as "a fictitious prose narrative of considerable length in which characters and actions representative of real life are portrayed in a plot of more or less complexity."

The Glossary of literary terms (Abrams. 1957:56) describes it as a term "applied to a great variety of writings which have in common only the attribute of being an extended piece of prose fiction."

The above definitions are not radically different from that of Gillies (1977) who describes a novel as "a work of narrative fiction of some length nearly always in prose and bearing a close resemblance to daily life in psychology, environment, and time scale."
Using the criterion of fictionality, it is unlikely that Habari za Bakilindi and Uhuru va Watumwa could, as already said, qualify to be novels. When we discuss the Swahili novel, therefore, our attention is readily solicited by the works of Shaaban Robert. Although Shaaban is usually acknowledged as a poet, he was also a great novelist. He wrote his first novel, Adili na Ndumuzi in 1952, and by the time of his death in 1961 he had altogether five novels, an autobiography and a biography to his credit. Nearly all Shaaban's novels have didactic themes. Guided by his religious philosophy, primarily Islamic, and to some extent traditional African life, Shaaban was always preoccupied with the idea of virtue. In his search for an ideal man; ideal country; justice, and freedom, he found them only where virtue triumphed over evil.

At the composition level, his style of narration was more or less in the fashion of traditional story telling. It is probably reasonable to assume that such style of composition is a result of the art of story-telling among the Wa-swarahili. It should, however, be noted that story telling does not exist among the Wa-swarahili only. To most, and probably to all, African communities story telling is as old a phenomenon as the communities themselves. One is often reminded of the logfires around which
children sat in the evening to listen to various stories, tales, fables etc. with various themes. The Na-swahili called such stories as ngano. Ngano and other oral literary forms were highly structured and imaginative, stories which involved unusual skilful use of language resources such as idioms proverbs etc. Shaaban's novels a reflection of these qualities.

Since the time of Shaaban up to now, the novel has developed tremendously in terms of numbers, themes and style. Most of these developments, according to us, could be said to be due to the relative ease with which the novel can be read and understood, the conception of literature as a whole and the general influence of the western novel.

However, as far as our study is concerned, and as far as the style of presentation of the novel is concerned, we will regard the ngano model as our norm. The ngano model is described here in Forster's sense of a story: that it is a narrative of events arranged in their time sequence. Seen in this light any innovations that involve its disruption will be considered as deviation, for which explanation will be sought.
2.3 ASALI CHUNGU: THEME AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

Asali Chungu, literally translated as "bitter honey," is a novel with a morbid story. In it Said Ahmed Mohammed Wittily attempts to describe the life of some people of a certain unnamed country in order to expose the evils of feudalism which, according to him, have bred a lot of corruption and other evils and which has brought a lot of suffering to the majority of the population. Beneath the story, however, Said Ahmed intricately weaves out a theme that the evil-doers have to pay for their sins in this world and not in the hereafter.

The people in Said Mohammed's imaginary country are distinctly divided into two classes: the affluent and the poor. The former are epitomized by Zuberi and his family. The latter are variously represented by Dude, Shaaban Supu, Semeni and several other characters.

In the country in question, the affluent are the administrators. They are also the landowners. And as expected, they are people of considerable power and influence. The poor, on the other hand, are the dispossessed, under-privileged and the majority.

As the groups interact in their various roles: as the administrator and the administered; the landowner and the tenant; the master and the servant, power, influence and at times brute force are abusively employed,
bringing untold suffering, misery and humiliation mostly to the majority poor.

Zuberi, as the local area District Commissioner, fails to take his responsibilities seriously. He is lazy, negligent and unsympathetic with the plight of the poor. For instance, when the story begins, we are told of a group of women who have come to see him as a D.C. to protest over several issues in which, ironically, he, Zuberi himself is directly or indirectly involved. He is shown, to be passing the official time entertaining himself while the women wait endlessly to have an audience with him without success.

Throughout most of the novel the afflicted people are depicted as apathetic to their suffering. They lament "tufanyeje dada na sihutuna sauti?" (p.3) (what can we do, we are but humble people and have no say.). Due to this apathy the rich men continue to frustrate the efforts of the poor and their abuses go unchecked. Thus, for example, Zuberi rapes Semeni, his own female house servant and gets away with it. He even later on denies the resultant pregnancy.

Generally all the lowly jobs are relegated to the poor. They are the servants, watchmen, cooks, shamba boys etc., and on top of that are exploited
by being paid meagre salaries. Even those who are self-employed do not go beyond doing petty business which pay very little. Good jobs are for the rich or for those who can corrupt government officers. Mukri, the Indian labour Officer, for instance discriminates against those who cannot tip him, but shows open nepotism to his fellow Asians even though they may not be qualified for the jobs.

Since the rich are, as it appears, in virtual control of the political, legal and economic systems of the country, they are able to bend the laws to suit their own ends. When Dude, for instance, legitimately challenges Mukri for giving Subhash, his fellow Indian a job while knowing only too well that he is less qualified than Dude, Dude is jailed for two years.

Zuberi, as the land-owner, exploits the poor by demanding two thirds of the harvest from his tenants and when they fail to raise the required amount they are threatened with eviction or humiliated in other ways.

Such is the fate of mzee Umari, who, on failing to give Zuberi his rents for several years, is asked to send his daughter Mboga for a night with Zuberi to act as compensation for the accumulated rents. Although mzee Umari is poor, and although he fears being evicted from the only place where he ekes out a living, he finds this to be an impossible request.
There is, too considerable interaction between the two groups at other levels, where there is also some revelation of very appalling events. The rich use their money and influence to corrupt young people. Biti Daudi, the unscrupulous overseer in Zuberi's household, is unashamedly used as a pimp by both Zuberi and his wife Bi. Amina. Unfortunately, promiscuity leads Bi. Amina to falling in love unknowingly with Dude, her own husband's illegitimate son. Although this relationship does not last long because of Bi. Amina's unrestrained jealousy, the relationship depicts the general decadent nature of the society.

These evils are usually covered with a veil of religion. The rich compete in celebrating religious festivals with great pomp. They also find considerable pleasure in boasting publicly about their affluence and their fake generosity. Even Zuberi himself, despite his notoriety, when he becomes sick, turns religious—giving alms and forgiving his debtors, but most of the poor people continue to suffer and only a few of them can claim to exploit the rich people's extravagance and hypocrisy to their advantage. As the poor become more and more frustrated some of them turn to drinking, prostitution, and engage in petty thievery.

Immorality continues to eat deep into the society and many strange things occur. For example, Dude, after briefly parting with Bi. Amina, returns to Zuberi's household; this time as a husband of Shemsa, the first daughter of Zuberi and Bi. Amina. Not long after Shemsa becomes pregnant but to her dismay, Latifa, her young
sister, also becomes pregnant too and Dude is also the father.

But while the rich are thus enjoying themselves, the peasants become tired of the oppressive life. They rise against them and destroy their property. The revolution symbolizes the end of the oppression.

2.4 THE TITLE OF THE NOVEL AS AN ELEMENT OF DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

Having given the background story in the novel and the theme contained therein, we shall now proceed to examine the employment of deviation and foregrounding in the text. It should be stressed that we are treating deviation and foregrounding as communication devices; their use do not in anyway disrupt, but enhance communication.

The title of the novel, Asali Chungu, will be our central point of departure. Titles play significant roles in novels. They often are a clue to the reader to what the author considers to the most important message or theme of his story. Naturally authors may, in most cases, give titles that are inviting; and which are able to arouse the curiosity of the reader.

The title Asali Chungu has the characteristics mentioned above. Its ability to raise the curiosity of the reader is, in our opinion, due to two main factors. First, it is ambiguous, that is, it can be given more than one meaning. Secondly, it is a paradox. All these are aspects of foregrounding and we shall attempt to show their significance shortly.
The ambiguity of the title becomes apparent when one attempts to give it an interpretation. On the one hand it is possible to interpret it as plenty of honey. In this way the title is treated as an idiomatic expression, in the same fashion as it would be said, watu walijaa chungu or kulikuwa na chungu ya watu, meaning there were a lot of people. On the other hand the opposite of this translation is no honey could be interpreted, as already said, as bitter honey.

The paradox arises as the title seems to contradict itself. Honey is always sweet, perhaps one of the sweetest substances on earth. That the author should say otherwise about it, creates a semantic oddity. In other words the title of the novel constitutes a semantic deviation because it violates selectional restrictions rules. It is not conceivable that Asali will collocate with Chungu. In any case we shall attempt to show that both these interpretations relate quite well to the story in the novel.

Honey is symbolic of the pleasurable life that some of people described in the novel enjoy. There is Zuberi, a very rich and powerful person. There is also his wife, who because of him, is equally wealthy. These two, together with their household, are representatives of the rich people. They live a luxurious life; they have big houses, cars, servants, land and almost everything that
money can buy. What money cannot buy, they use force
to acquire for the law is in their hands. It is these
people who are apparently enjoying life; they are contented
and happy. The happy life can be equated with the abundancy
of sweet honey.

Other people like Biti Daudi manage to live luxuriously, because of the warm relationship she enjoys between herself and Zuberi and his wife. So do people like Bushiri and occasionally Dude. But their involvement in this kind of life can only be explained as being a matter of luck or accident, for essentially, these are poor people.

It is explicitly clear that the life of the rich and their few associates contrasts sharply with that of the peasants who, as already mentioned, are the degraded and dehumanized lot - the people who are the servants, the tenants, drunkards, prostitutes etc. These are the people to whom the honey does not exist at all. To them life is a struggle.

Bitter honey, ironically, is the result of the seemingly pleasurable life the affluent are living. Power and wealth, apparently, have turned them blind against corruption, immorality and general overindulgence. It is when they begin to pay for their sins, that what has all along been held to be luxurious and contented
life, which is symbolized by the abundance of sweet honey—now turns the other way round to be humiliation and frustration.

The life of Zuberi, his wife and his household portrays quite well the above assertion. Zuberi rapes and impregnates Semeni. Semeni, feeling abused and humiliated, flees to the city and turns into prostitution in order to maintain herself and the fatherless child she later bears. When this happens Zuberi is at the prime of his life and there is nothing that he is in want of. He is affluent and equally powerful. His success over Semeni gives him the impression that there is nothing that is impossible under the sun. Generally he is contented with life. Life to him is sweet as honey.

However, with the beginning of the relationship between Bi. Amina and Dude, the beginning of the bitter life for both herself and Zuberi is also set. At first this is apparent to Bi. Amina. As Dude comes home to get married to Shemsa, Bi Amina, for quite obvious reasons, finds it hard to give consent to the marriage. But the unsuspecting husband sees no valid reason for objecting to their betrothal. As if this is not enough, Bi Amina is further humiliated and aggrieved by Dude's affair with his sister-in-law, Latifa.
Zuberi also feels humiliated when these sordid acts are revealed to him. When, for instance, Shemsu gives birth to a baby girl and Dude delightedly calls her Semeni after his late mother, the name brings bitter recollections to Zuberi. It reminds him of the cruelty and injustice to which he subjected her while she was working for him in his house. It also bitterly reveals to him that Dude is his own child. This, together with the knowledge that his wife had an illicit relationship with Dude, and that Dude had an affair with Latifa, make him more aggrieved, guilty and humiliated. But in a way all these embarrassments are the very results of his own earlier actions at a time when he did not suspect that they would one day turn against him. Indeed, what was once a "sweet life" (sweet honey), now turns bitter.

Bitter honey can also be explained as the suffering the rich people undergo when the poor people become intolerant of the oppressive and dehumanizing life they have been subjected to by the former. It is apparent that as the poor revolt and take reprisals against the controllers, their oppressors, the rich people are subjected to suffering which they have not hitherto known. To them, therefore, what was once sweet life now turns bitter and is symbolized by bitter honey.
In conclusion therefore, we can say that the argument for the title being an important element in the novel is that it provokes some kind of enquiry about itself. This is especially so since it is able to conceal the contents of the text with its strong metaphorical presentation. In this way it acquires foregrounding function.

### 2.5 Style of Presentation

The novel has been divided into thirteen chapters. However, unlike what is expected in traditional storytelling, the narration is not presented according to the sequence of events. In some places the chronology of the narration has been inverted, causing a disruption of the flow of the story. This is, according to us, an example of an external deviation and we shall attempt to show that it is deliberate and purposeful and that it has a foregrounding effect.

The opening of the novel, for instance, illustrates what is being said. The author starts off by telling us about several women who have come to see the D.C., Zuberi, to protest to him over several issues.

Much of this chapter focuses attention on the way Zuberi handles them, and their reciprocal grumbling. None amongst them manages to see him except Di. Pili who forces her way into the chamber. At first...
The foregoing conversation suggests to the reader that the two are talking about a subject that is clearly known to both of them. But what intrigues one is Zuberi's denial. Besides, Bi Pili is curt; her behaviour is not expected of a person talking to as high a ranking person as the D.C.. The subsequent conversation is equally harsh, and although after a short while Bi Pili is ordered out of the office, she is bold enough to tell Zuberi what she feels about him in the presence of the rest of the women:
"Alipolika mlangoni alisimama huku ameshika pete. Akamwangalia kwa jicho la chuki kishe akampasulia mbarika ya mwisho (p.6).

(When she reached the door she stopped; fidgetted with her ring, looked at him angrily and then gave him a piece of her mind).

Given the way the conversation is going, especially its tone, it is natural that quite a number of questions would arise in the readers mind. For example he may wonder who Semeni is, why Bi. Pili is behaving so rudely to Zuberi. However, instead of the writer satisfying the reader's curiosity, he continues to describe the office scene, giving an atmosphere of indifference to what has happened. This intrigues the reader. It makes him note, as it were, the absence of the real story and therefore begs for it. And it is not until chapter two of the novel that the mystery about this incident unfolds. In other words what the reader comes across at first should have been read later. Implying an inversion of narration.

This is not the only example of the inversion of chronology in the novel. The author has again successfully done so in chapter two page 21. This time, after the reader has been told of the association between Zuberi and Semeni, and especially after having been told of the rape of Semeni by Zuberi, there occurs a
sudden break in the narration and the story that follows appears to be quite different from the one ending.

The author tells of the incident between Zuberi and Mzee Omari. Zuberi uses the excuse of the non-payment of land rent by Mzee Omari for wanting to go to bed with the latter's daughter. This incident is told up to page 23 when the chronology is once again interrupted.

The effects created by these inversions have great significance in the novel. They enable the reader to get a first-hand impression of the character of Zuberi before other details about him are given. For instance, when he is first introduced to the reader at the opening of the novel, he is at the prime of his life and at the peak of his power and influence. He is depicted as a man who is not serious in life. He is negligent in his work; he is disrespectful to people and their property; he is generally wicked and malicious, and he is notoriously lecherous. This is the picture of Zuberi's character that the reader is acquainted with.

Through inversion this image is highlighted and thus becomes emphasized. For instance, even after the reader has formed his independent opinion about Zuberi's character, especially after he has been told of the sordid affair between him and Semeni, the author eclipses the story again to further emphasize his wanton desire.
for women. This is especially so when the story about
Mzee Omari and her daughter Mboga is told.

Most important about these inversions is that apart
from being deviant, they are also artistic in that the
message is not communicated to the reader in a
chronological sequence as he would have expected in
traditional mwano telling. Instead he is first of all
given the most significant part of the message — the
true nature and character of Zuberi. The effect of this
is that as he reads through the novel he carries with
him Zuberi's negative image and he is not deluded by his
deception when he turns religious to cover his past
nefarious life.

2.5.1 Dramatic Effects: A case of deviation and
Foregrounding.

1. In some places in the novel, instead of the writer
presenting the story in the normal narrative form, he
has deviated by adopting the format of a scene in drama.
The following extract from page one illustrates what we
mean.

"Chumbani kwa Bw. DC. Akrabu za saa ya
ukutani zaonyesha saa nne na vichopo.
Njo bao refu linalotambaa na ukuta
limesaki mabibi wa kila sura na ina.

Bi. Pili stahamala zimemwisha.
Anachacharika baoni, tayari kumvunjia
mbarika Dwana DC. Ubavuni pake; bi -
kikongwe aliyebugia chumvi ya kunosha, kajikunyata anasubiri zamu yake. Katikati ya bao, jana-jike lenye jirim la kiboko linatia gati wenzake huku linapauna. (p.l)

(In the DC's Office. The hands of the clock on the wall shows it is a few minutes past ten. Outside, on a bench set against a wall are seated several women of every type and kind.

Bi. Pili shows great impatience. She is restless and eager to tell off the DC. Seated folded up on her side is a very old woman, waiting patiently for her turn. At the middle of the bench is seated a massive woman with a hippoish countenance; chattering with her fellow women while breathing heavily.)

The foregoing is typical of stage directions in a drama script. The opening sentence is elliptical, that is some of its words in its construction have been deliberately omitted. For example, instead of, probably reading, Hapa ni chumbani kwa Bw. DC., it reads Chumbani kwa Bw. DC., The latter construction rendered deviant in that the verb has been omitted. The effect of this sentence and the passage in general is to forcefully direct the reader's attention to what is happening at the office. The office as the centre of administrative power is highlighted and therefore with it all the activities that are going on in it.
kikongwe aliyebugia chumvi ya kutosha, kajikunyata anasubiri zamu yake. Katikati ya bao, jana-jike lenye jirim la kiboko linatia gati wenzake huku linapama. (p.1)

(In the DC's Office. The hands of the clock on the wall shows it is a few minutes past ten. Outside, on a bench set against a wall are seated several women of every type and kind.

Bi. Pili shows great impatience. She is restless and eager to tell off the DC. Seated folded up on her side is a very old woman, waiting patiently for her turn. At the middle of the bench is seated a massive woman with a hippoish countenance; chattering with her fellow women while breathing heavily.)

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The latter construction rendered deviant in that the verb has been omitted. The effect of this sentence and the passage in general is to forcefully direct the reader's attention to what is happening at the office. The office as the centre of administrative power is highlighted and therefore with it all the activities that are going on in it.
The attention is further retained through the use of the present tense. Stories are by nature past events, so that they are expected to be told in the past tense. Past tense usually conveys temporal distance - an indication that the story took place a long time ago. In substituting the present for the past tense, the author has therefore deviated. The effect of this deviation is to create the impression of closeness. Actions are made to be more vivid and real to the reader. The effect is to make the reader feel as if he is going to watch a live play. Indeed what the reader is actually going to watch is the way Zuberi handles people in his office. The reader is literally, therefore, made to experience with the writer a real situation after which his judgement about Zuberi’s character becomes complete.

2.6 GRAPHOLOGICAL DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING.

This is an instance of internal deviation. Throughout the novel the writer uses the normal letters but where he wishes to emphasize certain aspects he has used italics, thereby departing from what is expected graphologically. The effect is to have those parts written in italics to stand out prominently against those written in ordinary type.
Most of these italicized passages tend towards being monologues. The characters tend to speak to themselves, sometimes arguing with their own consciences. Through this device the writer is able to detach himself from the narration and allow the reader to acquaint himself better with the characters giving him an insight to their psychological dispositions. Most of these passages are therefore charged with high emotions. We shall consider two examples in the novel to illustrate the importance of the device.

Dude alime, au aowe vichekesho. Nafikiri mzee Kandoro alikuwa na ufa kichwani mwake, yake labda alipokuwa akisema hayo ile madhari yake ilikuwa imeshatangulia kaburini, akabaki kwiliwili tu pale kiragoni. Maskini, Mungu amrechemu, Alikuwa mja wa imani na busara. Sitasahau ile siku niliyorudi magengeni na kuambiwa sina chakula kwa sababu sikutoboa; yaani sikumaliza kazi. Mzee Kandoro alijinupurisha kukigawa chakula chake na kunifichia hadi usiku wakati wa kulala, akanipa tukala pamoja. Kweli kila mzee ana busara zake. (p.85)

(Dude farming, or Dude getting married! Its a big joke. I think mzee Kandoro was crazy when he said these words or may be his sense of judgement had already departed to his grave and what I was speaking to was his shadow on the mat. Poor me, may God rest his soul in peace. He was such a kind and wise person. I wont forget the day in
in prison, when I returned from work and was told I wouldn't have food because I had not finished my allotment. Mzee Kandoro risked himself by sharing his food and hiding it for me until bedtime at night, when he took it out and we ate together.

Indeed every old man is wise in his own way.

These are words said by Dude a year after being released from jail. At the time he is saying them his mind is in a flashback, reminiscing his prison life, particularly his association with Mzee Kandoro who was his fellow prison inmate. While in prison Mzee Kandoro had proposed to Dude that after finishing his term the latter should go farming and also consider getting married to the former's daughter. Apparently, although Dude is in dire need for a job, it is unlikely that he is ready to take up farming. As regards marriage, he might not be ready for it too. First he is a poor man. Secondly, the stories he has heard about women, from his friends make him wonder whether it is worthy getting married at all.

The deliberate deviation affords the reader to view the inner feelings and the state of mind of the character Dude. Dude is confused but also feels tormented by helplessness and hopelessness in life. Up to now his life-experiences have been full of dejection and misery, and now he wonders whether farming or getting married will change anything. The message is thus built up by
vocabulary as, ufa kichwani crazy, and masikini (poorman) which describes states. There are also words like kaburi (grave) and kiwiliwili (shadow) which are associated with death or lifelessness. These reflect his hopelessness and despair. Even his reminiscence of prison life reflects the agony and torment as portrayed by the word mokemono (workgroups). All these conjure up the vision of a very miserable person in a troubous moment.

The passage below, also an example of graphological deviation, brings into focus the sharp contrast between the world of the affluent and that of the poor:


(Just look at how the world has treated Mzee Kheri Karibu. His life has been Ill-fated through and through. Besides
having been denied vision, fate has also denied him the ability to hear; what remains of him are two lifeless lobes flying in the air. As this was not bad enough the fate has also paralysed his legs, making him a cripple. Because of this, the world of Mzee Kheri Karibu has been confined to the verandah of the mosque, and his business has been reduced to stretching his arms and receiving five cents as though this was his daily wages. But you will often hear him laugh and say "Kheri Karibu". After which he will make a long laughter, laughing until when darkness overwhelms him and tosses him on his rugged mat.

The passage highlights the sad and pitiful life of the disadvantage people in Said Ahmed's society. Mzee Kheri Karibu, who is being described, is an example of the ill-fated and unfortunate lot whom the society has deliberately decided to shut its eyes against. The foregrounding of this passage presents us with two ironical situations. First, although Mzee Kheri Karibu's image is that of a helpless person who probably should be expected to be miserable, he has been depicted quite in the opposite way. He is shown to be happy, almost contented with life. This, however, is ironical, for how can suffering be reconciled with happiness? Secondly, although the majority of the people are poor, there are a few who are rich, besides their being generous and religious. How does one account for the
giving of five cents as a daily earnings to a poor cripple like Mzee Kheri Karibu?

Thus it can be argued that Mzee Kheri Karibu's laughter is sarcastic - the motivation for it being to satirize and ridicule the evil nature of the society. For whereas the society has at certain times been depicted as generous and religious, its generosity and religiousness is fake and deceitful, aimed at achieving personal glory and selfishness. The passage therefore highlights Dude's lament. Dude is lamenting how the society has become so individualistic that it no longer cares about the well-being of other unfortunate people. Ultimately, however these are some of the evils of a feudalistic society which Said Ahmed would like to expose.

2.7. LEXICAL DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

2.7.1 Introduction

Before we look at the items that exemplifies lexical deviation and foregrounding in the text being discussed, we wish to point out that sometimes we have found it difficult to classify the words in the text according to whether they are archaic, dialectal, colloquial, or neologism. To a greater extent we have even found it difficult to distinguish between Arabic and Kiswahili words. There are a few reasons for this.
1. Kiswahili, as is already known, is not a homogenous language; it is made up of several dialects spread over a wide geographical area. Usually there are no radical differences in language between the speakers of different dialects or between the speakers from different areas, to the point of hindering communication between them. But it is expected that there would be some aspects of language use, vocabulary, idiomatic and colloquial expressions, proverbs etc. that would have some restricted usage, in the sense that they would be used only among the speakers of a particular dialect or within the confines of a particular area. When such a situation arises, coupled with the fact that the Kiswahili dictionaries are not elaborate enough to include most of the Kiswahili vocabulary, then the problem of classifying words as indicated above is aggravated.

2. Secondly Arabic words, as already pointed out above, are elusive. They do not render themselves quite obviously and easily as Arabic or Kiswahili. As a way of illustration let us work at the word *dhoofulhali* as used in the passage below:

"Zikuwa kavaa kanzu ya melmelt asilia juu ya fulana ya mikono ma kikoy cha jabiri kilichofunika dhoofulhali aliyokuwa nayo (p ?)."
(He was wearing a kanzu of a typical fine material on top of a vest, and a jabiri kikoy cloth which concealed his ill-health.)

The word dhoofulhali is a lexical compound made up of two words dhoofu and hali. They are quite common Kiswahili words whose meanings are to become weak and state or condition of health respectively. On scrutinizing the word closely one notices the interjection of the palatal \( -l \) between dhoofu and hali which gives it an Arabic pronunciation. But if we consider that the Arabic spellings of the word is dacifulhal then dhoofulhali cannot be regarded as Arabic. Yet due to the interjection of \( -l \) one hesitates to regard it as a Kiswahili word straight away.

It will be clear though that we are not speaking about Arabic borrowings into Kiswahili; but rather of the spread of Arabic words among the Waswahili in such a way that they too find usage among them. It is quite unlikely that there would be many Arabic words that would not have Bantu equivalents. The low Arabism in Muyaka's poetry, for example, or most of the poetry written by Bantu Waswahili as opposed to those written by Arab Waswahili would perhaps form a good basis for our argument.

This is a false dichotomy.

educated, literate in Arabic?
Some of the vocabulary which has been used in Asali Chunru is suggestive of local usage. Said Ahmed Mohamed, the author of the text, was born and bred in the Swahili speaking environments of Pemba and Zanzibar. He himself as a Mswahili is an insider with an intimate awareness of the language. It is therefore, conceivable that some of the words that have been used in the text are quite common in the environment from which he was born and bred, though they may not be common to the author of this thesis. As regards the Arabic words, they could be accounted for by the long presence of the Arabs in the Islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. It is possible that the inhabitants of this region use some of the Arabic words as part of their idiom. In this case then we will not discuss the effects of dialectal or Arabic words in the text, nor shall we attempt to discuss neologism. To do so will mean that we have a prior knowledge of the Pemba and Zanzibar dialects and that we are competent enough to distinguish them from standard Kiswahili. As it is however, we do not have the knowledge of these dialects. We will therefore attempt to discuss the effect of English and Indian words that have been used in the text being discussed.

2.7.2 English Foreign words

The English words that have been used in the novel can be grouped into three. First there are the words that do not have Swahili equivalents. Words like
dressing-table and blood pressure are examples of this group. Secondly, there are those that have Swahili equivalents but the writer has employed both their English and the Swahili equivalents. An example of this group is "subiani" and "paralysis". The third group includes words which have Swahili equivalents, and the writer has stuck, so to say, to the English usage. We will treat all the English words as deviant and attempt to examine their foregrounding effect in the novel. We will begin by looking at the word "dressing-table."

As we have already pointed out above, the expression dressing table has no Swahili equivalent. The reason for this is probably because dressing table is not a traditional household item but one that has emerged with the coming of the aliens. It follows, therefore, that its description in Kiswahili would require a long explanation, probably resulting in a vague interpretation of what the item really is. It could therefore be argued that by employing the English term, the writer wished to ensure that the exact referent of the expression is not lost.

On the other hand, however, it could also be argued that the writer has employed the term for a particular effect. A dressing table is a luxurious item which is likely to be found among the homes of the rich. Viewed in this light, it can be argued that the term dressing table has been deliberately used to symbolize and depict the luxurious life the rich people in Said Ahmed Mohamed's
Lack of a Swahili equivalent for the term blood pressure would seem to indicate to us that the disease was not common among the Waswahili. Our argument for this assumption is prompted by the fact that where a disease has been common, a name for it has been found for it. Thus for a common disease like paralysis, a Kiswahili equivalent for it exists, that is subjani, or as it is popularly known kupooza. An alternative argument is that the writer does not know the Kiswahili equivalent of the disease, though we must add that we are doubtful of this argument. As already pointed out Said Ahmed Mohamed has a great awareness of Kiswahili, especially so as he himself is a Waswahili. It is likely that he would have known the Kiswahili name for the disease if it existed. Besides this, the term has also been used by Mohamed Suleiman Mohamed in his novel Kiu (see Kiu p. 35). Mohamed Suleiman Mohamed like Said Ahmed Mohamed comes from the Swahili speaking environments of Pemba and Zanzibar, and his awareness of the language is equally good. It is inconceivable that the usage of the term in both novels is coincidental. More plausible to assume is that the term has no Kiswahili equivalent and that the writer of the text being discussed has employed it knowing too well that it would be understood by his readers. Viewed in this way, it can be said that the
employment of the term has mainly a communicative effect, that of informing the reader the precise disease the writer is talking about.

As regards the disease "paralysis," it seems to us that the motivation for employing it, together with its Kiswahili equivalent, again is because the writer wishes to be specific about the disease he is talking about. It seems the term "paralysis" is too general a term to be employed alone. It would not have expressed precisely the disease meant by the writer.

Now we want to look at the word "ubrotherhood." The writer could have used its Kiswahili equivalent had he wished to, but he did not. However, before we proceed with the discussion, we would like to point out that the prefixing of the word with "u" does not make it a Kiswahili word since the rest of the spelling is in English. The writer says:

Alikuwepo mmoja; Daniani ambaye umaskini wake ulimfanya hata asiweze kusoma shule ya Kihindi iliyo kuwa itiitwa "All Hindu Brothers Madressa. Yeye ilimbidi asome na akina "golo" kwani hata ule ubrotherhood ulishindwa kuukimu umaskini wake. (p. 77)
There was one Banyan who was so poor that he could not attend an all Indian school called All Hindu Madressa. He had to go schooling with "gолос" for the brotherhood clique could not bail him out of poverty.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word brotherhood refers to the relationship of brothers. It also refers to people under the same system, preferably socialist or communist. In the context of the novel being discussed, however, the term seems to suggest some meaning beyond what is given by the Dictionary. The word seem to have reference to people who have some close affinity racially. This is especially so as the word has reference to Mukri and Subhash - people of the same race and probably of the same ethnic group. The word seems to have been deliberately foregrounded to highlight and expose racial discrimination and nepotism - some of the evils in Said Ahmed Mohamed's country.

During the colonial times, colour-bar was politically sanctioned in the colonies. People that belonged to the same race or who were the same colour, discriminated against those who had different colours from their own. Besides, people with the same colour enjoyed certain privileges which were denied to others of "inferior" colour. In East Africa, for example, the colour-bar was responsible for the creation of European, Indian, Arab and African
schools, with the Europeans getting the best education and the Africans on the other extreme, getting the worst. Jobs too were distributed along these lines.

Besides this, colour-bar brought people of the same race into close affinity. Thus they felt obliged to help one another in several sphere of life. Thus for instance, in this novel, Subhash, in preference to Dude, is given a job, despite his dismal academic performance at school, just because Mukri, the labour Officer, is his brother in race, colour and country of origin - a true example of racial discrimination and nepotism. Ironically, this brotherhood clique was unable to bail Subhash out of his poverty and thus he is denied attendance in the "All Hindu Madressa School." But it might be said the writer purposely denied Subhash in the story to go to this school to show that poverty knows no racial bounds. Thus it can be seen that the motivation for using the term ubrotherhood was to expose the rampant corruption in the country being discussed. If the writer had used the Kiswahili equivalent, udumu, the corrupt nature of the society would have been eclipsed and instead there would have been the positive depiction of fraternity.
2.7.3 Words of Indian Origin

Under this section we are going to look at the word *golo*, as it has been used in the quote above. A cursory survey of the meaning of the word indicates that it has its root in the now detested caste system in India. According to this survey *golo* is a word that has both a physical and psychological connotation. Physically a *golo* is a black person. Psychologically he is inferior, almost a reject in the society he is living in. He cannot or he is not supposed to enjoy the privilege of his superiors, if anything he is only fit for the dirty work in the service of these superiors. According to this information it seems as the black people in India were or are considered to be *golos*.

Apparently it seems that when the Indians came to East Africa, some of them found nothing wrong in calling the Africans *golos* and probably to treat them as such. After all the Africans are black and they, more often than not, did jobs which the Indian themselves would not do, particularly domestic jobs. When the writer, therefore, says Subhash had to go to school with *golos* and not Africans, clearly he would like to create a surprising effect on the part of the reader. It is surprising because as already said, the political system that prevailed during that time, granted that it was during the colonial times, provided a separate education system for Asians.
which was better in quality than that of the Africans. By virtue of his colour Subhash would have found a place in one of the Indian schools. On the other hand, it may also be said, that the writer wants the reader to see how, on the basis of colour differentiation, the African was debased, despised and humiliated. For this was the attitude some of the communities had towards the Africans during the pre-independence times. They regarded the African inferior.

2.7.4. Lexical Prominence

Lexical prominence, as already said, is the frequency with which a writer chooses certain lexical items in a text so that they ultimately become foregrounded. Some of these items may be reflected as repetition of the same words. They may also be reflected as synonymous words. Although we will extract passages from the novel to exemplify the features, we may have to refer to the whole novel for their significance. Besides, should other significant stylistic features be manifested in the passages being discussed, then we might as well discuss them also, to show their effect in the text. We begin by looking at the passage below:

kunyimwa chakula, pahali pazuri pa kulala, nguo angalau za kujisitiria mbali zile starehe za kilimwenga. Hayo ndiyo yaliyokuwa maisha ya ulimwengu huu kwa walimwengu wake, kwa wateu wa chini kama Dude. (P.78)

(A job: What other job is there to be searched for by Dude? Perhaps the job should now in turn search for him. However, if Bushiri is calling him for a job then he will consider it, for the job will have come for him and not him going for it. A job for a modest person like him, especially considering his humble standard six education? People like him have been brought into the world to be deprived - to be deprived of their right to live, to be deprived of the life they deserve, to be deprived of food, shelter and clothes for cover besides the worldly luxuries. This was the life in this world for its people; for the dehumanized people like Dude.)

In the foregoing passage the lexical items which are conspicuously manifested are kazi; (work) and kunvimwaj (to be deprived of or ro be denied). The former has been repeated five times, ultimately becoming foregrounded. In the opening sentence the word has been repeated once in succession, and then the whole sentence ends in a rhetorical question - further creating a foregrounding effect. It has also the effect of making the sentence highly emotive.
It should be emphasized that in many ways Asali Chungu is a novel of emotions, that is to say the nature of the story is such that oftentimes it demands that there will be outbursts of very intense emotions. In order for the writer to effectively produce these emotive effects he has correspondingly used language in such a way that they would not escape the reader's attention. Feelings and expression of despair, defiance, disappointment, hopelessness etc., all these are elicited through the use of devices such as parallelism and other repetitive features.

Kazi, for example, in the passage above, emphasizes Dude's desperation in his search for a job. Work is an economic necessity. And given the situation in which Dude is in. That of having no source of earning a livelihood, a job would be something that he would need most. But he also knows that under the prevailing conditions in his country, to hope for a job is a mere illusion. His earlier efforts to secure one had met with frustration and his violent protestation at being discriminated against getting employment had equally been severely repressed. Thus whereas the prominent use of the word Kazi would seem to emphasize the importance of a job to Dude, in the context of the whole novel, it also highlights and expresses his bitterness and frustration.
Dude seems to concede defeat in life for psychologically he feels beaten. This impression is further enhanced in the reader's mind when the writer again deliberately repeats the lexical item "kunyimwa" (to be deprived).

The word "kunyimwa", has been repeated four times, twice in succession and twice in a parallelistic pattern as will be shown. The parallelistic pattern is created by the appearance of the word in the initial position as follows:

Kunyimwa haki...........
Kunyimwa uhai...........
Kunyimwa chakula........

The effect of this patterning is to emphasize the loss of respect for the individual rights in Dude's world. We have already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that the rich people in the society being described deliberately oppressed and exploited the poor in several ways. The foregoing passage expresses and also communicates the effect of this oppression. It articulates the feelings of despair and hopelessness in the the lives of the poor people.

Another example of significant repetitive lexical items is given below:

Dude sasa anaipenda nafasi yake; anaapenda kila kitu chake. Haichukii tena siku aliyozaliwa, wala ile nyota yake
iliyomcheza shere tu. Leo anapenda mambo mengi; anapenda mbingi na ardhi, na kila kilichomo ndani yako. Anapenda kula, kuvaa na kubadili. Anafurahia kuendesha gari na kutembea. Anayapenda na mengine nazororo ambayo yamekuwa sehemu ya raisha yake; hasa mapesa ya Bi. Amina. Kwa sababu hiyo ndiyo pia akawa anamwonea Bi. Amina's money. And because of this

(Now Dude likes his self. He likes everything about himself. He no longer hates the day he was born, nor the star that derided him. Today he likes many things. He likes the heaven and the earth and everything in them. He likes eating dressing and changing clothes. He likes many other things that have now become part of his life; especially Bi. Amina's money. And because of this he also loves Mister Zuberi; he pities him because of the way he treats him like his son and the manner he has been repaying him.)

Our focus of attention is arrested by the lexical item "penda", which is repeated seven times and thus becoming prominent in the passage. This is a forceful depiction of the contrast of life in Dude. The reader sees in Dude the inescapable deep appreciation of the changes he has gone through - From poverty to sudden
contentment. The prominence of the word in the passage gives the reader a vivid image of the wild joy and excitement Dude has in the life he is now leading.

In other instances the literary as well as the communicative effect of repetition is manifested through the use of synonymous words. For example:

Nzee alikuwa kakaa barazani kama ni kumbusho la wapita njia juu ya ulimwengu wenye kuogofya. Uchache, ulitima, uchochole, unyonge ndio rangi zake........ (p.86)

(The Old man was seated on the platform as though he was a reminder to the passersby of the terrifying world. Scarcity, poverty and lowness were his colours......).

In this passage, the extremely pathetic state the old man is in are being described, using words that are synonymous. The first three, for example describe the state of want and poverty, while unyonge might be viewed as a direct result of these states. They are, therefore, words of the same semantic field. Whereas the patterning might appear to be the writer's mere play with words it enables the reader to get a vivid image of what is being depicted by the writer, which in this case is the perceptible reality of the utter adverse conditions of the disadvantaged people in Said Ahmed Mohamed's society. This depiction
is further borne out by the alliterative pattern as reflected by the use of \( u \), which also tends to give it an artistic flair.

Another example of the use of synonymous words that have been used both for literary as well as for communicative effect is reflected in the passage below:

Hapo ilimlazimu aabudu, atubie, astaghfiru na ambe kwa Mola wake, asimghadhibikie. (p.114).

(Then it forced him to pray, confess, ask for forgiveness and pray to his God so that he may not be angry with him).

Again in this passage the writer has used four words which ultimately mean the same thing, in order to point out clearly the only alternative Zuberi has in life. This repetitious compilation not only brings the words into prominence, thereby impressing on the reader why Zuberi needs to have a changed life, but also gives the passage its artistry. At another level this also reflects the author's competence in the language.

2.8 SYNTACTIC DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

2.8.1 Sentence length

The determination of deviation and foregrounding in relation to sentence length depends upon the frequency of the type of sentences in a given text. For example, where long sentences predominate, short sentences become foregrounded. Where short sentences are used on the contrary, more frequently, long sentences become foregrounded.

In the passage below, for example, the author has employed long sentences more than short sentences. The effect is that the latter become rare and therefore foregrounded against the former. In this way they acquire an emphatic effect.

(Obviously you are wrong Semeni but the way of correcting you was not the most appropriate. Semeni you understand how my feelings are towards you. I don't wish to see you get into trouble. I don't want to stop advising you when you are going astray. Thus I am telling you to stop these things, especially your drinking. I don't mean that you stop it straight away. I also do drink, in fact it's I who initiated you into it. I also go out for without that we will not be able to eat. But everything should have a limit. That's all I am requesting you to do. Just restrain yourself. Look at how thin you are; you are unhealthy; you are all bones. What do you gain from this drinking?)
The passage is a request as well as an exhortion to Semeni to stop drinking. Stopping to drink seems to be the most important message which Bi. Pili would like to put across to Semeni. Therefore after appealing to Semeni's feelings, Bi. Pili tells her straight away her views in sentence (6). Sentence (12) is meant to emphasize this message and is further reinforced in sentence (13) when Bi. Pili shows Semeni the disadvantages of drinking. Finally the last sentence (16) is a rhetorical question which is meant to leave Semeni pondering about what she has been told.

2.6.2 Syntactic Parallelism and Prominence

Asali Chungu is a story in which quite often the reader comes across outbursts of very strong emotions. These emotions are conveyed through such devices as parallelism and other general syntactic repetitions. Thus feelings of despair, helplessness, hopelessness, misery etc. are quite often expressed very forcefully through these devices for example:

Tuyaone kwa macho;
tuyachukulie moyoni (p.3)

(Let us look at them with our eyes;
Let us keep them in our hearts).

This is an example of a syntactic parallel feature in which Tuyaone kwa macho is structurally repeated in Tuyachukulie moyoni as shown below:-

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N.B. In both cases *sisi* has been deleted by a transformational rule. Spell out rules are responsible for transforming *katika moyo* to *muvoni*.

This has been employed to depict and highlight the futility of the women's useless protest to the D.C. It expresses a bitter realization of their impotence in putting up an effective challenge against the unchallengeable corrupt powers.

The foregrounding of the expression depicts the despair and
hopelessness of these women which has resulted in self pity. It is a submission to fate.

However, there are a few other people in the novel who are bold enough to refuse to condone the brutalities and injustices meted out to them by their masters; who believe that there is a point beyond which human suffering cannot be endured. They are the people who hope for change and believe that the prospect for it, though at first dim, will later turn bright. The author is consonantly sensitive to their view. And in order to counter the feeling of apathy and despair and communicate it to the reader more effectively, he employs another parallactic feature:

\[
\text{hacho huchoka kutazama hasa ikiwa litazamwalo ni dharau na jeuri; na moyo hushindwa kustahamili ikiwa linalostahamiliwa ni unyonge na unoenvu. (p.3)}
\]

(The eyes get tired of looking, if what is being looked at is mere contempt and outrage and the heart looses its patience if what is being waited for is humiliation and oppression).

The motivation for foregrounding this statement seems to be the author's desire to obliterate in the reader's mind the assumption that he may have created that people in Said Ahmed Mohamed's country were submissive and apolitical. This is important for later on in the novel when the revolution arises it is almost expected.
In other instances parallelism has been employed to convey the sense of self reproach. For example:

Tumefanya sote vibaya. Tumeharibu utu wetu; tumepotoa watoto wetu. (p.52)

(All of us have done wrong. We have disgraced ourselves; we have misled our children.)

At the point when these words are said in the story, Bi. Pili is castigating Semeni for her over indulgence in prostitution. She is counselling her to restrain herself from drinking and further degeneration in life. Bi Pili realizes that prostitution is degrading to the individual and an anathema to the society. The statement: Tumefanya sote vibaya is an indication of self-awareness, criticism and guilt which is further borne out by the parallelistic feature tumeharibu utu wetu; tumepotoa watoto wetu. Ironically Bi. Pili knows too well that she and Semeni cannot come out of this evil, so that the effect of the foregrounding becomes to express her guilt, self pity and regret.

In some places the verbal repetition comes out fairly strongly in the sense that the writer has deliberately chosen a certain parallelistic pattern and employed it four or more times so that it eventually comes out prominently. For example:
"Pendo ni kama mti usio kinyongo; popote hujioetea. Katu halichagui pa kutua. Huweza kutua kwa nobe, Semeni, au kwa mnyonge kuling wewe, Kuna walionunuliwa nyumba wama, waliafuliwa vyombo vya dhahabu kochokocho; kuna waliaandikiwa vikataa na mashaba ya fahari; kuna wanaovia na kubadili; wanatouma maisa yao bila ya kujuu pesa inaingilia wapi inatokea wapi. Nini basi? Yoote hayo ni mapenzi mama (p.20).

(Love is like a tree, it is carefree; it grows anywhere. Never does it choose where to settle. It may settle on a worthless person, Semeni, or even to a more poorer person than you are. There are those who have been bought bought houses; who have been made lots of golden ornaments. There are those who have been written wills to inherit small pieces of land or big magnificent farms; there are those wear and change clothes; who are living their lives without knowing how money is obtained and how is spent. What's does all this mean? All this is love mum.)

This is pursuasion. Biti Daudi is pursuading Semeni to accept to have an illicit relationship with Zuberi her master. She is recounting the benefits that Semeni is likely to get out of this relationship. Starting with what she thinks is the most important Biti Daudi skilfully
and cunningly stresses the benefits so that ultimately the conversation is patterned as shown below:

Kuna walionunuliwa .......... waliaofuliwa......
kuna waliaandikiwa .........
kuna wanaovaa ........... wanaobadili.
........................................ wanaotumia......

We notice that apart from the paralelistic pattern that comes out strongly, the verbs that are prominent in the passage are those that indicate passivity of action, thus further stressing the advantages Semeni is going to benefit from her relationship with Zuberi. On the other hand, however, this conversation reflects strongly on the unscrupulous nature of Biti Daudi; it depicts her as a vile and tricky person.

2.9 SEMANTIC DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

Under this section we will look at expressions that manifest some kind of oddity in meaning. Grammatically such expressions usually involve the violation of selectional rules, resulting in metaphorical usage of language or in personification. It must however be stressed that not all metaphors violate selectional rules, although metaphoric use can be seen as an indication of conscious deviation from literal use of language (see Weiner Abraham in the modern Language Review Vol. 74 part 2 April 1979:388).

We will also look at such foregrounding devices as antithesis,
similes and symbolism.

2.9.1 Metaphors

Metaphors, when they are original, that is to say, when their use is not banal, they not only put ideas more vividly and forcefully but also reflect the creative ability of the writer. Most of Said Ahmed Mohamed's metaphorical usages reflect these characteristics. We will pick a few examples to illustrate what we mean. We start by looking at the metaphor below:

Pili alikuwa mwanamke makamo wa Kiafrika, mwenye tambo lake bado, lililomfanya mpaka saa auweze ulimwengu wake japo kwa kuuma meno. Jambo la kwanza limpitialo mtu akimwangalia kiumbo huyu, ni ile jaha na heba yake. Juu juu, sura yake ilikuwa taabu na usumbufu... (p.5)

(Pili was a middle aged African woman with a youthful bearing which had up to now enabled her though with difficulty, to grapple with her world. The first impression one gets when he looks at her is that she is youthful and beautiful. On the surface her appearance was full of sufferings and distress.....)

The metaphor: Juu juu sura yake ilikuwa taabu na usumbufu is a character portrayal of Di. Pili. This is an example of a metaphor whose construction manifests the violation of selectional rules. The noun sura and the verb ilikuwa, in this context, is expected to be in paradigmatic relation...
with qualifiers. Thus, for example we expect to read:
Juu juu sura yake ilikuwa nzuri, mbaya, nyororo, laini, mbovu etc. The metaphorical presentation is therefore constituted by collocating a concrete noun sura and the verb ilikuwa with double nouns: taahu and usumbufu. The effect is to foreground the expression, highlighting the true character of Bi. Pili, for whereas the expression tells us of the impression creation just by merely looking at her, as the story progresses we become clear of what lies beneath this deception.

Now let us see how Zuberi's actions are metaphorically described below:

Mzee Omari alipokwisha kuondoka, Zuberi jicho lake likapigu kwa mboga, utashi wake mpya. Hivyo akajidhihirisha funza anayerukia viale vya majani machanga na kuviangamiza. (p.24)

(After mzee Omari's departure, Zuberi's eye turned to Mboga, his new demand. And therefore confirmed to himself that he was the maggot setting on the young buds and destroying them.)

Here the strength of the metaphor is in its imagery, precisely in the analogizing of Zuberi with a worm and the young and tender buds with the young age of his victims. The action of the former on the latter gives us a vivid picture of Zuberi's destructiveness, thus portraying him effectively as a thoughtless, immoral person.
In another instance the writer captures the utter despair, poverty and helplessness of Dude through the use of a metaphor. He says:

Kuna wengine, kama Dude, waliioletwa kwa kutoremkia migongo ya ufukara; wakawa waombaji wasiopewa, wahitaji wasiokidhiwa haja........................(p. 79)

(There were some like Dude who were brought into the world through the backs of poverty, who became beggars and were not given, and who were put in a state of want but whose needs were not satisfied.

The idea of being brought into the world signifies fate. People do not come into the world of their own volition, in most cases it is said to be God's will. The action of coming down through a back further signifies ill-luck, problems and difficulties in grappling with the world. In this metaphor the deviation is not so much constituted in the breaking of the selectional rules but rather in deviation from the literal meaning.

2.9.2. Similes

Similes acquire a communicative role because of their ability to compare two essentially different items and bring them into some kind of a relationship which lead the reader deep into some kind of a picture or experience. They therefore have a foregrounding effect. For example:

...
This is a description of a true experience in life especially as far as love is concerned. It enhances the different ways in which love has been described. For example, love has been described as blind, or as knowing no colour, race etc.. But in this context the effectiveness of description is created by the comparison between love itself and a tree. It is by looking at the relationship between these two things that the reader can understand in what way the concept of love is being described.

By the use of similes the writer has forcefully and probably more precisely been able to describe various things and experiences in the novel. The following are some of the similes that he has used:-

Ukarimu siku hizo humithilishwa na mkono mkubwa wa rehema unaofunua mifuniko ya makaango na masufuria kem kem ya riziki ambazo zilikiwa zikiwaafu wasio hali mfulilizo. (p. 32).

(In those days generosity could be equated with a great merciful hand that opened lids from sufurias and large cooking pots of providence which continually fed those who were poor and in need.)
Usisikie Dude; mapenzi ya wanaweka ni kama ule mwanja wao. Wanawapo uso, hutoka. (p. 35)

(Don't believe Dude; women's love is like their antimony. When they wash their faces, it disappears.)

Kama panya, maisha huuma na kupuliza (p. 60)

(Like a rat, life bites and soothes.)

2.9.3 Antithesis

This involves piling up of the positive and negative meanings of words or expression. It is not only a reflection of the writer's competence in the language but also his creative ability. The effect is to foreground the expressions, thus highlighting some important aspects of the message in the story. For example:

........ Miaka mingapi sijui. Wakaishi pamoja; lao lao pamoja, la furaha na msiba. Wakashirikiana, wakagombana wakapatana; wakanunuiiana, wakasemeshiana wakapanga shuku, wakafuta; siku zikapita, na mpaka leo wakawa pomaja.

(I dont know for how many years. They lived together sharing everything together, their joy and their sadness. They got on together, they got across, they reconciled; they sulked at one another, they spoke at one another; they suspected each other, they withdrew their suspicions. And days passed by until now they are still living together).
The foregrounding effect in this passage is created by the unusual way of compiling together actions in the negative and those in the positive. In doing so it gives the reader a vivid picture of the life Semeni and Bi. Pili were leading. It gives the reader the undeniable reality that their life was full of tensions between them and fact that they lived together was through tolerance with one another.

In some examples, this compiling of antithetical features has enabled the writer to bring to the limelight the intensity of emotions in the thoughts of a character, particularly about his world-view. For example, in describing what Dude thinks about nature and life in general, he says:

Kwa hali hiyo Dude alichukia kila kitu. Alichukia maumbile. Kwake yeye maumbile yalikuwa kiungo cha fii inayozua tofauti kwa wanaadamu; yayotoa raha upande mnoja na shida upande mwingine; yanayotoa ubora kwa hawa na undaifu kwa wengine; yanayopiga msitari baina ya watukufu na mahambe; yanayowavimbisha matumbo na kuyapwa mengine; yanayowapamba hawa na kuwanyima wale angalau nguo za kujistiri; yanayowastiri wanaadamu kwenye maskani ya raha, na kuwadimirisha baadhi katika vibanda vya mgongo. Dude alikuwa na wasiwasi juu ya haki ma usawa wa mwanadamu.
(For that reason Dude hated everyth-
He hated nature. To him nature was
the cause of discord which was the
source of the differences among the
human beings. That gives joy to so-
and distress to others; that gives
nobility to these and lowliness to
that draws a line between the exalted
the disrespected; that causes stomac-
swell and others to be empty; that
draws these and denies others clothes to
that places human beings in good habi-
and drives others in delapidated huts.
Dude was worried about equality in hu-
beings.)

The foregrounding of this passage is constituted
things; first the reader notices the fairly strin-
parallelistic pattern, and secondly the antitheti-
features. Through this combination of devices it
is able to acquaint the reader with Dude's per-
life. What is emphasized is the inequality in
that the life of those who have is sharply con-
those who have not. Further it enhances his feel-
despair and hopelessness, especially as it seems
strongly subscribes to the belief in fate.

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restriction rules because it usually describes in
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The foregrounding of this passage is constituted by two things; first the reader notices the fairly strong parallelistic pattern, and secondly the antithetical features. Through this combination of devices the writer is able to acquaint the reader with Dude's perception of life. What is emphasized is the inequality in life so that the life of those who have is sharply contrasted to those who have not. Further it enhances his feelings of despair and hopelessness, especially as it seems he strongly subscribes to the belief in fate.

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Like the metaphor, personification is a foregrounding device that involves the violation of selectional restriction rules because it usually describes inanimate
objects or abstract concepts as being endowed with human attributes, powers, or feelings. This results in semantic deviation. Said Ahmed Mohamed has significantly employed this device in the novel, but probably the best example is the one given below:

Jumba lilikuwa lile lile. Kuta zake zilizokwenda juu ghorofa moja zilikuwa daima zikiwakejeli mafakiri na wachochole.

(The house was the same one. Its one storied walls always looking down upon the poor and the have-nots.)

In the passage, walls—inanimate objects are talked of as human beings by being given the ability to look down upon. Related to the context of the novel as a whole it connotes the pride of the rich.

2.9.5 Symbolism.

We will treat a symbol in the sense given by Kitsao (1975:129) that it is a device that stands for, represents, or denotes something else. Thus its foregrounding effect is created by the fact that symbolism has the ability to conceal a certain message causing the reader to wonder what it is exactly that the writer would like to communicate. For example in page 9, Luberi is looking at a painting on a wall in his room, which has been there for quite a long. Beyond this paintings however, the reader is able to relate it with the events in the story as w will attempt to show:
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Hakujua kwa nini alivutwa na picha ile, maana hakuwa na kituo cha kutajamali na uzuri wowote. Isitoshe; picha ile ameingalia mara ngapi stiui tokea kuwepo pale ukumbini, na siku zote kama imewahi kumgusa moyoni mwake!


(He did not know why the painting attracted him, for at that moment he had no time to appreciate any beautiful thing. Besides, how many times has he seen the same painting, and if it had appealed to his feelings at all! A virgin forest small ponds and young trees. Farther away on the mountains are water falls. A little distance downwards lies a decayed log on the ground. A grey jackal is bent down eating a rabbit a victim of his hunt - it has already torn a big chunk of meat and fresh blood is gushing out, some spilling on the grass.

The painting referred to in the symbol represents the action Zuberi is soon going to do. It is an indirect account of what is actually going to happen to Semeni. The forest, the ponds and the falls in the painting represent the youthfulness and probably the beauty of Semeni. The log could be the man hopelessly asleep in

(He did not know why the painting attracted him, for at that moment he had no time to appreciate any beautiful thing. Besides, how many times has he seen the same painting, and if it had appealed to his feelings at all! A virgin forest small ponds and young trees. Farther away on the mountains are waterfalls. A little distance downwards lies a decayed log on the ground. A grey jackal is bent down eating a rabbit a victim of his hunt — it has already torn a big chunk of meat and fresh blood is gushing out, some spilling on the grass.

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the rooms near Semeni. The rabbit is again Semeni herself who all along has been wittingly avoiding Zuberi's intentions. The image of a rabbit gives the reader the impression of her shrewdness. The jackal is Zuberi himself who has been hunting for this hare - Semeni - for a long time and now he has got her. The tearing away of the flesh could be equated with his breaking her virginity in the process of raping her thus causing the blood to gush out.

Another very effective symbol in the novel is that of the cat:

(Where is the difference between you and me?
I love you my cat. I pity you. You are
humiliated; suffering yet the world does not
care a damn. Cat, you were born, what do you
eat? What do you wear? Am I taming you
or am I making you suffer? If you feel I am
tormenting you it is because of your fate.
I realize that I am tormenting you for I don't
give you food; I don't give you clothes; I
don't give you a comfortable place to sleep on.
I don't give you all these things because I also
don't have them; I also need them.
Don't cry my cat. Don't feel ashamed for people
are envying you for having been born a cat.
I myself envy you. How many times have I that
you be a human being and I a cat. You would
see cat, would you feed me? Clothe me?
You are better off cat; you are better my
cat. I also am a cat; a cat minus a tail.)

In this passage the writer uses the symbol of a cat to
describe the life Dude is leading. By comparing his life
to that of a cat, the writer vividly and forcefully
communicates to the reader Dude's dependence but also his
uncertainty in his life. He has to accept what is in
stock for him in the world. All the same Dude feels it is
better for him to be a cat for people are likely to treat
him with a difference than when he is a human being.
3.0 DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING IN POETRY: SWIFA YA NGUVUMALI.

3.1 Introduction.

Poetry in general is an area that has been widely researched on among the Swahili literary genres. There exists quite a considerable body of literature on it. This could be partly because it is the most popular form of literary expression among the Waswahili; it could also be partly because it tends to draw attention to itself due to its uniqueness.

In this chapter we want to concern ourselves with the analysis of deviation and foregrounding in Swifa ya Nguvumali, a poem by Hassan bin Ali. However, just before we do that, as a point of departure, we want to review the development of the formal aspects of the traditional Swahili poetry. This is intended to be a prerequisite to our work for ultimately we will use the traditional prosodic format, especially the format upon which Temzi are composed as our conventional norm against which certain deviations in the text being examined will be measured.

3.2 The Development of the Formal aspects of Swahili Poetry

Scholars of Kiswahili invariably agree that the origin of Swahili poetry are the songs that arose from the social, cultural and the economic activities of the Waswahili.
When exactly this poetry began is not known. Like Allen (1971:6), we can only assume that it started when the Waswahili themselves came into existence.

Initially the poetry was in the form of free verse. But this should not be taken to mean that it was austere. Most of the literature on the poetry indicates that it had some kind of loose prosody (see Chiragbhidin, Nabhany and Baruwa, Mulika No. 6 March 1975;59 for example). And by the 12th century or probably even earlier, the poetry was not far from what it is today as far as the prosodical format is concerned. Mazrui and Sharif (Kiswahili Vol. 461/1 March 1976:65) quote the following poem as evidence of the establishment of the format at that time.

Ewe mteshi wa uchi wa mbata uliyo
utungu
Nitekea wa kikasikini tesheweo na ngema wangu
Nitekea wa kitupani uyawaungua kwa zangu
Nitekea uliyo nyunguni ulopikwa kwa
kunyinywa nyungu

The poem lacks a metrical pattern. But there is a rhyme pattern at the end of the lines. This evidence of a discernible formal structure of the poetry as early as this time is suggestive of two very important things. First it suggests that Swahili poetry is an indigenous cultural phenomenon, thus giving further credence to the assumption that the art arose with the emergence of the
people. And secondly it suggests that the adoption of the prosodic forms as known today was just a natural evolutionary process within the poetry.

It is not known for certain when the poetry in its evolution adopted the prosodic framework. But it is generally believed by Swahili scholars that Arabic prosody, and to some extent the Persian prosody, had a great influence on Swahili prosody. For example, Bakari, in his article The State of the Art: Swahili Literature in the 19th Century (1973:7) points out this clearly when he says that:

"Arabic literature, which initially provided the early model, initiated the Swahili scholars to various prosodic forms employed in the poetry."

In the same vein Mulokozi, in his paper Revolution and Reaction in Swahili Poetry, (Kisw. Vol. 45/2 Sep. 1975:52), also notes that:

"It was probably during the Arab rule that Arabic tales became dominant in oral prose in East Africa Coastal towns, and the use of Vina and Mizani became widespread, particularly with the adoption and adaption of Arab script for writing Swahili,"

Knappert (1971:9) and 1979:35) bases his argument for the relationship between Swahili prosody and Persian prosody on his observation of the Swahili epic form.
He argues that there is not a trace of Arabic prosody in the Swahili epic form, which he also notes that is an entirely original invention of Swahili literature. Going by the fact that there is no epic in Arabic literature, he concludes that it must be that Persian, rather than Arabic verse may have served as model for the Swahili poets.

Although the Persian influence on Swahili prosody may not be discounted, probably it was not as strong as that of the Arabs. In fact there are contrary views to Knappert's which seem to relate the Utenzi to an Arab source. Abdulaziz (1972:59), for instance, points out that the epic form seems to have originated from an Arabic verse-form called almusammat (also al-humayni in South Arabia). He thinks it was probably introduced to the Swahili by Hadramy Seyyids who emigrated to the East coast and settled in places like Lamu by the seventh century.

That the Persian influence found its way into Swahili poetry through the Arabs is a more plausible hypothesis. Gibbs (1973:6) notes that the Arabic poetical forms have been greatly influenced by Persian poetry. It is therefore possible that the Arabs had the knowledge of the Persian epic form, and that it is through them that it was introduced to Swahili poets.
Furthermore, we would like to suggest that the introduction of the prosodic rules to Swahili poetry was done by the Arabs themselves as they became Swahilized (see also Mazrui and Kazungi in their paper, Maendeleo Ya Fasihi Ya Kiswahili lfdl). It has been noted that far from the Arabs being the agents of acculturation, as most of the colonizing powers have been, they themselves were acculturated. Abdulaziz for example notes that (see Abdulaziz 1979:8).

"In any given period the Arab population element must have been very small compared to the population of the local inhabitants. Indeed the trend on the coast has always been the swahilization of the Arabs rather than the Arabization of the African Muslim inhabitants, in such facts of culture as language, and mode of living in general." (see also Dr. Akong'a in Social training strategies: The Swahili of Old Town, Mombasa Kenya, a paper for the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, Paper No. 132:3).

We argue that, as the Arabs became Swahilized it is them, especially as they were literate in Arabic, who experimented in writing Swahili poetry in their forms. And that as time passed by the Waswahili also copied them, improved on their forms until the poetry manifested some definite prosodic format as is known today. Our argument seems to gain credence as it is known that some of what are claimed to be the oldest surviving poems were
were written by Arab-Swahili poets.

Ultimately, Swahili prosodists recognize a number of regular prosodic forms of the verse. However, there seems to be some variations. This is probably because people interpret the rules of the prosody differently. For example, Chiraghdin, Nabhany and Baruwa (Mulika No 6 March 1975:59) recognize the following forms:

1. Nyimbo na mashairi
2. Tumbuizi
3. Hamziya
4. Tenzi
5. Takhmisa (waji waji)

On the other hand Kitsao (staff seminar 1980:27) suggests that the forms are as follows:

1. Nyimbo; songs
2. Tumbuizi; lullabies
3. Tenzi; the epic poems
4. Shairi proper; the poem
5. Shairi guni; defective verse
6. Shairi vue; blank verse.

According to us however, nyimbo; (songs) and tumbuizi; (lullabies) are the same. All of them are songs. They differ only in their function. Lullabies, for example are songs used as serenades or for lulling babies to sleep. Other songs are differentiated by other occasions
and situations. For example, there are initiations songs, love songs, songs for work etc.. But in essence all these are songs.

Whereas we consider Hamziya as being an independent form because of its unique features (see Abdulaziz 1979: 58), we regard Takhimisa as a shairi proper in the sense described by Kitsao. (op. cit:28). We do not consider Shairi guni (defective verse) to be a prosodic form since by its definition it is a composition in which a poet has not followed the accepted traditional conventions to their logical conclusions. Shairi-vue, according to us constitute its own form though ultimately it appears difficult to describe it in terms of rules. Since the poem we are going to analyse in this thesis is an Utenzi we want to look at the general structure of tenzi. This is because as we have already pointed out, we are going to use the traditional format as our conventional norm. However, before we do that, first we want to look at the general formal aspects of Swahili poetry. We assume that tenzi are a part of the larger Swahili poetic verse and therefore manifests most of the features to be discussed.

3.2.1. The general formal Characteristics of Swahili Poetry.

The main formal characteristics features of Swahili poetry are Uheti, Vipande Mizani, Vina and vituo
Ubeti (plural beti), is the equivalent of a verse or stanza and a poem derives its kind depending on the number of its mishororo (lines'). A poem of two lines, for example is called uwili, of three lines utatu of four lines unne, and that of five lines utano. This is only the popular classification of Swahili poetry, since tenzi and probably lamziya besides having four lines in a verse also have other conventional features peculiar to themselves. It is also possible to get poems with more than five lines, but these are not common. In fact we have never come across a name for that kind of poem.

A mishororo might stand on its own or may be divided into vipande (hemistiches) each divided by kina kipande (caesura). In most of the popular poems the caesura occupies a medial position. But it is not uncommon to find some poems with three vipande (see Amri Abeid 1954:20, for example).

Each kipande has a definite number of mizani or metrical measure chosen by the poet. Each syllable in a word is counted as one mizani. The number of mizani in each mishororo is what generally gives a poem its metrical structure.

The rhyming pattern is normally given by the vina vipande (the caesurae) or by the end of the line syllables, vina vitu. The terminal rhyme at the end of the ubeti
is called **kina cha shairi** and is invariably repeated throughout the poem. In some poems however, it is the last kipande or the whole last line that is repeated throughout the poem. This is the refrain and in most cases it may contain the central theme of the poem, and is variously known as **kipokeo** or **libwagizo**. Two verses of the following poem illustrates what we have discussed.

Chochote ulicho nacho, kilikuwa kwa mwenzako,
Leo yeye hako nacho, kimesha hamia kwako,
Nuenda utokwe nacho, chende kwa mungine huko,
Kiumbe wacha vituko, sione ulicho nacho.
Sione ulicho nacho, ukaendeshu vituko,
Na upambwe kochokocho, mwisho we pukutiko,
Molao akupambacho, kilipambiwa mwenzako,
Kiumbe wacha vituko, sione ulich nacho.

The poem above is an example of the most popular regular verse, the **unne** or as it is alternatively known, **Tarbia**. It has sixteen **mizani** each. The **kina cha kipande -ka** occupies the medial position, **-ri** is the **kina cha kituo**. The rhyming pattern is as follows:

```
  ka   ri
  ka   ri
  ka   ri
  ri   ka
```

It will be noted that between the penultimate and the ultimate **vipande** there is an interchange of the rhymes,
so that what has all along been regarded as kina cha kipande becomes kina cha kituo and eventually becoming kina cha shairi. This is stylistic, though because of its commonness it may appear to be a dictate.

The ability to employ all the foregoing features in a poem without a flaw and come out with a meaningful verse implies good craftsmanship and virtuosity. It is a condition that is called kutosheleza by the Swahili poets.

3.2.2 The Formal Aspects of Tenzi

Nearly all Tenzi manifest one distinct formal aspect: they are all quatrains. Their mizani however, vary from one utenzi to another. Some Tenzi, for example the utenzi wa Liyongo (Harries 1962) has six mizani. Others like utenzi wa Inkishafi (Nichens 1972) has eleven mizani. However, the commonest Tenzi have eight mizani. Shaaban’s utenzi wa Hati is an example of this type.

Whereas Tenzi with caesura are rare, they are not unusual. Amri Abedi gives examples of such Tenzi in his book Sheria za Kutunga Mashairi (954:31-32).

Another striking feature of the Tenzi is the terminal rhyme. This, as in most poems, is repeated invariably throughout the Utenzi. Allan (Swa. Vol. 37/2 1967:177) calls this type of rhyme as bahari where— as Abdulaziz (see Lienhrdt 1968:81) calls it kina cha Utenzi.
so that what has all along been regarded as kina cha kipande becomes kina cha kituo and eventually becoming kina cha shairi. This is stylistic, though because of its commonness it may appear to be a dictate.

The ability to employ all the foregoing features in a poem without a flaw and come out with a meaningful verse implies good craftsmanship and virtuosity. It is a condition that is called kutosheleza by the Swahili poets.

3.2.2 The Formal Aspects of Tenzi

Nearly all Tenzi manifest one distinct formal aspect: they are all quatrains. Their mizani however, vary from one utenzi to another. Some Tenzi, for example the utenzi wa Liyongo (Harries 1962) has six mizani. Others like utenzi wa Inkishafi (Hichens 1972) has eleven mizani. However, the commonest Tenzi have eight mizani. Shaaban's Utenzi wa Hati is an example of this type.

Whereas Tenzi with caesura are rare, they are not unusual. Amri Abedi gives examples of such Tenzi in his book Sheria za Kutunga Mashairi (1954:31-32).

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Generally when all the foregoing formal aspects are employed in an Utenzi composition, a rhyming pattern of aax, bbx, ccx etc. emerges (Abdulaziz, ibid). Two beti of Utenzi wa Uhuru wa Kenya (1972) exemplify what has been discussed.

Wahindi pia Wazungu  
Walijipiga mafungu  
Mishahara chungu chungu  
Wananchi waumia.

Waliokuwa shambani  
Na waliiko mijini  
Walikuwa mashakani  
Hakika ninawambia.

In the Utenzi above, each line has eight mizani. The rhymes in the first three lines of the first verse differ from those of the first three lines of the second verse but the terminal rhyme is invariably repeated in both verses. This is an example of a popular utenzi.

3.2.3 Deviations from the Traditional conventional norm

Deviation from the traditional prosodical rules of Kiswahili poetry is usually associated with the Tanzania school of Poetry. It is thought that the late Shaaban Robert, whose poetic compositions date as far back as the early fifties, was the pioneer of this school (Abdulaziz 1979:61). Other scholars however, (see Abdilatif Abdalla in Sengo 1975:xi-xii) believe Shaaban composed his poems
Deviant poetic compositions are of two types, *guni* and *vue*. The former describes a poem in which the composer tries to adopt the prosodical format but for one reason or another fails to realize it in some of its aspects. According to this explanation, Abdulaziz (ibid) has adequately shown that some of Shaaban's compositions are *guni*, thus supporting his claim that Shaaban is the pioneer of the deviationist school.

The other type of a deviant composition is *Vue*. This is a poem in which the composer does not follow the accepted conventions of the poetry. We can equate this type of poetry with the English blank verse- though we must add that the term may not completely describe the poetry. Today this type of poetry is increasingly becoming popular though still Kezilahabi's poems (Kichomi 1974) and Ebrahim Hussein's *Ngoma na Vailini* can be cited as representative examples of such poetry.

However, although both *guni* and *vue* are deviant poetic compositions, it would appear that the former is acceptable to the traditionsits (Hazrui and Sharif Klaw, Vol 46/1976:65). Much of the opposition is, therefore directed towards the latter. Now let us see why there has been a lot of opposition against the modern forms and also the arguments for them.
Some of the opposition directed to the new forms is that they are not authentic Kiswahili forms. Some scholars believe that western education and style has had profound influence on the emergence of the forms. For example Mazrui and Sharif (ibid:65) suggest that:

"Among the East Africans, the shift from the traditional Kiswahili prosody seems to be a product of influences, both of which are predominantly manifested among those who have received modern education; and in both cases the influence tends to breed the use of western styles of poetry. One set of these influences is the acquisition and, probably, the subsequent favouring of adopted western values and tastes; the other is simply an aversion toward or rebellion against the traditional values and tastes for whatever reasons.

The foregoing views are accepted to some extent. It is, for instance, acceptable that western education and style of poetry has had a significant influence on the proponents of the modern forms. We note that most of the poets that we have come across and who have experimented on these forms are highly educated people and that their poetry shows clear manifestation of western styles (see Kezilahabisa's poetry for example). But it may be hard to agree with the rest of the argument."
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A more plausible reason for the emergence of the forms could have been because of the need to develop the genre. At least this is the apparent view, among others, that comes to the fore when one examines the reasons for adoption of the forms. For example Kezilahabi says:

(ibid: xv)

"What I intend to introduce in Swahili poetry is the use of ordinary language, the language that is used by people in their ordinary everyday conversations. This is what I consider to be the reality about our lives. Besides, I have observed that the poetry of our forefathers laid a greater emphasis on the use of figurative language than on vina and mizani so that an interpretation of a poem depended on what was concealed by this type of language. The departure from using vina and mizani to the use of the ordinary is a development that has taken place in several other countries. In composing in this style, however, I am not trying to ape those people but I believe this kind of revolution is a step forward towards development of Swahili poetry. There is need to come down to the level of the ordinary people and, probably, make it possible for poetry to develop."

Besides the question of development which we have cited above, two other issues seem to be implied in the foregoing quote: one is that the language that the
traditional poets use is inappropriate — it does not reflect the extant poeticalness and that in fact most people do not understand it. Thus, for example, he insists on using ordinary language. Secondly, Kezilahabi takes issue with the use of *vina* and *vituo* — aspects of the traditional prosodic framework — and thinks it has been a drawback and a hindrance to the aspiring and inexperienced poet, thus contributing to the stagnation of the genre.

It is generally recognized by literary scholars that literature cannot be divorced from its artistic representation. That is to say, in literature both form and content are regarded with equal importance. However, this is the point at which divergent views between the conformists and the modernists in Swahili poetry seem to emanate. The latter, it would seem, are tending towards a functional value of poetry. Thus Kezilahabi, for example speaks of "introducing the use of ordinary language in Swahili poetry" and for coming down to the level of the ordinary people making it possible for the poetry to spread. There is no question in Kezilahabi's mind that there has been undue stress on the form at the expense of content on the part of the conformists.

But the conformists, on the other hand, believe that the present state of poetry fulfills both conditions of literature and therefore that the innovations being called for by the other party are unnecessary — at least those
innovations that will necessitate the alterations of the existing forms. Thus Mazrui and Sharrif (ibid) say:

"Poetry to Waswahili is a language which has literally been playing a communicative role. It is able to do this within the prosodical limitations of poetry."

Chiraghdin, Nabhany and Baruwa, while discussing the development of poetry (op.cit:66) also have the following to say:

"Change should not necessarily be equated with revolutions, we should bear in mind that revolutions are carried out to put things that have been wrong, right. These are the meaningful revolutions. But what do we gain from a revolution if what we already have is the right thing? To insist on change for the sake of revolution and freedom (of expression) can only be compared to the destructiveness of a fox who irrationally decides to kill innocent fowls. But remember, once these fowls are dead they become worthless. So it is with poetry: once the form is deformed it can no longer be called poetry."

Going by the views expressed in the foregoing statements, it may be said that the conformists, over and above everything else, are fearful that the acceptance and encouragement of the new forms might lead to a deterioration in the quality of traditional poetry. This is a genuine fear supported by historical evidence. For example during
What Gibbs (1963:119) calls the silver age of Arabic literature, he points out that the literary circle narrowed down to a highly educated minority, leading to the literary standards being narrowed as well.

However, when all is said and done, we would like to consider the emergence of the modern poetry as a natural phenomenon in the development of the genre and literature in general. We have pointed out, for instance, to the Persian influence on Arabic Poetry. We have also shown that what is generally called traditional Kiswahili poetry is also, to some extent, a product of the influence of other styles. The emergence of the modern forms should also be seen in the same perspective. The is to say the influence of the western styles of poetry in the new forms should be seen to be as natural as other influences in Swahili poetry. We are of the opinion that poetical forms should be left open to innovations and changes, depending on the creative ability and ingenuity of an individual. Viewed in this way, it should be possible for poets to transgress the traditional conventional norm of poetry without being accused of going out of the genre.

3.3 Background story to Swifa Ya Nguvumali

Swifa ya Nguvumali is a narrative poem in the form of Utenzi which describes the events that led to the death of a certain young woman by the name of Salima Dinti Hanifu. It also describes the subsequent identification and apprehension of her murderers through the effort of a highly reputable
The title of the poem is suggestive of the content to be expected so that what comes out at the end of the poem is not so much about the death, however painfully it is told, but rather the ingenuity, and success of the medicineman against the sorcerers, the supposed murderers of Salima.

Though the cause of Salima’s death is a straightforward one – it is sorcery – the motive behind it is rather obscure; against this obscurity is the fact that two of her killers are her very close relatives, one being her own sister and the other her mother-in-law.

At first one gets the impression that Salima is being used as a sacrificial object for the purpose of exorcising the village they are living in. But as the story progresses this motive seems to be invalidated so that what can be construed is that her death is a requisite for bestowing some kind of honour to the giver of the sacrifice, entitling her to continue to enjoy certain privileges within the coven. This opinion is formed when we read

24. "Anatakiwa msabiki
Upate jilemba la haki
kwa mali na malutuki
kwa viti vya kukaria."

(You must offer your successor so attain to the great turban of right to property and riches and skull-thrones on which to sit.)
3.3.1 The Development of the Story.

The story begins with a meeting of four sorcerers, Shambi bin Dima, Binti Jizi, Binti Hanifu and Binti Ramadhani, who after consulting with one another, Shambi, who apparently is the leader of the coven proposes that time has come for exorcising the village. This proposal, in effect, implies that an object of sacrifice is required and the coven decides that it is Binti Hanifu's turn to give out one.

Binti Hanifu takes this proposal with a heavy heart since one of the essential requirements about this condition is that the object to be sacrificed should be a human being and a close relative of the giver:

23. "Awe mtoto wako
Ao ni ndugu yako
Isiwe jelani yako
Siye anayetakiwa."

(It could be one's child
it could be brother or sister
but not simply a neighbour
they will not serve.)

Abiding by this condition Binti Hanifu surrenders her own sister Salima binti Hanifu, who incidentally is also a daughter-in-law of Binti Ramadhani.
Through sorcery Salima leaves her home, allegedly to go to fetch firewood. She is led unconsciously towards the bushes where she meets the evil "gang of four." By this time she is somehow dazed, and is totally unaware of the danger before her. In fact when she sees her sister and her mother-in-law among the four people she feels reassured. But what she later on hears from her sister makes the danger before her quite obvious.

Binti Hanifu boldly declares to the rest of the coven that:

"H fondo dempani
Sina nnalodaiwa.

(I hereby settle my debts
Henceforth I owe you nothing).

It is to these words that Salima sorrowfully reacts to and lamentably protests to her captors, especially her sister and mother-in-law.

Despite the apparent regret that Binti Ramadhani shows for getting involved in the killing of her daughter-in-law, her proposition that Salima's life be spared is not heeded. Shambi decides that the sacrificing should go on as planned. Salima is therefore taken, smeared with magical medicines, as a result of which she succumbs unknowingly to her captors.
Meanwhile it is during Ramadhan and evening time. Salima has been waited for and has not returned. People get worried. Word is sent around the village enquiring of her village enquiring of whereabouts in vain. As the next day arrives without her being seen the villagers become more worried. A decision is made that the headman should be notified of her disappearance and that a search should be mounted.

On hearing this, Shambi arranges for the immediate transfer of Salima from where she is in the bush to somewhere else, so that when the headman arrives and the bush is thoroughly combed out nothing is revealed.

Notwithstanding the fear for Nguvumali, Ironically Shambi himself makes a suggestion to the rest of the villagers that the medicine man be called to come and aid in the search. But even before he arrives Salima is found dead in a nearby dilapidated house.

A look at her body reveals something unusual; her tongue has been cut - a sure sign to the villagers that foul play is involved. A messenger is despatched the second time to call the headman, who on his arrival, and after viewing the body also forms the opinion that murder has been committed. He agrees with the relatives of the dead that police should be called.
On the spot investigation make the police suspect Binti Ramadhani. She is therefore arrested.

Meanwhile Nguvumali has arrived and permission has been obtained for him to administer his medicines to the villagers so that the murderers of Salima may be identified. Subsequently, Shambi, Binti Hanifu and Binti Jizi are identified. Binti Hanifu is unable to take Nguvumali's medicines as she is sick in the hospital after being beaten badly by the police. She later on dies there. Shambi not only confesses the murder of Salima but also of many other people.

Finally the three sorcerers are taken to court. And although the court fails to establish their involvement in Salima's death nevertheless they are found guilty of possessing objects for the purpose of committing witchcraft. For this offence they are jailed for various terms.

Having given the story of Swifa ya Nguvumali, we shall now go ahead to examine the deviant and foregrounded features which are manifested in the poem in the subsequent sections.

3.4 The Language of the Poem

Swifa ya Nguvumali is written mainly in the spoken dialect of Kilwa (Abdulaziz, see Lienhardt 1968:82). However, the features that mark the dialectal aspect are so much inconsistently manifested that to make the dialect a norm would be misleading. Besides there are indications of
intrusion of other features which although they would have appropriately been designated deviant, they are so often used that we would hesitate to treat them as such. In the light of this, and especially as the features in question alternate between themselves and standard Kiswahili, we will treat our norm as Standard Kiswahili.

First we want to look at how the features that mark the dialectal aspect, are manifested and how inconsistent they are in the poem. We will begin by discussing the sound $\sqrt{r}$ and $\sqrt{1}$.

In the dialect in question, where in the standard Kiswahili we would normally expect the sound $\sqrt{1}$ it is substituted with $\sqrt{r}$ and where $\sqrt{r}$ normally occurs in the Standard Kiswahili it is substituted with $\sqrt{1}$ in the dialect.

For example, whereas in the standard Kiswahili we have words like ajili; kalamu; kushambulia; kabili; tulia etc., the dialectal presentation of the same words in the poem would be ajiri (5); karamu (9); kabiri(99); kushamburia (9); turia (96) respectively. And words like amefariki; akashukuru; jirani; shauri; etc., in the standard are realized as amefaliki (245); akashukuru (246); jelani(23); shauli (10) respectively in the dialect.
In other instances the dialectal aspect is marked by the use of /h/. There are two environments in which /h/ occurs to mark the dialectal aspect— the initial and the intervocalic position. In the former environment it is used optionally so that given words like humo, hao, hapa, hayazoleki etc., it is possible to pronounce them as they are or as umo, (14) ao (100), apa (101), ayazoleki (125) in the dialect. However, where /h/ is optionally used it is bracketed. In the second environment, on the other hand, the /h/ seems to have been forced in that position so as to say. Thus maovu, mitani, zaani, etc., in the standard are pronounced as mahvu (96), mitahani (365), zahani (10) respectively in the dialect.

The omission of /y/ in the environment between V and O, in O reference is another dialectal marker. For example, anavyotwambia, ninavyokupima, ndivyo etc. in the standard are realized as anavotwambia (122) ninavokupima (154), ndivo (100) etc.

Besides the foregoing, as we have already pointed out above, there are also intrusions of other dialectal features other than the ones being discussed. There is for instance an intrusion of the Northern dialectal features probably Kiamu, where the voiced palatal implosive /j/ is substituted for the semi vowel /y/. Thus for example words like pamoja, wanajua, majonzi etc., in the standard
are realized as pamoya (27), wanawu (39), mayonzi etc. respectively in the poem.

There is also a reflection of the intrusion of Arabic influence in the poem. This, at times is marked by Arabic spellings and at other times is marked by Arabic pronunciation. Words like Khabari (40) alaswili (46) are examples of the latter whereas vagini (157) and iugbu (241) are examples of the former. This probably is an attempt to write and pronounce the words in as near Arabic as possible.

Now we want to discuss the inconsistencies that are manifested in the poem. We would also like to point out that the inconsistencies are so numerous that they tend to overshadow the dialectic aspect of the language being used in the poem and thus making it a reason for us to adopt the Standard Kiswahili as our norm.

For instance, although we have pointed out that \([\text{i}]\) in the standard Kiswahili is substituted with \([\text{r}]\) in the dialect, the substitution does not seem to be consistently manifested. So that for example, the word kweli in the Standard Kiswahili is realized as it is in verse 7, whereas in verse 22 the \([\text{i}]\) in the same word is substituted so that it is read as kweri. This is also the case with the name Nguvumali and the word polisi. In verse 5 and 206 the former is realized with the standard pronunciation, whereas in verses 84 and 222 it is realized
dialectically as Nguvumari. As regards the latter in verse 260 the word is realized as it is - polisi whereas in verse 261 is realized as porisi. The word itakujilia in verse 8 does not change to itakujiria as expected.

Numerous inconsistencies are also manifested where /ɪ/ is substituted for /r/. For example if there was consistency, then the word duru in verse 19 would have been realized as dulu. Similarly hakufuturu would have been realized as hakufutulu, but as can be seen the sound /ɪ/ has not been substituted for. In other instances the author has mixed both the standard and the dialectal realizations of the same word and in fact in the same verse. In verse 246, for example, we find both wakashukuru and akashukulu being used simultaneously. Shauri in verse 33 is realized as it is but changes to shauli in verse 26.

There are also some inconsistencies in the use of /ɪ/; there are some words in which the author does not employ it as it is expected. For instance, when we should expect the /ɪ/ to be used in the word zaani in verses 52, the author does not use it.

Inconsistencies occur even where the intrusion of other language features are concerned. For instance in verse 234 the author opts to write walikuja instead of walikunya, and in verse 192 he writes kunjua instead of kunja as is expected. Also whereas in verses 5, 39, 45
and 46 the author writes khabari, in verse 60 he writes habari.

In conclusion we can say that although the inconsistencies could rightly be viewed as deviations, they are not motivated and therefore may not be considered to be of significance stylistically. We would like to suggest that these inconsistencies be considered as an example of language interference within the dialect, which is reflected through the writer's language use. And since they are found in large numbers in the poem we argue that they cannot be regarded as artistic and therefore have no communicative role.

3.5 Deviation from the Conventional norm

Swifa ya Nguvumali, as already stated is an Utenzi. It is composed using the most common measure of eight mizani in a mshororo. The kina cha utenzi is an invariable rhyme - a. Abdulaziz Lienhardt 1978: notes that the author of the poem has deviated from the metrical and the conventional rhyming patterns in several places in the utenzi. He quotes the two verses below as his illustration of his claim.

201. Wa pili Hamadi Ramadh
    Kijana mwenye imani
    Ngawa aswi chuoni
    Lakini kaeleka,

263. Wala hapatoki mtu
He notes that the first line in verse 201 has ten mizani instead of the established eight. And in verse 263 the syllable ending the first line - tu, does not rhyme properly with the syllables at the end of lines two and three which have a rhyme - to. These are but few of the examples of the deviations found in the poem. The poem has many such types of deviations, for example in verses 160, 161, 193 etc.

We would like to agree with Abdulaziz (ibid.) that far from the author being incompetent, it seems he has deviated in several places in the poem in order to suit the tune, and probably, the rhythm when the poem is recited. We think that there is a possibility that the mizani in Swahili poetry is regarded both as a physical as well as a psychological phenomenon. Thus whereas physically a poet may seem to have deviated, when the poem is sung or recited the deviation may not be apparent.

In other instances, it seems the author of the poem has deviated in order to maintain the flow of the story and, probably retain the meaning of the poem. We think this need becomes necessary where names of the people are mentioned, particularly for the first time. Since
the story being narrated in the poem is a true one, there is every likelihood that some of the people being mentioned in the poem are important or are very well known to the villagers so that their identification would be lost if they were not mentioned in full. For example in verses 200 and 201 quoted above there is a great possibility that the author wished to identify particular persons in the village. After all, these were not just people but they had specific qualities warranting to be given the task they were required to perform. The name yasini or Hamadi alone, in this case would not have been comprehensive enough to allow the identification of particular people. Thus why the author has deviated to allow the inclusion of the other names, Kimina and Ramadhani respectively.

An example where the author seems to have deviated for the sake of maintaining the flow of the story is in verse 204. He says:

204. Walitia saini
     Kwa jina la Shambi amini
     Na Kagendu kabaini
     Miyo wakiri sikia.

In the first line there are seven mizani. The second line has nine. But here unlike the examples we have discussed above, Shambi is a name already known to the reader. We can therefore argue that the deviation in the metrical pattern is just for the sake of maintaining the flow of
the story.

3.6 Lexical Deviation and Foregrounding

The deviations that will be discussed under this section are exemplified by the use of foreign lexical items, mainly Arabic and English. In addition there are also dialectal words and certain forms of reduplications. These words are not only artistically employed but also have great communicative import. We will begin by looking at the employment of Arabic words.

3.6.1 Arabic Words

Generally, most of the Arabic words found in the poem are derived from the Koran, and therefore have religious implication. There are very few of them that do not have religious implication. The employment of foreign words and expressions in poetry is an influence that has its source in the classical times. Abdulaziz (1979:88) notes that:

"This device of introducing a second language in this case Arabic into verse was also employed in the Persian prosody which like Swahili was heavily influenced by Arabic models. This device is called tadwin in Arabic, i.e. quoting statements from the Quran or from some verse of other poets, and was used by such celebrated Persian poets as Hafiz al-Shiraz, Jalaluddin al-Rumi, Sa'ad and Jami."
When foreign words are used in the poetry that has been written in another language, the foreign words are considered as deviant. We can therefore assume that the device of quoting words and expressions as indicated in the quote above was done mainly for both artistic as well as for communicational purposes. Despite this fact, we find that there is need to be careful when dealing with Koranic words and expressions quoted in Kiswahili verse. This is because most of them, because of their usage among the Waswahili for a very long period of time, have been absorbed into the language and may have ceased to be perceived as Arabic and even in being used in their original concepts.

Mkelle, in his article: Religious Concepts in The Formation of Swahili Expressions (Kisw. Vol. 46/2 Sept. 1976:42) illustrates the foregoing observation by discussing and showing how a word like Alhamadulilahi, has over the years been fully absorbed into Kiswahili and how people are now no longer conscious of its original concept and formation. We quote:

"Appearing in the first chapter of the Koran the word "Alhamadulilahi" is a religious formular meaning "All praise be to Allah" and that was the original meaning, known mainly to those connected with Islam. Yet when the change had taken place how many times that word or expression
has been used, away from its purely religious content, in many a political speech or ordinary "man-in-the-street" conversation. A child, for example, after picking a shilling dropped by someone in the sand may well exclaim: "Alhamdulilahi - nimeokota shilingi." It is evident here that the expression has been used as part of the Swahili language proper, completely devoid of its original, religious connotation... "Alhamdulilahi" is an expression commonly used on having good news of recovery from illness, delivery from danger, difficult, etc. also on hearing of death. In using this word, the ordinary man merely expresses these various feelings and emotions without knowing that he is using a special religious formula based on the idea of thanksgiving to God.

Mkelle's observation is important in our study in that it points out the fact that words quoted from the Koran into Kiswahili should not always be necessarily considered deviant as indicated above. Their deviance can only be accounted for when they are considered from the point of view of their pragmatic contexts. A pragmatic context, according to Scung (1980:82), means "the context of particular actions" and is opposed to the semantic context which is the context of general meaning. And in
order for someone to participate in a pragmatic context he must not only have intentions but must also express them, leading to performance of an act. (op.cit.83). Viewed in this light, when a word is removed from its pragmatic context, its original meaning is lost. It appears that this could be what has happened to most of the words from the Koran that have found their way into Kiswahili. After having been used for a very long time it is possible that their original meaning have been lost, and that are considered as part of the language.

Considered in this way, it would therefore be misleading to designate all the religious words in the poem as deviant, rather we would like to argue that partly the words in question have been included as a dictate of a convention, and partly because the subject-matter being discussed in the poem has motivated their use. We will examine both sides of the arguments.

3.6.2. The Use of Koranic Words as Poetic Convention.

These are words, as pointed out above, that have been removed from their pragmatic context. The beginning of the poem illustrates what we mean.

1. *Bismillahi naanza*  
   Jina la Mola wa enza  
   Muhamadi mpendeza  
   Kwa Mola wetu jalia.
2. Nakuomba ya Rabbana
Unijalie kijana
Nitungapo shairina
Pasive tena hudhia.

3. Rabbi nipe fahamu
Unijalie elimu
Nataka kuyahukumuzu
Shairini kuyatia.

(I begin: In the name of God
the Name of the Lord of Might
and Muhammad the beloved
of our Lord God Glory to Him:

I beg you, O Lord, help me,
a young man,
as I compose my poem
spare me from trouble.
Lord give me wit,
grant me knowledge,
I must judge words rightly
and order them in verse.)

The words being examined here are those derived from
the Koran. The expression Bismillahi, meaning, In the
Name of God, for example, is said at every beginning of
a sacred act. Every chapter in the Koran for instance,
begins with the expression, Bismillahi Ruhman Rahim,
that is, In the Name of Allah, the compassionate, the
merciful, to mark the beginning of the writing of or
reciting of the Holy words. Bismillahi is also said in
various different contexts. For instance it is uttered
before eating, before slaughtering an animal, boarding a bus, breaking the ground to build a house etc..

In Kiswahili poetry also it is common for the poets to mention Bismillahi either at the beginning or somewhere else in the poem before writing the main story. In the poem being discussed, for example, the word is at the beginning. There are also in the first three verses of the poem words mentioning the attributes of God - Mola, ya Rabbi and ya Rabbana. All these words together constitute a divine eulogy.

We are inclined to think that the practice of writing a divine eulogy before the main body of poems in Kiswahili poetry was probably started by writers of Tenzi and Mashairi with religious motifs, during the classical times. In most of these poems we observe that there is a divine eulogy before the main content of the poems. It is likely that, over time, these poets influenced others, even those who composed poems with secular themes, so that it is today fashionable for most poets to write a divine eulogy as an introduction to their poetry. Swifa ya Nguvumali is an example of such poems. Despite the fact that there are events in it that evoke pity and sympathy, it is not explicitly religious. It appears that the words under discussion have been used conventionally as pointed out in the discussion and therefore they cannot be considered to have a foregrounding function.
3.6.3 The use of religious words as an example of lexical prominence.

Before we look at the words that exemplify lexical prominence, first we would like to discuss what we think could be the motivation behind their usage in the poem being discussed. To do this, we would like to look at the theme of the poem.

Although we have pointed out that what seems to be stressed in the poem is the ingenuity of the medicine man, Nguvumali, the central theme seems to be given by verse 6 below in which the poet indicates in his own words the purpose of writing the poem. He says:

Nitaanza kukhadithi
Nawaitu l'khadathi
Dunia baki thuluthi
Imani zimepungua.

(I will start recounting my tale having formed the act of intention only but one third (of the people) remains, The rest have lost the faith).

The verse cited above gives us the impression that, although the poem is not, as we have pointed out, religious the poet is probably religious himself. For example, in this verse he seems to lament the lack of religious conscience of the majority of the people living in this world, when he says only one third of the world population is comprised of the faithful. These are definitely religious sentiments
which seem to refer to the sorcerers, whose activities, as narrated in the poem indicate that they are devoid of pity and kindness and therefore cannot profess religious faith.

It is therefore important to note that the aim of the poet is to show in what way, in the absence of faith, people can turn evil and brutal. It is also equally important to note that in this instance the poet has already taken a stand against the sorcerers (see verse 229, for example). There is no good reason he can give, notwithstanding the ones given by the sorcerers themselves, to explain their atrocities except their being faithless. In this circumstances, religious words find an appropriate context of usage and this is why the axe prominent in the poem.

Now let us examine the context of use of the words in question, taking into consideration of their effectiveness in the poem. We will begin by looking at the way the expression *Ilahi Muktari* has been used in verse 77 below:

77. *Kaenda pupuripupuri*  
*Kuikabiri hatari*  
*Ya Ilahi Muktari*  
*Kiumbe anapotea.*  
(And thus she staggered along into the face of danger.  
O God: O Chosen Muhammad:  
God's creature goes to her death.)
Before we analyse the expression it will be fruitful to look at the situation under which it is uttered in the poem. The expression is uttered at a point when the power of the magic has taken effect on Salima and she is walking, in fact staggering, unconsciously towards her murderers. The utterer is not Salima herself but the narrator who is also the author of the poem.

We are told that among the Muslims it is quite usual for people to mention God's name or that of the prophet almost unconsciously in several various contexts. For example, on seeing or hearing about terrible accident or any unusual thing, a person may exclaim, Ya Rabbi or Ntumë etc., such exclamations are made unconsciously, almost out of habit.

We also see the utterance of Ilahi mukutari in the same context. The motivation for its use arises from the story and the psychological disposition of the writer. For example, before the reader reaches this point in the poem the composer has been narrating the story in the past tense, which is the norm for describing past events. However as he becomes emotionally involved he deviates from the past tense to the present tense thereby bringing the events of the story to the now.
74. Anapotea porini
Upande ule wa prani
Masikini masikini
Salima anapoea.

75. Salima binti Ilanifu
Anakwenda bila hofu
Ziwompata harufu
Pawa zinemkorea.

76. Hakika wachawi (h) ao
Wamechapapo dawa zao
Huja wantakao
Ndivo wanavotumia.

(She is being lost in the bush,
over there by the shore, wretched,
O wretched Salima goes to her death.)

(Salima binti Ilanifu
walks on unsuspecting;
the medicine - perfume has caught her,
its flavour has entered in.)

True it is with these sorcerers
when they strike with their medicines
whoever they want will come to them:
that is the way they use medicines.)

The artistic effect of this deviation is to detatch the writer from the narrating role to a participant's role, literary inviting the reader also to share with him the experiences now before him. As the story builds up, slowly the events become more and more vivid and real in both the composer's as well as the reader's mind, and reaches
74. Anapotea porini  
Upande ule wa prani  
Masikini masikini  
Salima anapceea.

75. Salima binti Manifu  
Anakwenda bila hofu  
Zimompata harufu  
Pawa zinemkorea.

76. Hakika wachawi (h) ao  
Wamechapapo dawa zao  
Nuja wamatakao  
Ndivo wanjavatumia.

(She is being lost in the bush,  
over there by the shore, wretched,  
O wretched Salima goes to her death.)

(Salima binti Manifu  
walks on unsuspecting;  
the medicine - perfume has caught her,  
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experiences now before him. As the story builds up, slowly  
the events become more and more vivid and real in both  
the composer's as well as the reader's mind, and reaches
a point which when the poet gauges Salima's innocence against the evil intentions of her captors, and eventual murderers, he is overwhelmed by her helplessness. This arouses him to pity her, as highlighted by the expression in question.

In verse 107 below, the expression Ilahi Nola Karim is uttered by Salima herself. She says:

107. Wabaki siwalicamu
Kuniua na saumu
Ilahi Nola Karimu
Ndivo alivojalia.
(The others I blame less for murdering me while fasting
God our Lord is gracious,
let His will be done.)

Commenting on the significance of this verse Lienhardt (1968:115) says:

"The significance of this (verse), apart from the added inhumanity of the sister in allowing Salima to suffer from hunger and more particularly thirst, is that by Shariah it is forbidden (haram) to slaughter an animal while it is thirsty, and to do so renders the flesh forbidden with the result that it is usual to offer an animal water before it is slaughtered, even though it has been tethered next to water (though the Swahili people are not so extreme in this as some of the Arabs). The sister is therefore treating Salima worse than an animal."
We agree with Lienhardt that the significance of the foregoing verse is in its exposition of the inhumanity of the sorcerers, particularly the inhumanity shown by Hanifu binti Kamadhani, and the resultant cruelty that Salima suffers. In fact throughout the poem the reader cannot fail to see the gross inhumanity and the irrationality of the actions of the sorcerers. But more so it exposes the helplessness and the despair Salima is in. It must not be forgotten that just before these words are uttered, Salima has just made the confession of faith:

93. Ila kesha tenguka
Na nguvu kapomoka
Kashahadía Rabbuka
Kwa Mola wake jalia.

(But she had rolled sideways,
her strength was failing,
and she spoke the Confession of Faith
To her Lord God - to Whom be Majesty. )

The choice of Illahi Mola Karimu, especially in the view of what has been discussed above, is quite significant in that Salima means or professes to mean what she is saying for she knows that death is imminent. We want to argue that this expression has been used deliberately to highlight the man's peculiar character that he is likely to turn to God in times of distress.
There are other instances in the poem in which religious words have been used, indicating that a prayer is being offered. This is the case for the use of the words Rabbana, Ya Rabbi, Ya Molana, in verse 205. The composer says:

205. Saliondoka vijana—
Wakamwomba Rabbana
Ya Rabbi ya Molana
Utunusuri baria.

(The youngmen went on their way
praying to our Lord God
O Lord. O Master
grant us thy help on the road.)

At this point in the poem, a decision has been reached that Nguvuaini should be called to come to aid in the search for Salima. Her sudden disappearance and the abortive search so far have baffled the villagers and apparently they are calling Nguvuaini to come and allay their fears. The young men being dispatched to call him have been selected according to specific qualities; they are people of high integrity. The words Rabbana, ya Rabbi and ya Molana are said in a prayer before they depart for the journey.

We have pointed out in the thesis that it is conventional for Muslims to say, at least Bismilahi, before setting to do anything. However, in the context of this situation
being discussed it seems the young men have gone beyond this convention. This praying seems to be prompted by fear. It is likely that they fear for Salima's mysterious disappearance, as much as they fear for themselves lest ill luck befall them on the way. This, however, enhances the argument that people tend to relate to God in times of great uncertainty.

3.6.4. Arabic Non-religious words.

Non-religious words, as we have pointed out at the beginning of this section are quite few in the poem. We are going to discuss the significance of their use in three instances only. We will begin by looking at the expression Nawaitu 'L- Khadathi as manifested in the verse on page 155. Commenting on the use of the expression being discussed, Licnhardt (ibid:88) says it is an Arabic phrase which begins the formal act of intention which is required at the commencement of ritual ablution and prayers. Viewed in this sense, it can be said the composer has deviated deliberately to emphasize the importance of the story. He feels he has a mission to fulfill and that he must fulfill it truthfully. This is because, as we already know, the story he is telling is a true one.

In verse 150, the deviation is constituted by the employment of the Arabic expression Agheru Shetani.
150. Bassi leo abadan
Tena narudi nyumbani
Agheru Shetani
Najuta kuzaliwa.

(That is all from today, never
and now I shall go home
I put satan behind me
I wish I was never born.)

Agheru is an Arabic word which is derived from the
verb ghair (deny, refuse) but most appropriately means,
change mind. In this verse, Binti Ramadhani accuses
Satan for having cheated her into taking decisions for
which she now regrets. In essence Binti Ramadhani thinks
she would not have participated in the murder of Salima
if she were herself. It is quite unlikely though that
she did not know the consequences of the requirement for
her existence and continuation in the coven. We get
the impression that, now faced with guilt of participating
in a decision that will lead to the giving away and the
subsequent murder of her own daughter-in-law nags her
conscience. Besides this message, it seems most probable
that the composer has deviated in order to highlight
the irresolute nature of Binti Ramadhani.

Another example of a lexically deviant word is given
in verse 225.
The deviation here is also constituted by the employment of an Arabic lexical expression *fi l-leyli*. An interesting thing about the way the expression has been used is that, in the context it appears, it is a repetition of the word preceding it-*Usiku*. However, apart from noting that it is deviant, its significance in the verse and the poem as a whole seems to be very obscure. Probably its employment is meant to show that the composer is also versed in Arabic idiom.

3.6.5. English words

Here we will attempt to make a division between fully assimilated words and those that are half assimilated or not assimilated at all. We will treat the latter two types as deviant and therefore having foregrounding effect.

If for example we take the word *kumbani* (verse 53) which in this context appears to be a variation of the word *chembani*; in a private palace, we note that it enjoys such a wide usage among the Waswahili that it could be considered as fully assimilated. We will not consider such words foregrounding effects.
The most interesting usages that manifest themselves in the poem are keshi (cash), rebali (double) and jajiment (judgement). It is not that these words are not often heard among the Kiswahili, on the contrary, it is because their usage in the poem seems to be quite unusual, implying deliberateness in choice on the part of the composer for particular effects. Let us look at the word keshi as manifested in verse 20 below:

20. Yatakimbia majeshi
(II) upati tena bireshi
Ila kwa kitu ni keshi
Nfano wa Kununua

(Hosts of us will shun you
So you'll get nothing free any more
pay you must, cash down
like purchasing in a shop.)

The word keshi in its assimilated form has the English equivalent of the word cash. The Oxford Paperback English Dictionary gives among other meanings as:

1. Money in coin or notes.
2. Immediate payment for goods as opposed to hire purchase.
3. (informal) money wealth, e.g. they are short of cash - v. to give or get cash for, cashed a cheque etc.

The standard Kiswahili equivalent for these meanings would be pesa taslimu.
In this poem, however, the context in which the word appears suggests to have been metaphorically used. In the metaphor we get an image of a person selling and another one buying. What is being sold are the privileges enjoyed by a member of a coven and as in a shop, they have to be paid for in form and kind laid down by certain conditions. The artistic presentation enhances the message that for continuance and existence in the coven, a member has to adhere strictly to the conditions laid down by the coven itself.

The word **kukorosi** has been used twice in the poem, in verse 90 and verse 260.

90. Kwanza hayo ni matusi
    Yafaa kuyakorosi
    Si (h) aribu karatasi
    Kwa neno lasilo njia.

    (**Filthy language too better expurgate it and not foul the paper with improprieties.**)

260. Liwali (h) akukorosi
    akashika karatasi
    kuia rifu polisi
    Ije kushuhudia

    (**The Liwali could not refuse he took a piece of paper in order to inform the police to come and investigate.**)
Whereas in the first instance the composer has employed the word *kukorosi*, with the meaning of the English equivalent - to expurgate, to cross out or to leave out, in the second instance the usage implies another value of meaning. Normally we would have expected him to have used words like *hakukataa* or *hakuyapuuza*, which means he did not refuse or he did not ignore (the suggestion). By using the word *hakukorosi*, we tend to get an additional meaning that, he did not go out of line, probably of his work or of his own suggestion in his mind.

At the point in the poem when the word is used, the Liwali has arrived and a suggestion by a relative of the deceased has been made to him to call the police to come and investigate what everybody in the village suspects to be murder. Apparently, earlier on, another suggestion had been made that *Nguvumali* be called. Although the Liwali might not totally be opposed to *Nguvumali*, as a civil servant he would rather support legal procedures in apprehending the culprits. The foregrounding of the word *hakukorosi* therefore highlights the *strict adherence to law* which any civil servant of the Liwali's status would not have been expected to go against.
The word Jabali as manifested in verse 288, below could also be regarded as a half assimilated which seems to create a very interesting image in the poem:

288. Kawataja kwa dabali
Na wengine waliomba
Kawakuwepo aswili
Lakini aliwatia.

(she accused double those involved
some people from far away
who were certainly never there
and still she said they were.)

Usually the way the word is used in Kiswahili is not different from the way it is used in English. However, arising from the events leading to its being uttered by Binti Ramadhani, it suggests more than the usual usage.

Binti Ramadhani, on being questioned about the death of Hanifu, and especially on being beaten by the police, becomes confused and in the process names several people thinking that she will convince the police that they are the murderers. By opening the stanza with the expression Kawataja kwa dabali, which has an obvious allusion to the other members of the coven, and then going on with Na wengine waliomba, it suggests immediacy. We get the impression that on being beaten the people she accuses first are her fellow members of the coven. She mentions these people almost immediately she is touched. We get
the impression that the beating is almost simultaneous
with the mentioning of the names of her colleagues, so
that the mentioning of the other people is an afterthought
and as a cover-up. This, however, seems to enhance
Sinti Kamadhani's image of her irresoluteness especially
when faced with danger.

The other word that has been interestingly used is
jajiment; (judgement) as quoted in vers 377 below.

337. Jajiment ikahukumu
  wafungwe wote maalumu
  Kuwawachni haranu
  Sharia imewivia.

(The judgement condemned them
to period of imprisonment;
to forgive them would have been
wicked for the law had been violated.)

The oddity of the word can be viewed in two ways. First
the pronunciation is English like, especially without
the letter-i-in word final. And secondly because of its
unusual collocation with the verb ikahukumu. It is
highly improbable that there could be an expression
like jajiment ikahukumu. The normal and usual expression
are mahakama ikahukumu or jaji akahukumu.

It is possible that the expression has been
deliberately foregrounded to highlight the fact that
the "European type of judgement was not appreciated
by the villagers where the incident took place. It can be argued for example, that, since Nguvumali, according to the villagers, was a creditable personality, and the fact that he had, according to them, proved beyond any reasonable doubt the guilt of the four sorcerers, court action was not necessary. By taking the sorcerers to court, only to be found not guilty of the murder, was in this case definitely beyond comprehension and expectation of the villagers. Understood in this way, it may be said that the composer intentionally deviated to highlight the scorn and contempt with which the villagers held the "wise judgement of the honourable court". In a more generalized sense, however, this may be taken as a clash between the traditional and the European way of value judgement.

3.7 General Repetition for Emphatic Effects

In this poem repetition is also quite a significant foregrounding device. That is to say, the composer has made substantial use of it as he has done with lexical deviation. There are two types of repetitions that are manifested in the poem. The first one is general in the sense that it is not reflected in structural pattern. The other one, on the other hand, is where some structural pattern is discernible. We will discuss the effects of both in relation to the poem as a whole.
3.7.1. **General repetition.**

First we will discuss how the author has emphasized the importance of the timing of the sacrifice through repeating words and expressions denoting time. We note that words like the names of months, days of the week and the word "time" itself have been variously used to emphasize the timing.

The first instance the notion of timing is brought to the notice of the reader is in verse 16. When Shambi says:

16. *Sikizeni nisemayo*
   *Tena mukae kituo*
   *Tufanye mji zinguo*
   *Miaka imetimia.*

 *(Listen to me now and sit still the lot of you we must make the village magic The time for it has come.)*

The expression *miaka imetimia* (time has come) gives the reader the impression that the giving of the sacrifice was a regular practice held at definite time known to the sorcerers themselves. It also appears that this time factor was attached with great importance, a result of which therefore it gets prominence in the conversations between the sorcerers. In verse 33, for example Binti Jizi says:
33. Unipe shaursi jema
     Dwana Shambi bin Dima
     Nasiku yanaparama
     Wakati unapitia.

     (I want your serious advice,
     Dwana Shambi bin Dima
     The days are numbered
     time is short.)

The time factor is here given by the two expressions,
          nasiku yanaparama; (the days are numbered) and
                    wakati unapitia; (the time is short). The successive repetition
          of the expression further enhances the importance of
time and the urgency of getting the exercise done.
An, because of this the coven sets a deadline for the
giving of the sacrificial object. Thus in verses 34
and 35 Binti Jizi says:

34. Ukitupita wakati
     Matumpati mauti
     Kwa hivo ni tafauti
     Jumatano kupitia.

     (If we let the time pass us by
     we'll never obtain a corpse
     it would make a serious difference
     to it wednesday pass.)

35. Ikipita Jumatano
     Natuyapati mavuno
     Tezama wehe mfano
     Binti Jizi akalia.
(Once Wednesday has gone by
we shall fail to go in the harvest
See yourself how it is wailed
Binti Jizi.)

In this two verses, a part from the emphasis given to
the deadline, which is Wednesday, the reader is also
almost forcefully, through repetition, and this time of
the whole verse, acquainted with the reasons why it is
important to beat the deadline. The general effect of
these repetitions, however, is to emphasize the fact
that the giving of the sacrificial object is a serious
issue among the sorcerers.

3.7.2. Structured Repetitions.

These are reflected as repetitions of expressions
that have a discernible syntactic structure, some in
the form of inversions. Their effect is to create very
strong emotive statements which, in some circumstances,
make the reader pity and sympathize with particular
characters in the poem. For example, whereas Shambi
is shown to be very keen to see that the exercise goes
ahead without fail, he also feels that the women's
prevarication in the matter is being done deliberately to
frustrate him. He therefore warns:

56. "Mimi kunifanya ngozi
Sitaweza kuridhia".
(To be treated like a skin
It's a thing that I won't tolerate.)

The foregoing words are immediately echoed in the immediate following verse 37 as:

37. "Mimi kunifanya ngoma
Sitakubali wa chuma."

(To be treated like a drum
I won't bear from fellow members.)

The strong emotive force of these expressions is enhanced by their metaphorical presentation involving the image of skin and drum. Though these items in reality may have a particular important use and function, they can often be slighted and get misused. Shambi will never be slighted nor misused and therefore comes out strongly in these statements to show that he is not going to stand the irresoluteness in carrying out the exercise.

In verses 101 and 105, the repetitive structures are reflected in reverse:

104. "Mimi nalitumaini
Tukao wote nyumbani
Mwenzangu una undani
Kumbe ukinifanyia"

105. "Manifanyia undani
Dada yangu masikini
Unirudishe nyumbani
Tafadhali nakwambia."
(To be treated like a skin
It's a thing that I won't tolerate.)

The foregoing words are immediately echoed in the immediate following verse 37 as:

37. "Mimi kunifanya ngoma
Sitakubali wa chama."

(To be treated like a drum
I won't bear from fellow members.)

The strong emotive force of these expressions is enhanced by their metaphorical presentation involving the image of skin and drum. Though these items in reality may have a particular important use and function, they can often be slighted and get misused. Shambi will never be slighted nor misused and therefore comes out strongly in these statements to show that he is not going to stand the irresoluteness in carrying out the exercise.

In verses 101 and 103, the repetitive structures are reflected in revers:

101. "Mimi nali tumaini
Tukae wote nyumbani
Mwenzangu una undani
Kumbe ukinifanyia"

103. "Wanifanyia undani
Dada yangu masikini
Unirudishe nyumbani
Tafadhali nakwambia."
(I, for my part, trusted our happy home would last. Sister, you have hated in secret such is your treachery.)

(So you hate me Oh sister, poor me Return me back to our home I earnestly beseech you.)

Thus, ... una undani ukinifanya, is repeated in reverse, wanifanyia undani... in verse 105, to express great grief and pain Salima is in, especially in realizing that her own sister whom all along she has trusted, has been harbouring ill intentions. The repetitions capture effectively the sorrow and sadness that Salima is suffering from and thus touching the feelings of the reader as well.

This grief gives way to desperation and hopelessness, leading Salima to curse her sister Wanifu saying:

110. Dada yangu waniua
   Bila kisa kujua
   Lakini utatambua
   Zahani utaingia

   Utaingia zahani
   (II) una raha duniani
   Ujue haswa yaqini
   Ajiri ya kuzaliwa.
(Sister you destroy me
for a motive unknown;
but bear it in mind
you, too, shall meet with
tribulations.)

(You shall meet with trouble and
torment
No longer shall you rest in
this world.
So you shall know in truth
why we are born.

The attention of the reader in the foregoing verse is arrested by the expression Zahani utaingia which is repeated in reverse as Utaingia zahani. In employing this repetitive structure, the composer is able to capture the intensity of emotions at the right and appropriate place. The reader is able to imagine the effort and the pain with which Salima is saying these words, especially as she knows she is going to die. The words are given strong expressive force and thus become foregrounded.

3.7.3. Reduplicated and Onomatopeic words. as Elements for foregrounding.

Under this section we want to look at three kinds of devices that the composer has employed in the poem being discussed. We are going to look at the effects created by the use of reduplicated and onomatopeic words and the effects of the sounds of certain words that have been used in the poem. These devices are not examples
of deviation, rather they could be considered as having foregrounding effects. Since most of the examples to be discussed may manifest all the three devices together, we are not going to analyse them under separate sub-headings. Instead we will discuss them as they appear. We will start by looking at the word zigwazigwa as quoted in the verse below:

73. Sakarani ya kurogwa  
Aliona zigwazigwa  
Kumbe anafukuzwa  
Porini anapotea.

(Drugged so with spells,  
her vision blurred,  
see, she is driven from home,  
she is getting lost in the bush.)

The verse is describing how the magical medicines have taken effect upon Salima. The word zigwazigwa is describing the state of her vision; it is blurred.

The more usual words that describe such state are "kizakiza"and "kiwi". However, by employing a rather uncommon word, "zigwazigwa", which rhymes with the words kurogwa and anafukuzwa, the composer is able to create a picturesque effect in the mind of the reader.

Kurogwa may entail drugging or doping, resulting in blunting of sensory perception. This, together with the word kufukuzwa, which means driven away, the word "zigwazigwa"
creates an image of a person who is running with heavy steps and extremely frightened.

This picture is further reinforced in verse 77 that:

77. Kaenda pupuripurupuri
    kuikabiri hatari
    Ya Ilahi mukutari
    Kiwabe anapotea (for translation see page 156)

Here the effect of blurredness which we have discussed above has resulted in staggering, *kwenda pupuripurupuri*. This is an onomatopoeic word describing the movement of Salima, now the reader gets an image of a person who is trying to hurry up, but who is also unconscious as a result of which she looks unsteady, her legs are colliding and because of this she is falling and rising as she moves along.

The repetitive structures of the sound *-ri* in *pupuripurupuri* kabiri hatari and mukutari, and the phonic resonance so produced, together with the meaning associated with the words give another imagery. *Pupuripurupuri*, as we have already said describes the movement of Salima so that through its use we can literally see Salima moving along. This movement is taking her nearer to the danger spot, and probably at the back of her mind she knows God is there to protect her. Looked at in this way, the words seem to give us a tripartite figure as shown in the next page:
That is to say Salima is facing danger at God's will. It will therefore be seen that, apart from the artistic effects inherent in the devices, the writer has been able to foreground the words thereby also bringing out more vividly their semantic effect.

In verse 96 our attention is directed to the reduplicated word, zigozigo, and the recurrent sounds created in ndogo and muhogo:

96. Binti Hanifu ndogo:
   Alibaki zigozigo
   Kafunga kama muhogo
   Sakti ameturia

(The young Binti Hanifu lay there bundle like trussed like cassava roots silent she lay.)

These are three things which seem to have some kind of relationship which help to build a picture. All of them are words that express shapes. And by looking at them in association we get a picture of a helpless bundled-up creature. Subsequently, through this picture, we can also visualize the kind of torment Salima is subjected to. Ultimately these devices could be considered as being examples of artistic manipulations for both literary
as well as communicative effects. They are therefore foregrounding devices.

3.8 Syntactic Deviation and Foregrounding.

Whereas syntax in general forms an important aspect in deviation and foregrounding studies, in this poem the composer has not significantly exploited it. There are a few examples of metaphorical presentations, but as already said, these involve semantic interpretations and therefore are better discussed under semantic deviation and foregrounding.

In the poem being discussed, sentences are simple and short, facilitating easy reading and understanding. And as pointed out by Abdulaziz (see Liienhardt 1968:82), the author uses a simple straightforward style, eschewing elusive language and artificial word-order. Instead he uses colloquialisms that are familiar to his audience and which serve to heighten the tension of events. There are also a few examples of syntactic prominence through which the composer has ably and forcefully communicated certain aspects of the message contained in the poem to the reader. For example in verse 23 below:

23. Ave mtoto wako
    Ao ni ndugu yako
    isive jelani yako
    siye anayetukiwa.
(It could be your own child
or your own brother
but simply a neighbour
that one will not serve.)

These are the laid down conditions pertaining to the sacrificial object to be given to the coven. The emphatic effect is given by the syntactic structure:

(NP) V? NP Poss.
(NP) VP NP Poss

It is important that these conditions be understood by the giver and hence their being brought into prominence.

3.9. **Semantic Deviation and Foregrounding.**

Words and expressions that instance semantic deviation and foregrounding in this poem are those that have some metaphorical meaning. Syntactically they are manifested as instances of wrong or unusual collocations, and semantically they are said to have propositional meanings. As a way of illustrating such deviance and foregrounding we will begin by looking at the expression, nataka kuyahukumu, as has been employed in vers 5 quoted below:

3. Rabbi nipe fahamu
Unijalie elimu
Nataka kuyahukumu
Shairini kuyatia.

(Lord give me wit
Grant me knowledge
I must judge words rightly
and order them in vers)
The verse is a kind of prayer in which the composer of the poem is asking God's assistance and guidance so that he may be enabled to write with diligence. The expression Nataka kuyahukumu, meaning I want to pass judgement, seem to refer to the words he intends to use in the poem. Precisely he is asking for God's assistance to be enabled to make good choices, that will make the desired impact in his poem. Looked at in this sense, the normal expression that would have been expected in this context would have been nataka kuvachagua or nataka kuvachuja. That he has used nataka kuvahukumu, implies a metaphorical usage, and therefore proposes some meaning beyond what is normally expected. The foregrounding of this expression seems to emphasize the importance of the story being told in the poem. It must be remembered that Swifa ya Nguvumali, as already pointed out, is a true story which exposes the evil of sorcery. The composer has a desire to describe the incident and its events as effectively as possible. He must therefore subject the words he will be able to clearly and forcefully express the content of the story. Metaphorically, therefore, the words are on trial and must be judged accordingly.

The expression nataka Kushamburia, meaning I want to attack, in verse 9 is also another manifestation of the device being discussed.
The expression *nataka kushamburia*, is quite a normal one in Kiswahili so that taken on its own it is not deviant at all. However, considered in the light of the context in which it appears in this poem, it suggests a metaphorical usage, and therefore may be considered deviant. This deviation can best be explained by looking at the poem right-from the beginning to the point where the expression being discussed occurs.

In the first three verse of the poem, as we have already pointed out, the author has written a divine eulogy as required of him by the convention. He has also in the same verses offered some kind of prayer to God asking Him to be enabled to write diligently. From verse four to nine the author has set the basis for the story, highlighting the theme of the poem as well. When all this has been said and done, the reader's expectation is that the story should then begin. This is particularly so when the composer finally says, *natia wino karamu*, I now fill my pen with ink, the expectation of the reader is that the writer is now ready to tell the story.
The normal expression that is expected to follow natia wino karamu is nataka kuanza kuandika; (I wish to begin writing).

Seen in this light, the expression nataka kushamburia, seems to be contextually deviant, and it seems to assume a metaphorical meaning. The word kushamburia (to attack) is associated with features of violence, and so by foregrounding it, it seems the composer has in his mind a dual purpose for his poem. First he would like to tell a story. But secondly, above that— it seems he wishes to expose and attack sorcerers and sorcery as well. This is very well portrayed throughout the poem.

Now we will look at the expression Tufanye mji zinguo, which also seems to have been interestingly used.

16. Sikizeni nisenayo
Tena afanye kituo
Tufanye mji zinguo
Niaka imetimia

(Listen to me now . . .
and sit still the lot of you
we must make the village magic
the time has expired.)

According to the Standard Swahili English Dictionary, by Johnson, the word zinguo has the following meanings:

"Exorcism, removal of a spell, riddance of a malign influence."
Usually zinguo is done on an individual person or may be done on a place. In whatever case it is usually regarded as a benevolent exercise in that it is meant to bring good will to the person or the place on which it is done. Talking to some Waswahili about it, we are told that in order for zinguo to be performed, a sacrificial object, kafara, must be obtained. The kafara may be a day old chick, a goat, a bull etc. depending on the type of zinguo being performed and the gravity of the problem being solved. In some rare occasions human beings have been offered as kafara, but all this as already pointed out above, has been for the good of the people, especially in protecting them. Thus it will be seen that zinguo is quite a normal expression in Kiswahili.

The oddity of this expression in the poem can be explained by looking at it in the context of the whole poem. It is the reasons that have been given for the performance of the zinguo, in this story, that makes the expression odd. Whereas in the situations cited above, zinguo is performed for the good of the people, in this instance it seems to have been done on selfish and evil motives. It is performed as a condition for the existence and continuance of membership in an evil association. Thus it is said in verse 24 that:

24. Anatakiwa usabiki
    Upate jilemba la haki
It may thus be said that the expression has been metaphorically used in order to conceal the truth of the sorcerers activities to the ordinary person. After all, most magical practices are governed by strict secrecy. In the final analysis, however, the word zin-up seems to highlight and emphasize the barbarisms of the sorcerers.
CHAPTER IV

4.0. DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING IN WAKATI UKUTA

In the previous two chapters we have been dealing with the analysis of deviant and foregrounded features in prose and poetry. In this chapter we now want to look at the same features in one of the works of a prominent Swahili playwright, Ebrahim Hussein.

There is little literature available on the development of Swahili drama. So far, we have come across only a few scholars who have dwelt on the subject. These are Kiango (see Kisw. Vol. 43/2 Sept. 1973:88), Muhando Balisidya (1976), and Kitsao (staff seminar paper 1980:47). All of them invariably suggest that the origin of Swahili drama is in the dances and concerts of the Baswahili, which date as far back as the pre-literate times. In its written form, however, it appears to be a recent phenomenon. In fact it seems that playwriting is an alien form of literary expression to Africans in general, and to the Baswahili in particular. It also appears to be the least developed of the genres.

Unlike the composition of poetry with which people of every level of the society have been involved, we observe that playwriting has been the exclusive concern of an elite - most of whom have been couched in the European theatrical conventions. These conventions dictate that the literary form be designed for the
theatre or stage in which the representation is by actors who impersonate the characters and perform the action and dialogue (Abrams 1941:25). This according to our opinion accounts for the late emergence of Swahili playwriting and for the relative paucity of works in this genre.

Ebrahim Hussien is one of the playwrights who have contributed enormously to Swahili drama. We have up to now come across seven of his works which reveal a cross-section of thematic treatments. These are "Kinieketile," "Wakati Ukuta," "Alikiona," "Mashetani," "Jogoo Kijini," "Ngao ya Jadi" and "Arusi."

Hussein's "Wakati Ukuta" is an attempt to look at a socio-cultural problem in the perspective of time. Essentially Hussein is looking at the effects brought about by the changing times and the different reactions to these changes by people of different ages, attitudes and values. Time, which in this case has ushered in modernization, is portrayed as the main factor and reason behind the acquisition of the new attitudes and values by the young generation, resulting in new life-styles. It is these new life-styles, rather than the time itself, which cause the clash between the older conservative and the liberal younger generations.
The play is centred around Tatu, a girl of about twenty one years old, and her boyfriend Swai. These two represent the modern young generation which refuses to be subjected to the ways of their parents. They like to assert their own ways of life despite their parental protestation. They are, therefore, shown to be in many ways rebellious to parental authority.

Ma Tatu, the mother of Tatu, epitomizes the old and conservative generation. She is depicted as being at pains to show her daughter the "right path." This means deterring her from aping alien values which, according to her, are misleading, confusing and immoral. She is, therefore, shown to be very firm and harsh; she does not believe in "sparing the rod."

Ironically, she does not seem to see that even she herself has changed a lot since her childhood. Instead she would like to subject Tatu to the same life she herself has experienced. But this is the last thing Tatu is going to accept. She sees her mother's ways as archaic and retrogressive, and thus deserving to be rejected and discarded. As Ma Tatu is not ready to yield, the conflict between what she values and what her daughter values becomes sharper and uncompromising, resulting in Tatu being driven away from her home. This, unfortunately, becomes the reason for her taking a hasty decision which she subsequently regrets.
Apart from the two camps cited above – that of Tatu and Swai on one hand, and Ma Tatu on the other, there is Baba Tatu, the father of Tatu. He is depicted as a very calm, sympathetic and patient person. He is, therefore, shown to be the mediator, and reconciliator between the two opposing parties. His approach to the problem between his wife and his daughter is very philosophical.

4.1. The Development of the Play

The play is divided into five scenes. The first scene mainly deals with the cause of the clash between Tatu and her mother. For example, when we first meet Tatu at the opening of the scene, she is being scolded for wearing a very short and tight dress, in other words she is dressed indecently. Despite her mother’s protest over the unacceptability of the dress, Tatu insists that the fashion is in vogue and that therefore she does not see anything wrong with it. But before this quarrel is over, Tatu comes up with yet another unacceptable request. She informs her mother that she would like to go to see a film show and that her boyfriend Swai, who apparently is unknown to the family would come for her.

If wearing a short dress is bad, bringing a boyfriend at home is even worse. Ma Tatu who throughout her life has not known such a thing to happen in her community.
(although she has seen other communities doing so), regards Tatu’s behaviour as a great shame and an intolerable insult to her. However, as they are still quarreling over this issue, Swai comes in and Tatu insists that her mother let them go. The sight of Swai and Tatu’s behaviour makes Ma Tatu uncontrollably angry. She therefore decides to drive the two out of the home and tells her daughter never to return.

In the same scene we are also introduced for the first time to Baba Tatu, the father of Tatu, who when he is told about the incident between his daughter, her boyfriend Swai and the wife, reacts to the whole issue quite differently from his wife. He appears calm and understanding. He does neither blame his wife or his daughter for their action. His only immediate concern is the whereabouts of Tatu. The scene ends with him going out to look for her.

Scene two begins after what appears to have been a frantic search for Tatu. Up to now Tatu has not yet been seen. Despite this, Ma Tatu is shown to be unappreciative of her husband’s explanation about the issue. On the other hand, however, Baba Tatu looks worried and clearly concerned about his daughter’s welfare. It is the news from Kristina, Tatu’s intimate girlfriend, that Tatu and Swai are married at the Area Commissioner’s Office that makes Ma Tatu get shocked and Baba Tatu more concerned.
After this incident Tatu leaves the house. Meanwhile, Pili, Swai's former girlfriend, visits the house. "Tatu returns to her husband's house and as she enters through the door, she finds Swai and Pili not only flirting but maligning her as well."

Unexpectedly Tatu reacts very calmly, almost philosophically over the incident - a great contrast to her earlier self. These reactions are shown in the last scene of the play - scene five. Tatu does not show explicit rancour over what Swai has done. Instead she argues philosophically that both of them are responsible for their calamities. She tells him they ought to have weighed the issue of marriage and its timing more seriously, implying that what is happening is the effect of their hasty decisions. What can be said of Tatu in this scene is that she now realizes her own folly, as a result of which she decides to break up with Swai and return to her parents.

Having given the background story to the play now we want to examine some of the deviation and foregrounding devices the author of the play has employed.
4.2 GRAPHOLOGICAL DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING

This device has not been exploited to significant proportion in the play. There is only one instance of the use of capitalization as shown below:

"...Hakuna matu anaweza kushindana na wakati. WAKATI UKUTA, UKIPIGANA NAO UTAUHIA MWENYEWE. Tutagombana na watoto wetu bure."

(There is no person who can compete with time. TIME IS A WALL, IF YOU FIGHT IT YOU WILL HURT YOURSELF. We will quarrell with our children in vain.)

The use of capitalization in this passage is a good example of internal deviation. Throughout the passage the writer has been using small letters until at this point when he has deliberately used capital letters. The deviation is therefore constituted in that it is a disruption of an expected pattern. We expect the writer to use small letters throughout except of course when he is introducing characters. Capitalizing the saying, therefore, gives it prominence and it becomes foregrounded.

The saying, Wakati ukuta ukipigana nao utauhia mwenyewe is a variation of the same saying that, mpiga ngumi ukuta huchunua mkonowe, that is;(he who hits the wall bruises his own hand.) This saying in kiswahili is a cliche, which as far as deviational and foregrounding studies are
concerned, does not reflect originality and creativity in a writer. However, in the context of this play the saying assumes a foregrounding function, precisely because of the way it has been presented. In capitalizing the saying, we argue that it has been done deliberately to bring to the fore the theme of the play, and therefore its relevancy needs to be discussed.

The saying, which also forms the title of the play, is a metaphorical presentation of the theme of the play. In literal sense time can never be a wall, neither in a real life situation can someone literally fight time. This then means the reader has to seek, from the events and actions in the play, who is doing the fighting, what is actually being fought, and how the casualties of the war fall. And we argue that it is precisely for these reasons that Embrahim Hussein deliberately brings the saying into prominence despite the fact that it is a cliche.

As already pointed out earlier on in this thesis, two groups of people are doing the fighting. On one side is Ma Tatu epitomizing the old conservative generation. On the other side is Tatu, the representative of the young liberal generation. What is being fought is time. But as already said, time has been used metaphorically; it is a causative factor. It has caused changes in the attitudes and values of the young people causing them to adopt some behaviour that is not acceptable to the old people.
At the same time it has caused some stagnation in the minds of the conservative generation making them refuse to accept the dynamic aspect of things in life.

We must, however, view the fighting as being done from both ends. The older generation is fighting the attitudes and values that have caused behavioural change in the young generation, and on the other hand the latter is doing the same to pressurize the former to change their attitudes and values which the young consider archaic and retrogressive. It can ultimately be said that this is a psychological war and that what is actually being fought is a psychological barrier between the two camps.

Every war however, has its own casualties. On being insistent and firm on her beliefs, Ma Tatu literally drives Tatu to her doom - she commits herself to a marriage that does not last long. On the other hand, Tatu getting married without parental authority makes her mother suffer great embarrassment which all along she has been trying to avoid. In other words both have fought and both have suffered. We can, therefore, say it is the way the saying it is presented, and the way it renders itself to interpretation that makes it significant in the play.

4.3 LEXICAL DEVIATION AND FOREGROUNDING.

In this section we are going to look at the effects created by the use of lexically deviant and foregrounded features. Essentially we are going to discuss English
words for they are the only foreign words that have been used in the play. We will also look at the lexical prominence. Lastly we will discuss code mixing which in this play is manifested by the mixing of Kiswahili and English.

4.3.1. The use of English words.

Apart from the borrowings like Radio for Radio, klabu for club, and kochi for couch, which have now been fully assimilated into Kiswahili, Hussein has also used such English items as glass, Empress, Lady show, and Area-Commissioner.

Again this is an example of internal deviation. For a while the writer has been using Kiswahili words until some place when he has used English words. The latter therefore become deviant because they are not expected. We will start by discussing the item glass.

Glass is quite a common household utensil. In its assimilated form the word glass is usually spelled as glasi. The insistence of the playwright in using the English spelling of the word instead of its Kiswahili spelling constitutes a deviation. Is it possible that the motivation behind this deliberate use of English spellings is to create an ironical situation? Could we, for instance suggest that the word has been used as a symbol of the changing times which Ma Tatu ironically refuses
to acknowledge? This question aside, it is highly probable that this is nothing but a slip of the tongue so that it could be said the word glass in this play has no stylistic significance. But suppose we give the writer the benefit of the doubt, what could be the significance of the word?

The glass is a result of foreign technology. Before the coming of the foreigners this item was hardly known to people like Ma Tatu. Since its introduction however, it has become so common that it is likely that Ma Tatu takes it for granted; it is as though it has always been there. She may not realize that it is not a traditional item, and that like the clothes she is wearing, is in effect a symbol of her identity with modern times.

Viewed in this light, the foregrounding of the lexical item in question might be said to have been deliberately done so as to depict the irony that, while Ma Tatu does not want to accept the changes in Tatu's life, she herself has in fact unknowingly changed quite a lot. And that the use of such a common place item as glass is an indication of that change she is refusing to acknowledge.

As for the word "Empress", which is a name of a film, it is likely that Hussein deviated so as to equate films with alienness. Films are not traditional forms of entertainment; they are alien, and like the item glass discussed above they signify the changing times.
The deviation created by the use of the term "Lady Show" (p.10) in this play is also quite interesting. It is interesting because it highlights quite a common cultural practice among the Waswahili - the seclusion of women from men - which in this case has also been extended to even an alien form of entertainment - films. Probably we may not be wrong to suggest that in most of the African communities seclusion of women from men exists to a certain degree, as determined by certain traditional customs and beliefs. Among the Waswahili this customs and beliefs seem to be enhanced by religious teachings and are inculcated in children while young. We can interpret the deviation as being an indication that not all effects of modernism have been strong enough to wipe out completely all aspects of traditional values. In this respect for instance, one would perhaps have expected that since films are alien forms of entertainment, men and women would perhaps be allowed to mix freely. The existence of lady shows, and the fact that some women attend films only during such occasions, or in the case of Ma Tatu in the play who allows her daughter to go to films when there are shows for the ladies only, attest to the fact that despite the strong cultural influence of the foreigners over the African peoples, some traditional values have resisted change.

Another lexically deviant feature in the play is the word "Area Commissioner." It is a term that is
associated with the political administrative structure in Tanganyika after independence. Area Commissioner is a rank equivalent to District Commissioner in Kenya.

The term has been used twice in the play. During the first time it is used when Kristina informs Tatu's parents what has happened to their daughter after she had been sent away by her mother. She tells them: hameoana kwa Area Commissioner; this literally translated means they have married one another at the Area Commissioner's Office. In the second instance it is said by one of the women who have called at Ma Tatu's house (p. 31).

The use of this term seems to emphasize and highlight the negative effects and influence of colonialism. This is particularly so as far as marriage is concerned. The office of the Area Commissioner seems to symbolize the shift of power and authority from the parents or rather the family to other institutions outside it.

Traditionally when a son wanted to marry the parents had a say. Similarly when a daughter wanted to get married her parents had to give their consent. In most cases the parents chose spouses for their children. Thus in recalling her own experiences Ma Tatu says:

"... Mimi nimelelewa na wazee wangu, nilipokuwa mkubwa wakanipa mume. Sikujua, hakunijua, lakini mpaka sasa"
(I was brought up by my parents, and when I was grown up I was given a husband I had not known him before nor did he know me. But we have been living together happily up to this day. So shall I do the same to you also. I'll until I have given you a husband that you will then be free to do whatever you wish. If Swai really loves you let him ask for your hand in marriage.)

The traditional cultural practice as expressed in the foregoing quote, started getting discouraged during colonial times. In fact there could have been laws against such practices; and after independence some of the laws were retained unmodified. The ability, and the power of the office of the Area Commissioner to give sanction to marriages that prents are unaware of is a case in point. It is a good example of the remains of the legacy of European domination even independence. We suggest that Hussein's motivation for foregrounding the expression was to highlight the loss of power for the people to exercise freely their own social and cultural affairs. Before we leave lexical deviation completely we would like to discuss the word waneana.
The word *wameonana*, is literally translated as, they have married one another. Culturally, in most traditional African communities, it is normally the man who does the wooing and proposes to the girl he is in love with. Seen in this light the word *wameonana* is thus in this context odd. It is impossible in the African context for people to marry one another. The word, therefore, seems to be semantically deviant, emphasizing the influence of other cultures, probably European culture over the African culture.

4.3.2 Lexical prominence

As in the two previous chapters, we are going to look at lexical prominence from two dimensions: that is firstly as the frequency of certain lexical items, and secondly as the use of synonymous words that are motivated by the subject matter being discussed in the text.

4.3.3 Lexical prominence as a result of frequency of usage.

Right from the beginning of the play Hussein has employed words repetitively, assumedly to bring into notice certain parts which contain important aspects of the message. Some of these words are sporadically manifested but some keep on being repeated thereby gaining more prominence than others. Generally it appears to us that this type of repetition has dominated a large
section of the play. The beginning of the play itself exemplifies what we mean. Ma Tatu is quoted as saying:

Mama Tatu: Hmm: Hiyo kanzu imezidi tena.
Si unatembea uchi hivyo. Fupi, fupi, imekubana, imekubana, Ndio unambiwe nin? Mzungu sana! (p.9)

(Oh gosh! That dress is simply too short. You are walking naked.
What is it you want to show? Do you think you are a mzungu!)

Our attention here is arrested by the repeated lexical items fupi, fupi; too short, and imekubana imekubana; very tight indeed. Both of them have an emphasizing in effect and therefore a foregrounding function. What is being in this case is the fact that the fashion of the dress Tatu is wearing is unacceptable, thus implying to the reader that what Ma Tatu thinks to be a respectable dress is definitely opposite to what Tatu is wearing. Basing our arguments from the play we may want to give reasons why, besides the dress being short, Ma Tatu is protesting, and therefore, the reason why the writer has brought the lexical items in question into prominence.

Though we are not explicitly told in the play who Tatu and her family are, judging by the names and the setting of the play, we assume that they are Waswahili and therefore are Muslims. To most of the Waswahili, dressing, particularly of women, is a matter of great concern to the community as a whole. Manners of dressing
and general conduct of women are religiously derived. Religions are known for their strictness so that it is most unlikely that they would accommodate such liberal ideas as advocated by Tatu. Thus when she decides to dress against what is generally expected by the entire community, her behaviour is noted as strange and deviant. In this case what lies behind the foregrounded lexical items in question is the message that Tatu is rebelling against the established cultural institutions of her community, thereby causing the clash between the religious values that have now been assimilated into the culture of her people. These run contrary to the liberalism which she and her contemporaries would like to promote. But it may be asked: Does Ma Tatu know the underlying reasons for Tatu's sudden change in attitudes and behaviour?

May be yes; may be no. But one thing is clear to her though. She is clear that her daughter is being influenced by aliens - the Europeans. She remarks badly

Sio uzungu! Ndio kuiga uzungu tena.
Basi sisi si Wazungu. Mzungu na Mwafrika Mbali mbali. Mila zetu mbali mbali. Wao hawana haya, anaweza kwenda na mume huyu na mume yule isiwe kitu. (p.12)

(That is behaving like a European! You are aping the Europeans. But we are not Europeans. Europeans and Africans are different people. Their customs are
different too. They (Europeans) are not ashamed. A European girl may befriend one man today and another tomorrow, without feeling embarrassed).

What is conspicuously manifested in this quote is the repetition of the lexical item *mzungu* and its inflected forms *wazungu*. The words have been brought into prominence to highlight what Ma Tatu believes to be the source of her daughter's corruption. The source is specific; it is the Europeans; their manners and behaviour which in turn are responsible for Tatu's changed attitudes and values.

To make sure that the reader does not lose sight of this important aspect of the message, the writer has once again exploited the use of the same lexical item as discussed above elsewhere in the play. He says:

**BABA:** ... *Sisi hatukuwa kama wazee wetu. Basi na hawa watoto wetu vile vile. Wanasoma kizungu, tunawalisha kizungu. Wanakwenda shuleni kusoma kizungu - Na wataiga kizungu katika kusoma, mavazi, mila na hata tabia. Sisi tumaona mabaya, wao wanaona mazuri. Hakuna mtu anaweza kushindana na na wakati. WAKATI UKUTA UKIPIGANA NAO UTAUMIA MAGNYEME. Tutagombana na watoto wetu bure.* (p. 17)
(We were not like our ancestors. So we do not expect our children to be like us. They read English, we dress them like the English people. They go to school to learn English and they will imitate them in their manner of speaking, dressing, custom and behaviour. While we ourselves see these things as bad they see them as good. There is no person who can compete with time. TIME IS A WALL IF YOU FIGHT IT YOU WILL HURT YOURSELF. We are apt to quarrell with our children. (over these things)).

But here the lexical item seems to be said with a difference in purpose. While in the first instance Na Tatu seems to have used the words scornfully, with the express purpose of discouraging Tatu to ape the Europeans. In this instance Baba Tatu seems to have used them just to explain the reality of the matter as it is. There is, therefore a deliberate emphasis which is not only rendered by the frequency of usage of the lexical item in question, but is also brought about by the use of specific syntactic pattern. And although syntactic prominence will be discussed under separate heading, since this is an instance which is related to lexical prominence, it will be fruitful to discuss it now.

The pattern we are talking about is made up of the sentences Wanasoma kizungu, tunawavisha kizungu. Wapokwenda shuleni kusoma Kizungu - Na watagia kizungu katika kusoma, navazi, mila na hata tabia.
The pattern becomes prominent because of having more or less the same structure. The third sentence as can be seen is a build up of the first two sentences while the fourth acts as a climax.

This pattern seems to emphasize the effects of colonial education on Africans. By bringing the pattern into prominence the writer has been able to give an insight to the reader of the importance of education as a vehicle and force of cultural change. It must not be forgotten that colonial education systems, particularly in Africa, were deliberately conceived with a specific aim in the minds of the colonizers. It was conceived so as to progressively alienate the African from his cultural past. In other words colonial education should be seen as an important factor of de-Africanisation. So long as the youth like Tatu and her contemporaries are brought into contact with such kind of education, the likelihood of them getting influenced and, therefore, aping foreign cultures is inevitable. Its consequences, however, have more far reaching effects. It is the cause of the rebellious attitudes of the younger generation which in turn cause the clashes between them and those whose approach to life is still orthodox. It is this realization that in a way
explains Baba Tatu's philosophical approach to Tatu's aberrant behaviour. He realizes that Tatu's demands are inevitable and that they arise out of circumstances which parents can do very little to control.

More fundamentally, Baba Tatu realizes that the new experiences in their lives can be blamed on time. The propagators and perpetuators of the new values are, as already pointed out above, the Europeans. But the European presence among the African peoples was brought about by colonization. Colonialism itself, whether viewed as a mere historical accident or incident, was a product of time. We can literally say time ushered in colonialism and upset the traditional setting of most African societies. As colonialism set in and got established, many things were negatively or positively affected. One of the adverse effects, as depicted in this play, was cultural change. Time can be viewed as the main factor and force behind this change. Thus Hussein notwithstanding other equally important factors like trade, religion etc. hinges the theme of his play upon time.

The emphasis on time being the prime factor for change is conspicuous throughout the play. For example when Baba Tatu is discussing the disappearance of his daughter with his wife he says:

Hakuna mtu anaweza kushindana
WAKATI UKUTA, UKIPIGANA NAO UTAUNIA MUSENYEWE. (P. 17).
Earlier on in the play, when Tatu has been quarrelling with her mother over the dress she is wearing, she defends her action by referring to time as her excuse for discarding the conventional way of dressing. She says:

Lakini Ma wakati umebadilika sana
(But time has now changed mum). p. 12

As already pointed out, Baba Tatu is much more aware of this fact. Thus he explains to his wife:

Ni wakati tu. Wakati sio sawa....
wakati wa kufanya haya utakuja,
lakini sasa hivi bado. Sasa yeye
kutaka kuwa wa kwanza kufanya haya
anagombana na wakati. Anataka uje
upesi na sisitunagombana na wakati
tunataka usije. Hapa ndio (sic) ulipo
ugomvi wetu. (p. 18)

(It is the time. The time is not yet ripe...
The time for doing all these things will come.
But right now it has not yet arrived.
But in wishing to be the first to act, she is fighting the time. She wants it to come faster while we do not wish it to come at all. That is where the cause for our misunderstanding lies. )

Finally, the lexical item *wakati* is used nine times in the play and is therefore brought into prominence. This is an example of prominence that is motivated by the subject matter being discussed. Subsequently, however, two very important things seem to be highlighted by this prominence.
One is that time is responsible for the creation of the so-called generation gap. For example, the mother is seen to hold on to her temporal perspectives through which her daughter's values look inappropriate - if not shocking. This causes a conflict of interest between them. Secondly, it points out to the fact that everything has its own time. Thus Baba Tatu being a less rigid person endeavours to resolve the conflict between the mother and the daughter by drawing his wife's attention to the change in time and its attendant mores. Later on when Tatu realizes that she made a mistake to involve herself in marriage without thinking about it seriously she says: "Hatukujua kuwa hata ndoa ina wakati wake" (p. 40); we did not know that even marriage has its own time. Though this is said with a note of regret it underscores the fact that time brings both negative and positive experiences in life.

On the contrary Ma Tatu does not seem to know that time is such an important factor in her daughter's life. Instead she seems to be suspicious of boys. She thinks that boys could corrupt her daughter and influence her badly. Ironically she does not view films as a principal source and force of change in her daughter's attitudes against the traditional life she is propagating. If she has any reason against Tatu going to films at all, it is because the family's meagre resources cannot finance such a luxurious pastime. Thus she says:
Toka lini ukaenda sinema usiku?

(Since when did you ever go to films at night? Every time you have been going on Sundays during the day. I will never regret you permission to go during the day, but never, never at all during the night. In fact where is the money to be spent on you every Sunday? You know the condition of your father. He is always complaining about how taxes have become numerous and you know that. The poll tax, the feet tax, the income tax, the old people's tax, the workmen tax, and its just taxes, taxes! And yet still you want to go to films, Where will the money to give you on every Sunday be gotten from?)

The lexical item which comes out prominently in the foregoing passage is Kodi; tax which is repeated eight times.
Although paying taxes is every country citizen's obligation, throughout history, and especially during pre-independence times, taxation has always been viewed as oppressive and a burden by most people. In the post-independence time the people's attitude toward taxation has not changed much, especially as the taxes and various other dues have become numerous. This coupled with adverse economic trends like inflation, has made taxation quite unpopular and unbearable to most people. By bringing the lexical item Kodi into prominence, especially through employing unusual and unexpected collocation, there is no question in Hussein's mind that he would like to show the people's negative attitude to taxation.

Definitely any person who is familiar with the colonial tax system will not be surprised by the expression, Kodi ya kichwa; (poll tax). We also assume that no one would be unfamiliar with kodi ya mapato; income tax, since it is paid by quite a good section of people the world over. However, if we take it for granted that Hussein wants us to look at his play in the context of the present times, as he himself says in the opening pages of the play, it might be argued that probably he did not mean kodi ya kichwa to be interpreted as poll tax but as something else like head tax. The probability of him meaning so is enhanced by the fact that the type of tax mentioned immediately after kodi ya kichwa is kodi ya miguu, literally translated
as feet tax. This is a deliberate deviation and in fact, apart from its unusual collocation, it is also a bizarre analogy of the latter. As for the other types of tax, 

kodi ya wazee; old people tax, though also likely to create a surprising effect because of its uncommonness, it cannot throw the meaning off balance. 

kodi ya wazee for instance could perhaps be equated with the contributions a worker pays towards his pension. 

kodi ya wafanya kazi, could be interpreted as the monthly dues a worker pays to his union. But it seems rather difficult to give a plausible interpretation for kodi ya miguu. What then could be the motivation for the playwright for deliberately bringing in prominence the lexical item in question?

From the play we get an impression that Baba Tatu is a peasant, his family is therefore not a well to do one. Added to this, it is suggested that he lives in a town. We can picture his life as he struggles to pay rents, buy clothes, feed and provide other essential things to his family. On top of this, we must not forget that he has the added burden of paying taxes. Whereas it is highly improbable that he actually pays all these taxes (and we doubt if the taxes actually exist), all the same the reader gets the impression that Baba Tatu is a struggling man, living from hand to mouth. By highlighting the numerous taxes alongside the several responsibilities Baba Tatu has to meet, Hussein also highlights the family's precarious
financial position, thereby exposing Tatu’s unappreciative attitude towards the family’s problems. Secondly, it may be argued that by deliberately employing the repetition of the lexical item in question together with the unusual collocations, Hussein wishes to satirize the unmindful governments’ attitude towards the poor. People of Baba Tatu’s status are too poor to pay numerous taxes without feeling burdened. Taxation to them is an oppressive instrument.

Another significant example of lexical prominence occurs in scene three when some women folk pay a visit to Ma Tatu’s home. They say:

BIBI 1: Naya Jamani Masaibu
BIBI 2: Masaibu Masaibu
BIBI 3: Watoto wa siku hizi
BIBI 4: Basi watoto bibi... masaibu
afadhali kukosa kuzaa (51)

1: These, my folks are troubles
2: Troubles Troubles
3: The youth of these days
4: Children, woman... troubles.
Better never to have given birth.

The lexical item that figures prominently in the foregoing passage is Masaibu (troubles). It is mentioned four times by three out of the four women who have come to visit Ma Tatu. The reader tends to get the impression that parents, and especially women in this play, feel it is no longer pleasurable to bear children if they know that
Later on they will turn to be disobedient to them. Among the Waswahili, Joshua Akong'a (1980:1) notes that obedience and respect are predominant social concepts exchanged in all manner of discourse among the old and the young of both sexes. He further notes that, obedience to people in authority, especially one's parents and above all people above one's own age, is a means of fostering good social relations within the community. In the context of this play, however, this institution is falling apart. The parents are apprehensive about their children's upbringing. They fear for the gradual loss of authority over their own children. It is this fear that is interpreted as troubles which also brings the thought that it may better not to bear children at all.

4.3.4. Code Mixing

Code mixing is an aspect of deviation whose motivation for its being employed in the play must be sought. We will treat this kind of deviation as an example of internal deviation, occurring after the writer has been using Kiswahili throughout the play, he now mixes it with English. For example in the conversation quoted below, Swai says:

Swai: ..... I say, sikukusudia - Haki limenitoka tu hili neno..
Tatu - I am sorry - Haki tena.
Nisamehe si kweli hayo niliyosema...

(p.34)
(......I say, I did not meant it - I swear it was just a slip of the tongue...
Tatu - I am sorry - By God. Forgive me
I did not mean a thing of what I said.....)

At the point when the foregoing words are said in the play, Tatu feels disillusioned about the seemingly fantastic life she has been expecting with Swai. Just before these words are said, Swai has claimed that he regrets that he and Tatu were married. Although Tatu's reaction is shown to be calm, she is all the same unhappy. Swai is reassuring and comforting her.

Our attention in the conversation is arrested by the English expressions, I say and I am sorry, which because of their being used in a predominantly Kiswahili-text constitute an internal deviation, and therefore become foregrounded. These expressions, it seems, have been employed to highlight the influence of English on the modern generation. After realizing his folly, Swai thinks he is going to convince and reassure Tatu that they are still bound together by a common bond. These two people are supposed to be modern, at least that is the way they seem to see themselves. English, which in this case would seem to be the mark of this modernization, is being used by Swai to bring Tatu closer to him, for they are people who uphold the same values in life. But it is also a mark that further distinguishes Tatu and Swai from Ma Tatu, for example, the people of a "backward" generation.
(transliteration already given on p. 204)

MAMA: (Anaendelea) 7. Hivi ndivyo ki kwao.

(That is how they are. That is the way they have been brought up. But it is strange to us. Do not think that I hate you or wish to annoy you. Today go out with Swai, eyes will be on you. Tomorrow with Musa, and on the next day with Saidi, people will stare at you. Even if he were just a friend as you claim. We the Africans would not believe it. I am afraid you will spoil you name for nothing.)

In the foregoing passage, the first three sentences Sio uzungu, Ndio kuiga uzungu tena and Basi sisi si wazungu are short sentences, in the sense that each of them has a single clause. The next sentence after these, i.e.
sentence (4) is long, it is a co-ordinate sentence.
This is interrupted by a short sentence (5), and is
followed by a long co-ordinated sentence (6). The next
three sentence that follow, that is sentences (7),(8)
and (9) are again short. Sentence (7), for example has
four words, sentence (8) has two and sentence (9) has three
words. These are followed by three other long sentences
(11),(12) and (13) and the passage ending in two short
sentences.

The first sentences are assertions. That it is an
alien influence that has been responsible for the behavioural
change in her daughter is an undeniable fact to her. And
she must, therefore, take pains to explain to her why she
thinks it is undesirable for her to ape the aliens. To
enable her to do this effectively she employs long sentences.
Thus sentences (4),(5) and (6) are long. They are meant
to emphasize and stress the differences between Ma Tatu's
cultural values and those of the Europeans. They thus
become foregrounded. Sentences (7),(8) and (9) are again
short, they are assertions stating the differences between
the African and the European Culture. The next three
sentences are long because Ma Tatu is exhorting and warning
Tatu. She is almost pleading with her to heed her advice.
The long sentences are, therefore, meant to have a certain
effect upon Tatu, may be to convince her to change her
attitudes. The last sentence is short and therefore
carries an emphatic impact. It is a threat ameliorated
with maternal warning.

The effect of long sentences in the play is particularly felt when Baba Tatu is explaining to his wife how she should have handled Tatu’s issue, (page 17).

"......Mke wangu (anamweleza) mambo namna hii hayataki hasira - bali busara, siasa. Mwarabu alitutawala sisi, na sisi tukafuata tabia zake na mila zake. Nitazame mie navaa kofia na kanzu - au asili yako wewe, au watani wako, walivaa buibui au mtandio? Sisi hatukuwa kama wazee wetu. Basi na watoto wetu vile vile....."

(...........My wife (he explains her) such issues need tact and wisdom. The Arab colonized us, and we took to his habits and customs. Look at me, I have on a hat and a kanzu - or have you, or your relatives traditionally worn buibuis and a veil. We are not like our ancestors. Similarly our children).

The long sentences are able to bring out effectively the philosophical argument in Baba Tatu’s mind. The effect of this, in the context of the whole play is to portray Baba Tatu as a wise man, a reconciliator and mediator between the two opposing camps, that is, that of Tatu on one hand, and that of her mother on the other. This effect is carried through the places in which Baba Tatu appears in the play particularly so in page 27.
4.4.2 Questioning as a Foregrounding Device

In this play questions play quite a significant role as far as foregrounding is concerned. *Wakati Ukuta* is a play based on arguments, conflict of interest and confrontations, and questions when set against statements, have an emphatic effect. In this section we want to consider both straightforward and rhetorical questions. We shall treat the latter in the sense described by Leech (1969:184). According to him these are questions that do not expect answers. First we will examine the effects of questioning where the fact of deviation is given by rarity:

MAMA: Toka lini ukaenda sinema usiku?

What has been happening before the foregoing words have been spoken is that Tatu has told her mother that she would like to go to see a film show at night. Apparently, as the conversation itself goes, the mother is objecting to this idea, a fact which is well brought out through the use of rhetorical questions.
The opening sentence is an example of a rhetorical question. Its reply is not usually given in a text but instead seems to be elicited from the reader himself. The effect of this is to create a dramatic effect, shifting the dialogue from between the characters in the text to between a character and the reader. Apart from its being artistic, this shift, which literally involves the reader's participation in a text, also affords him with a chance of a better understanding of the message being put across by the writer. Thus for example, in the case of the rhetorical question being discussed, three things are expressed.

First, it becomes clear to the reader that normally Tatu does not go to films at night. Secondly, Tatu's proposal has surprised her. And thirdly, the mother is displeased with it and warns that it should be discouraged.

The next question, also an example of a rhetorical device, is meant to impress on the reader's mind the family's financially precarious position; so that as Ma Tatu asks: "Kwanza pesa za kukupa wewe kila Jumapili ziko wapi?" the reader is meant to understand that there is no money. It then becomes obvious to him that the family is sacrificing a lot by giving Tatu money to go to films, something that Tatu does not seem to appreciate. This message is further stressed and re-emphasized when Ma Tatu asks at the end of her conversation: pesa zenyewe ziko wapi?
In the following examples we will look at the effects created by employing questions in succession, that is in using one question after another.

For instance:

**BABA:** Ama akili mali kweli
Sasa katika kumfukuza huku wewe ndio hupati aibu? Jee akaenda kazi maklabu ya pombe, akikutana na wahuni huko wewe hujapata aibu? Ila aibu utakayopata wewe ikiwa akenda sinema na rafiki wa kiwae tu? (p. 16)

(Surely it is a virtue to be wise. Now in driving her away, don’t you get ashamed? Suppose she went away to work in a bar and became associated with vagabonds wouldn’t you be ashamed? Or do you get ashamed? Only when she goes to a film with a boyfriend?)

Apart from the first sentences which is declarative, all the rest are questions. Here, Baba Tatu, while not losing his philosophical stand, is questioning his wife’s wisdom in driving Tatu away. He is almost chiding her but at the same time effectively bringing her to the realization of her folly. The foregrounding of these questions emphasizes the rationality of Baba Tatu and lays bare the naivety of Na Tatu. Now let us look at the last example:

(And he is taking you to a film show - why should he pay for you? How does he know you? Is he your father? Who is he? Tell me! Do you think he is taking the trouble of taking you to the film for nothing? You are now a grown up, can't you think?)

These questions have been foregrounded to express the apprehension Ma Tatu has for boys. In this instance Ma Tatu is scolding her daughter, trying to impress on her that there can never be any innocent relationship between a boy and a girl. To her all boys are evil and devoid of good intentions. The aim apparently is to instill fear into Tatu so that she may get scared of associating with boys. Every time Ma Tatu asks a question this notion seems to be stressed and she becomes convinced that Tatu will understand. Thus it can be seen that whenever questions are employed in the play, the effect is to give the reader an insight to some underlying information about the events and characters in it. And in this way the reader gets to understand the text better.
4.4.3 Parallelism

After looking at the effect of questions, now we want to look at the effect of parallelism in the play. We shall first discuss the device in the passage below, when Kristina, a girl-friend of Tatu has visited the latter’s home:


(Of course you cannot be blamed for this. Now don’t you want to tell me where they stay. Look here! Today it is marriage tomorrow it will be divorce. Should this happen, where will Tatu go? However, this is her place; this is her home. Whatever could happen, we are her parents. She may forsake, abuse or even annoy us but blood is thicker than water. Whatever she does she will still be our daughter. She cannot be otherwise. That is my message to her through you.)

Of interest in the foregoing quote is the parallelistic feature: leo kuna kuona, kesho kuna kuachana, which is an syntactic parallelism. In the cited example, the parallelism occurs because leo kuna kuona, is repeated
structurally as *kesho kuna kuachana*. The latter not only functions as a complement of the former but also as its antithesis. Thus *leo* is antithetically employed with *kesho* and *kuoana* is antithetically employed with *kuachana*. The effect is to emphasize the contradictory nature of life which Baba Tatu, the philosopher, is apparently very much aware of. It also expresses his emotions, particularly his attachment to his daughter. These emotions are further re-emphasized when he poses a rhetorical question to Kristina: *Jee likitokea la kutokea, Tatu atakwenda wapi?* This question is charged with very high emotional content. Baba Tatu is persuading and urging Kristina to tell him the whereabouts of Tatu. He is almost pleading with her, making her realize how concerned he is. This concern is also highlighted by the employment of the alliterated verbs: *atutupe, atutukane,* and *atubugudhi* in succession. The impression the reader gets is that although Baba Tatu is sympathetic about the whole issue he is also bitter about it.

Another instance of a parallelistic feature occurs when Kristina makes her first entrance in the play. She says;

**KRISTINA:** Mtoto vile vile ni mtu. *Sio kama*

nakuvunjia heshima, lakini watu wa humu pwani wanamfanya mtoto kama mzigo, hasa mtoto wa kike. *Nnamlutika futika na kumficha, Akitaka kwenda huku hapana*
(A child is also a human being. It is not that I wish to be rude to you but you coast people treat children, especially girls, like a burden. You hide them, and make it impossible for them to feel free. Whenever she wants to go anywhere you refuse her permission. You refuse her to do anything she likes. You even choose a husband for her.)

We are directing our attention to Akitaka kwenda huku hapana, which is rhythmically repeated as akitaka kufanya hiki hana ruhusa. The parallelistic feature in this case is constituted by the structure (NP) VP Dem Adv in the former repeated in the same way in the latter. The message that is apparently being put to the reader is that Coast people give undue protection to their children, especially girls. This according to Kristina should not be the case, which probably implies that she thinks Tatu is justified in her action. Before we leave Kristina alone, we would like to point out what to us is an example of irony.

Kristina starts off by saying that she does not intend to show disrespect to Baba Tatu. This is quite in order, since the former, as we are told is Tatu's age-mate and, therefore, according to custom she would be expected to accord him the same respect as she would have accorded her own father. However, despite this realization, Kristina's
conversation shows a lot of disrespect. It is not conceivable, for instance, that Kristian will tell Baba Tatu words which imply that he does not know how to bring up children, seeing that Kristiana herself is a child. Culturally this is wrong. This however shows how confused the youths are by the myth of modernization. They forget that they are expected to respect their elders and that they cannot utter words which would be seen, either explicitly or implicitly to be disrespectful. It is, therefore, ironical that Kristina should realize this fact and then go along and utter disrespectful words to Baba Tatu.

In another instance the playwright has quite effectively brought out the intense emotions of a character through the use of parallelism. This is especially so when Tatu speaks after the disagreement with her husband Swai. She says:

negative verb, hatukujuwa (we did not know) gives the passage an atmosphere of solemnity, creating an impression that given a chance, Tatu would be ready to confess her ignorance of the realities of life.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this study our attention has been paid to the effect of the stylistic devices of deviation and foregrounding in some chosen Kiswahili literary texts. Attention has been paid to the way language is manipulated to serve both the artistic as well as the communicative function in the texts. In order to come to grips with the problem, several issues have had to be discussed and clarified, among them the concept of style.

The thesis has shown that although there are several ways of approaching style, ultimately style is a unified concept revolving around a common phenomenon – language use. Most of the stylistic concepts, therefore, show considerable interrelatedness because all of them have expressive import. In consonant with this observation, the thesis attempted to show in what way the terms deviation and foregrounding are related to other stylistic concepts such as register, personal idiosyncrasy, expressiveness and choice.

The thesis also discussed the concepts of deviation, foregrounding and norm at a great length, the aim being to acquaint the reader with the various interpretations of the terms. Therefore, after looking at the definitions and the way the terms are related to literature we came out with the following conclusions:

1. That deviation is an important subvariety of foregrounding.
2. That by defining foregrounding in Halliday's sense the analyst is capable of circumscribing all the aspects of term, and that the difference between deviation and foregrounding can be made.

3. That deviation and foregrounding are not employed by literary writers for their own sake but for the purpose of communication. Through out the thesis we attempted to show the communicative effect of the two concepts.

4. That the norm is a relative concept; its establishment depends upon the several context a literary text partakes.

The methodological implication of equating style with language use is that a text can be approached from a linguistic point of view. In this study we have attempted to show that although linguistic techniques are a useful tool, they are not adequate enough to enable an analyst to arrive at a comprehensive analysis of a text. Thus our approach to the study of deviation and foregrounding has been eclectic, involving not only general linguistics but also its branches: sociolinguistics and pragmatics, and literary criticism.

The contribution of the thesis, probably lies in its ability to show that, first, a literary text can be analysed linguistically. Secondly that, although the expressive ability of a writer is through language, the effectiveness of his expression depends on the way he
creatively makes use of the language, reflecting his originality as well. Through the study of deviation and foregrounding we have attempted to show that it is possible for the writer to exploit the formal aspect of the language for communicative purposes. That is to say we have attempted to show that the more a writer is capable of manipulating language the more he is able to pass his message to the reader more effectively. In this way, the reader is enabled to get a deeper understanding of that given text.

The thesis has attempted to show in what way language can be put into creative usage for communication purposes at the phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic levels.

The thesis concentrated more on graphological deviation and foregrounding than on phonological deviation and foregrounding. We have shown, for example, in what way capitalization and italicization could be used for foregrounding effect. The thesis found little to talk about on phonological manifestations of deviation and foregrounding because most of the examples, particularly of alliteration, seem to be existing because they are also a reflection of concordial agreement in sentences.

The thesis also found much to talk about at the lexical level and semantic levels. This is because the radical violations of grammar which result in metaphorical
usages and personification were treated as examples of deep structure violations and therefore discussed under semantic deviation and foregrounding.

At the lexical level the thesis looked at the effects created by employing foreign words, code mixing, lexical repetition and lexical prominence. The thesis also examined the writers' effort to enrich the language through the use of neologism and dialectal usages. But in most cases, and particularly in the case of Asa Li Chungu we found it difficult to determine such usages because the writer's vocabulary in the text reflects a usage of words that are local, in the sense that are used predominantly in the environment of the writer. The thesis therefore concentrated on lexical repetition and prominence which seem to have been significantly exploited by all the writers of the texts we have examined.

At the grammatical level the thesis looked at the effects created by employing short, long sentences and questions. Much of the discussion in this section was on parallelism which also has been significantly employed all the writers.

At the semantic level the thesis has shown that apart from metaphors and personification which have strong descriptional ability of feelings and events in the works we have examined, there are also other devices such
as antithesis, similes and symbolism that have equally strong communicative force. There seemed to be more metaphors in Asali Chungu than in the other texts.

Generally studies on deviation and foregrounding offer wide area of study than what has been discussed in this thesis. That we have restricted ourselves to only a limited area is because we wanted to highlight some of the aspects of the concepts more adequately. Other interesting aspects of deviation and foregrounding that could be studied are those related to theme, character and plot deviation. These however would suit more prose works than drama and poetry.
FOOT NOTES

1. Generally all language is meaningful when choice is possible. In stylistics however, choice gives a writer more flexibility in the stylistic use of language.

2. Text here is being used in the sense of Halliday that it may be spoken or written, prose or verse, dialogue or monologue. It may be anything from a single proverb to a whole play. It is a unit of language.

3. The works being referred to here are:
   Adili na nduguze
   Kufikirika,
   Kusadikilla
   Utubora Mkulima
   Maisha yangu baada ya miaka hamsini.
   Diwani ya Siti Binti Saadi

4. An example of such poets are as already mentioned Ebrahim Hussein, and Mazrui in Chembe cha Hoyo, poems to be published soon.

5. Since the time this article was written, Mazrui has changed his mind about these views. He now feels that it is proper for the new forms to be let to develop.

6. We are told of a story by Ali Jemader that during the second war people in Mombasa sacrificed seven virgins in order to avert any disaster or the town. As a result it was Malindi town that was bombed instead of Mombasa.
7. Playwriting, especially in Kenya dates only as far back as 1933 when Henry Kuria wrote Nakupenda Lakini. Apart from plays written for schools drama there are very few published Swahili plays.

8. For example Akong'i. (see a paper entitled Social Training Strategies: The Swahili of Old Town 1980:4) says about dressing that: "women above the age of puberty, dress in a black cloak-buibui, on top of ordinary clothes. The buibui is a loose cloak designed to cover the whole body, except the eyes, arms and ankles, and is a symbol of female chastity."
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