THE PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN IN SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS: A LEXICAL PRAGMATIC APPROACH

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my original work and to the best of my knowledge it has not been previously submitted for any of the study programmes in any institution of higher education. I further declare that all sources cited in this research are indicated and acknowledged by a comprehensive list of references.

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Declaration by Supervisors

This Research Proposal has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisor(s).

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DEDICATION

To God Almighty - Thank you for the good health, knowledge, wisdom, strength and above all life. I thank you for the providence and for making my dream come true.

To my husband- Moses Kololi. Your love, tireless support, unceasing prayers that has taught me to endure good and hard times in life.

To my parents Maurice Simiyu and Zipetah Makonjo. You taught us the value of education and hard work in life. Thank you for filling our lives with love and protection.

To my sons Wayne Johnstone and Adrian Liru. Your presence in my life has always made me strong and optimistic. Without you, I would have given up on the way.

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ABSTRACT

This project presented a linguistic study on the lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The study sought to find out how these lexical items portray men and women. The selected songs mainly used figurative language in communicating their message. Chapter one provides the introduction, the background to the study, the background to the language, statement of the problem, objectives and hypotheses, scope and limitations, theoretical framework, literature review and methodology. Chapter two discussed the linguistic strategies used by singers in portraying men and women. The chapter discussed strategies like the use of tabooed words and euphemism. It also discussed the various figurative elements which include metaphors, symbolism and irony. Chapter three focused on how men and women have been portrayed in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The chapter carefully and selectively discussed a whole range of figurative language used in selected songs. The figurative language used is borrowed from different areas of experience. The study found that singers in selected Bukusu circumcision songs use euphemistic and appealing lexical items when referring to men and denigrating and sharp edged descriptions when referring to women. To help in analyzing the lexical items, chapter four made use of the lexical pragmatic approach rounded in relevance theory. The selection of the theory based on the understanding that context takes a major role in determining the intention of the singers in the songs. The chapter examined the meanings of several lexical items used figuratively in selected songs. By using the lexical pragmatic approach, the study attempted to determine the intention of the singers (speakers) in using different figurative language. The findings show that the lexical items used in selected songs are a transfer of meaning which acquire activation through encyclopedic entries, contextual implications and pragmatic expectations or principles. Some of the aspects analyzed include metaphors, symbolism and irony.Finally in chapter five a summary of the findings and recommendations was presented. The recommendation provides us with a suggestion for further research.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the general background of the research problem is presented. The issues discussed include: background to the study of the problem and language, a statement of the problem, research objectives, hypotheses, justification, and scope of the study, theoretical framework, literature review and methodology.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Every period in life is determined by music of its time, almost like an imprint that reflects cultural reality always striving for aesthetics (Izushima and Ramirez 2010:1). Music is truly a narrator of what human beings have gone through and still evolving to become. Therefore without music, the life span will be shortened because our ability to bring out our emotions will be limited and that would be directly linked to our mental and physical health. Akombo et al (2010:20) observes that singing and dancing are an integral part of African culture. Most songs have deep expressions and employ figurative language. Vikiru et al (2014:20) states that songs serve the function of teaching, mourning, entertaining, criticizing, soothing, consoling, thanking, expressing love and inspiring people in a particular community. Songs are classified according to the situation in which they are sung (Vikiru et al (2014:20)). For instance; child birth, naming, lullabies, initiation, wedding and so on. Initiation songs and particularly circumcision songs are of our main interest in our study. These songs play an important role in African culture and particularly to the Bukusu people.

Circumcision songs among the Bukusu people have perhaps been studied in different fields. Wanyama (2006:11) investigated the form, content and performance of Bukusu circumcision music, which gave it cultural meaning and social relevance. Unlike Wanyama, Were (2014:3) looks at how Imbalu (Bukusu initiation rite) can be considered as both drama and education. His study looks at the rite of passage as a process of transition. Simiyu (2011:6) on the other hand examined the socio-cultural significance of Chinyimbo chie sikhebo (circumcision songs) among the Babukusu focusing on contemporary issues surrounding them but relevant to the Babukusu culture.

It is important to note that these works by Were, Wanyama and Simiyu are not exclusively linguistic. A study of songs from other communities like Kalenjin, Dholuo, Kipsigis and so on have been sporadically discussed by Koech (2013), Omollo (2014) and Keter (2013) using a lexical pragmatic approach , but to date no systematic study of this approach has been made on Bukusu circumcision songs.

In the light of this it becomes necessary to find out how men and women are portrayed in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. This study aims to study how men and women are portrayed in the songs and especially by analyzing the figurative language used within a lexical pragmatic framework.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE LANGUAGE

Bukusu is a dialect of the Luyia Language. It is spoken in Western province and Rift Valley Province, specifically in Bungoma District (Western Province) and Trans-Nzoia district (Rift Valley Province), (Angogo 1983). The Bukusu are one of the seventeen sub-tribes that comprise the Luyia cluster of interlacustrine Bantu tribes of Eastern Africa (Wanyama 2006). Other sub tribes are Batiriki, Barakoli, Banyole, Bakhayo, Bamaraki, Banyala, Basamia, Babesukha, Babetakho, Bakisa, Bachocho, Bakabrasi, Batachoni, Bawanga, Bamarama, and Barechea.

Although many Bukusu people have embraced western faiths such as Islam, Christianity and so on, there are many adherents to traditional religious beliefs (Were 2010). These traditional beliefs, practices and norms pervade the initiation rites and normally come to the fore during the initiation season. Imbalu, Bukusu initiation rite, is believed to be a traditional practice which the young Bukusu men must undergo before taking up the roles of adult members in the society. According to Were (2010), this practice prepares the youth for eventual life in the community and orientates them to practice the norms and values of the society.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The portrayal of women in many communities has been contested as being biased to their true position. Their invaluable contributions to the development of families also continue to fascinate the intellectual. Hussein (2004:103) states that, among the myriad ways, language and culture play a great role in creating and reflecting gendered culture in a society. While in other societies, songs are used to bring out the difference. According to Wanyama (2006), many African ceremonies go hand in hand with music. Circumcision is one of the African ceremonies. Circumcision in the modern world can be carried out in hospital but some families appreciate that it is not just the surgery that matters rather it is an important time to teach the soon-to-be adults their role and responsibilities to the family and community (Akombo et al 2010:24). As a result, the ceremonies are still partaken and the usual song and pomp is not lost. Circumcision songs are thus sung during the period leading to circumcision, after circumcision and during the big ceremony to celebrate the achievement and install the graduates officially as men in the community (Akombo et al 2010). The dominant assumptions about gender relations infiltrate into social contexts including circumcision songs.

In this study therefore, we set out to analyze the lexical items used to portray men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Although Bukusu circumcision songs exhibits pertinent linguistic variations, studies show that zero studies have been done on the figurative language used to portray men and women. Our goal was mainly to analyze lexical items, study how they portray men and women and also find out if these lexical items can be accounted for in a lexical pragmatic approach.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To analyze the lexical items employed in selected Bukusu circumcision songs
2. To study the portrayal of men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs
3. To account for the cultural significance and the relationship between the two genders as brought out in selected Bukusu circumcision songs using a lexical pragmatic approach

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The hypotheses to be tested in the study are:

1. There are certain lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs that communicate different messages to the recipients

2. The lexical items and the figurative use of language in selected Bukusu circumcision songs portray men and women though at varying degrees

3. The cultural significance of the selected songs and the relationship between men and women as brought out in selected Bukusu circumcision songs can be analyzed in a lexical pragmatic approach

1.5 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Modern technological developments, the growth of towns and industries and religion have contributed to changes in the ways of life, attitudes and interests in African commuities (Wanyama 2006). These changes have given rise to new concerns and by extend to the new performance styles. Despite the changes, traditional Bukusu circumcision songs embody aspects of social control that are worthy preserving for the future generation. This study is important therefore as it shall analyze the lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs and this can be preserved in an academic manner for future comparison. For instance, comparing the lexical items used to portray women and men in the current Bukusu society and the lexical items that will be used in the same songs in future.

Studies have generally been done again on Bukusu circumcision cultural belief but there is hardly any study that specifically looks at how the lexical items used in the songs portray men and women. This research therefore seeks to add knowledge by analyzing the lexical items used to portray men and women in selected circumcision songs using a lexical pragmatic approach. Our research should also offer baseline information particularly to researchers in linguistics wishing to understand lexical items used in Bukusu circumcision songs. The research will also provide insights to researchers in other related fields like ethnomusicology, literature, history, sociology, and anthropology.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Various lexical items employed in songs condemn activities practiced in the society that are against the societal values. The manner in which men are condemned is different from the manner in which women are condemned. The study will focus on how the linguistically specified word meanings used to portray men and women are modified in use. These will be done by looking at what is implied in the lexical items rather than what is said. The study will also examine the moral implications associated with the selected songs. The major processes of lexical pragmatic theory of narrowing and broadening will be used. Under lexical broadening, the various processes of metaphorical extension and symbolism will be looked at. The study will also look at irony from a lexical pragmatic approach.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.7.1 INTRODUCTION

Lexical pragmatics is an area of linguistics that studies the processes by which linguistically – specified (factual) word meanings are tailored in use (Blutner, 1998:115). This is significant because in communication, words are regularly used in ways that depart from their 'literal' meanings, that is, the meaning assigned to them by the grammar (Omollo 2014:5). To understand the interpretation of the difference between the encoded concepts and the communicated concept, one must understand ad hoc concepts.

1.7.2 AD HOC CONCEPTS

Ad hoc concepts are considered as the essence of lexical pragmatics. They cannot be understood without a relevance theoretic account. Ad hoc concepts refer to a communicated concept that can only be accessed in a given context through the process of pragmatic inference. An ad hoc idea is an occasion – specific notion , based on the relations among contextual information, encoded concepts and pragmatic expectations or values (Wilson and Carston 2007:1) .

Ad hoc concepts were therefore important in the analysis and interpretation of the figurative language used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The concept of context

was important in studying these songs especially in inferring meaning from the figurative language used.

In Relevance Theory, ad hoc concepts are presented in capital letters with an asterisk. For example, let's consider the following utterance using an animal metaphor taken from one of the Bukusu circumcision songs.

1) *Sumba khumabuli. (A true circumcised man on termites)*

From the above example, the hearer will search for information which would make the sentence appropriate. The concept communicated by the word 'kamabuli' is different from the lexical meaning of the word. The concept 'KAMABULI' will be loosened to the ad hoc concept KAMABULI*. The hearer will therefore look for encyclopedic entries about kamabuli. This will help the hearer understand the utterance. For example, the encyclopedic information about kamabuli includes the following information:

a)   *They are tiny creatures*

b)   *They are edible by human beings, animals and birds*

c)   *They appear only during evening hours*

d)   *They are helpless animals*

e)   *They are source of proteins to human beings*

The hearer is able to infer the speakers meaning from evidence provided by the sentence and the context. Depending on the context of the utterance above, the hearer may rule out (d) and (e). The termites may be said to be tiny insects that appear during evening hours and are eaten by other animals. In this study, the lexical pragmatic approach helped us in understanding how context influences the use and comprehension of the coded concept of the lexical terms used in the figurative language in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Two lexical pragmatic processes that adjust the original concept expressed to the ad hoc concept; lexical narrowing and lexical broadening were employed.

1.7.3 LEXICAL NARROWING

Lexical narrowing involves the use of an expression to put across a more specific sense than the encoded one, with a more controlled denotation (selecting a subset of the objects that fall beneath the encoded concept). Narrowing may take place to divergent degrees, and in diverse directions (Maruenda 2003-2004: 58). According to Maruenda, some approaches within lexical semantics sustain that the diverse senses of a polysemous expression can be controlled by means of semantic operators sensitive to the linguistic context, without falling back on pragmatics. Therefore, it is sometimes the combinatorial peculiarities of the semantics of the verb and the noun that contribute to the stereotypical interpretations. For instance, Maruenda (2003-2004:58) gives the following examples:

2) *Mary (to John): OPEN the bottle. (Stereotypical interpretation: uncork the bottle)*

3) *John walked towards the door a minute ago. (Stereotypical interpretation: He did it in a normal, stereotypical way).*

Nevertheless, according to Maruenda, the factual uses of these verbs may converse quite different concepts in particular situations, the linguistic background being simply inadequate to account for the wide array of possible interpretations. For instance (Maruenda 2003-2004:59):

4) *Mary (giving John a hammer): OPEN the bottle. (Intended interpretation: open the bottle by hitting its neck).*

5) *Mary is looking for John, who is knocking back booze: Have you seen John?*

   PETER: John <u>walked</u> towards the door a minute ago (possible intended interpretation:

  John STAGGERED towards the door a minute ago).

According to Relevance Theory, the pragmatic procedure of narrowing for (3) and (4) may advance along the following lines (Maruenda 2003-2004). Having accessed the lexical concepts *OPEN* and *WALK* in the specified context, which makes accessible their encyclopedic and logical information , the hearer uses a division of this information to

build the more specific (ad hoc) concepts **OPEN*** and **WALK***, in a relevance representational manner, in the exploration for cognitive effects. The extension of the notion pragmatically is a subset of the extension of the lexical concept from which it has been derived and it may comprise assumptions about opening bottles by hitting their necks and ways of walking when one is drunk, respectively. The fact that the anticipated concept can be part of the propositional substance has some important consequences. In the first place, given the context, it is probable that the assumptions "opening the bottle by hitting its neck" and "staggering towards the door" will be more highly accessible than the prototypical ones. According to Maruenda (2003-2004:58), following the principle of relevance, the hearer adds the lexical entry of this newly built concept to the propositional form and its encyclopedic entry to the context and starts deriving cognitive effects. Provided that these assumptions give arise to a satisfactory range of cognitive effects, the narrowed concept is attributed as the intended one and the process should stop.

Below is an illustration of lexical narrowing:

Encoded concept

Communicated concept
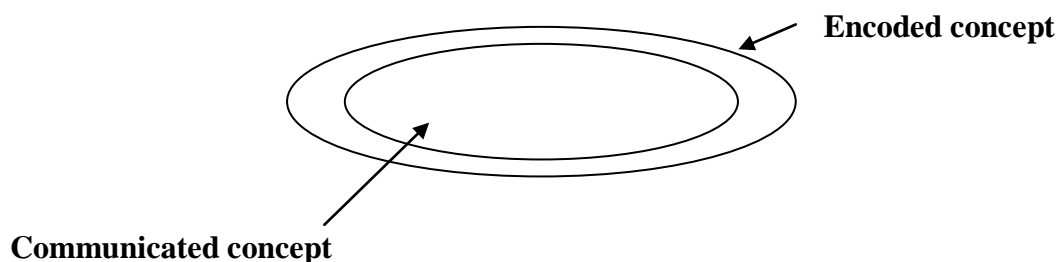
Source: Wilson (2006:2)

From the diagram above, what is communicated is the specific concept. It changes its meaning depending on context, for instance, according to (Maruenda 2003-2004: 59) there may be several possible degrees of narrowing where <u>bird</u> is narrowed in different ways, in different contexts like:

6 a) *As I worked in the garden, a BIRD perched on my spade.*

a)   <u>*BIRDS*</u> *wheeled above the waves.*

b) *At Christmas, the <u>BIRD </u>was delicious.* (Carston 2002 adapted)

In diverse cultures the notion BIRD is conceptualized as having the conventional property 'fly', whereas in others (e.g. Eskimos) this property is demoted in meaning. In addition, frequency of exposure to certain objects in a class will affect ideal judgments; for example, the more you reflect on sparrows as typical birds. However, from the Chinese point of analysis swans and peacocks are ranked as the most distinctive members.

Thus, lexical narrowing as illustrated above is a quite flexible process since the encoded meaning may be narrowed to a different degree and in different directions depending on the background of use or on the particular time of use.

1.7.4 LEXICAL BROADENING

In lexical broadening an utterance is used to communicate a more general sense than the determined one, with a resultant expansion of the linguistically – specified denotation (Muyuku **2009:15).**

Below is an illustration of lexical broadening:

Communicated concept

Encoded concept
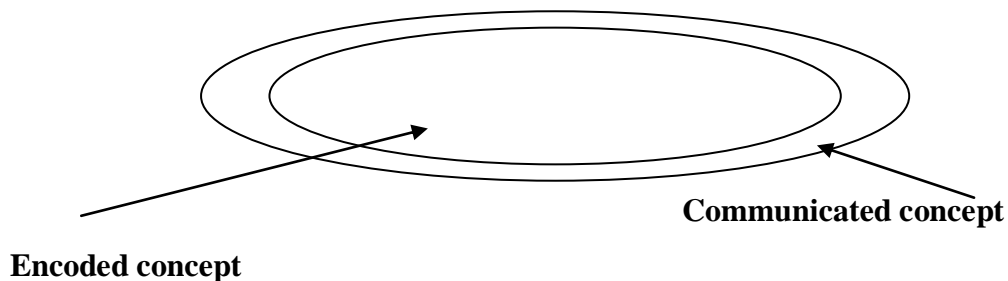
Source: Wilson (2006:3)

In the diagram above, the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning assigned by the grammar (Wilson 2006). The aim of concept broadening is to see how relevance – theoretic inferential process of ad hoc concept construction works for loose, imprecise or figurative uses of language (Maruenda 2003-2004:61). In cases of concept broadening, at least one of the inferential rules (or meaning postulated) must be dropped to apply the concept to objects or referents' not falling under it's linguistically – specified denotation.

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There are various processes that fall under lexical broadening. They include approximation, category extensions, hyperbole, neologism, metaphorical extension and pun like structures. Our research limited itself to the analysis of metaphorical extensions, symbolism and irony as used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

1.7.4.1 METAPHOR

A metaphor is a form of broadening where the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning i.e. the meaning communicated by the use of a particular word differs from the linguistically encoded or literal meaning assigned by the grammar. For example:

6) Nasimiyu endemu mubunyasi.

   (Nasimiyu is a snake in the grass)

The determined meaning of the lexical item 'endemu' is the notion ENDEMU, which denotes animals of a definite kind. In suitable circumstances, however, might be metaphorically used to communicate that Nasimiyu, who is not exactly a 'SNAKE', has a capacity of using tricks and dishonesty to get what she wants (sly).

On the kind of approach we imagine, this metaphorical use would be seen as concerning an expansion from the group SNAKE to the group SNAKE*, which includes both real SNAKES and those people who share with snakes the encyclopedic property of having ability to cheat. A metaphor is therefore a form of broadening in which the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning (Cuddon 1979).

The diagram below adapted from Wilson (2006: 5-6) illustrates this;-

Encoded concept

Communicated concept
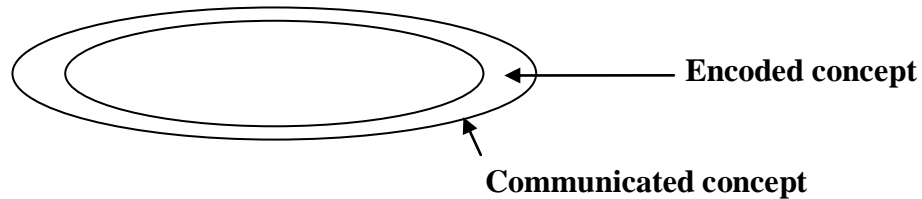
1.7.4.2 IRONY

Irony refers to one thing being said when the opposite is implied (Alembi 1999). If for example I have a shaggy unkempt hair and somebody says to me, 'what a unique hairstyle you have!' The utterance would be ironic. Instead of rejoicing at the compliment, I would get upset. (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08) availed an account of irony, which makes it possible to see how irony may be both ordinary and widespread.

1.7.4.2.1 Irony as echoic interpretative use

According Wilson 2007-2008, in irony the speaker indirectly quotes or alludes to feelings that she/ he tacitly attributes to someone else, which he/ she wishes to make fun of or distance herself from in some way. On this approach, ironical utterances fall jointly with other uses of words to report, interpret or represent the thoughts or utterances of others and communicate the speaker's attitude to the attributed thoughts. This argument can be studied in a more detail way using a variety of ironical interpretations as below:

1.7.4.2.1.1 Descriptive and Interpretive uses of language

Several utterances can be understood in two diverse ways; as expressing the speaker's personal opinion, or as representing an idea the speaker tacitly attributes to someone else (or to herself at another time) (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08) . For instance:

7 a) Wafula: Are you planning to marry soon?

   b) Wekesa: Yes. But not from Babuyes clan.

In saying (but not from Babuyes clan) Wekesa could be expressing his individual observation of the clan; or he could be alluding to a song sung about the clan. In Relevance theory, these differences are analyzed in terms of characteristic between descriptive and interpretive uses of thought or language. Descriptive use is the habitual use of a thought or an utterance to represent a state of associations in the world as when in (10b) Wekesa could have expressed his individual idea about the clan. Interpretive use is the use of a thought or an utterance to represent another utterance or thought which it resembles in content, as when Wekesa in (10b) could be alluding to a song sung about the Babuye clan. Similarity in content is a subject of degree: in (10b) for example, Wekesa may be summarizing the content of the song, reproducing it or merely loosely paraphrasing it.

When communicating interpretively, the speaker's aim is not to make an accurate assertion about the world, but to give a faithful enough explanation of the represented thought or utterance. In order to comprehend Wekesa's utterance properly, the hearer must choose on which of these two uses he had in mind (interpretive versus descriptive use).

1.7.4.2.1.2 Irony as echoic use

At times – e.g. in simultaneous interpretation or translation - the point of an interpretive expression is merely to let the hearer know what someone else has thought or said (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). The communicator's personal judgment of these thoughts is not expected to add much to the relevance of her expression. At other times, the major point of an interpretive utterance may be to communicate the speaker's attitude to the attributed utterance or thought. For instance:

8 a) *William: You know what; I met Jane at the market.*

b) *John: Hmm, Jane? The one who likes kaimati (doughnut)?*

By repeating the name Jane, John is not informing William of what he has just said, but showing that he knows her and he indicates what he is thinking about her via intonation or facial expression. Such utterances, whose significance depends mainly on the speakers expressed feelings to an attributed thought or utterance, are echoic.

In summary we can say that an adequate account of lexical pragmatics and irony, like utterance explanation in general, is guided by expectations of relevance. Relevance is defined as a study of utterances and other inputs to cognitive processes (e.g. external stimuli such as sounds and internal representations such as memories of inferences and thoughts). An input is important to a person when it connects with existing contextual assumptions to give up positive cognitive effects (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08).

Relevance theory makes two broad claims about the role of relevance in communication and cognition. According to the cognitive theory of Relevance, human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). According to this theory, utterances are unique among cognitive inputs in that they increase expectations or presumptions of relevance in their addresses. The fundamental claim of the relevance based account of pragmatic processing is that what is addressed obtain the fact that the speaker has a sentence with certain linguistic connotation as a clue to the speaker intentions, and use a clue to the speaker's intentions, and the following heuristic to obtain a warranted conclusion about the speakers connotation, Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08).

Relevance – theoretic comprehension heuristic:

a)   Follow a path of least effort in constructing an interpretation of the utterance.

b)   Stop when your expectation of relevance is satisfied (Wilson 2007-2008).

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies that have been done on Bukusu circumcision songs which are not linguistic in nature include the structure, content and presentation of Bukusu circumcision music, which gave it cultural meaning and social relevance by (Wanyama 2006), how Imbalu (Bukusu initiation rite) can be considered as both drama and education by (Were 2014), the socio-cultural importance of Chinyimbo chie sikhebo (circumcision songs) among the Babukusu focusing on current issues surrounding them but relevant to the Babukusu

culture by (Simiyu 2011) and so on. Although these works provide historical and cultural descriptions of the language of the Bukusu circumcision songs, the studies were important to our research especially in interpreting some lexical words which have been employed in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

Muniafu (2012) analyzed Lubukusu metaphors using relevance theory. This is one of the significant studies on Bukusu language. Muniafu gave a classification of metaphors with examples drawn from Lubukusu. Through lexical pragmatics, the study illustrated how the audience understands utterances communicated through use of metaphors. This study was relevant to our research in analyzing the metaphors employed in Bukusu circumcision songs from a lexical pragmatic approach. The study gave us the insights of these metaphors and through them we were able to see how men and women have been portrayed.

Aduda (2013) provided a pragmatic analysis of Dholuo neologisms within the framework of Relevance Theory. His study was based on the belief, especially in the Relevance-Theoretical account, which shows a divergence within the meaning linguistically determined by a certain lexical item and the meaning expressed by that lexical item when used in a given occasion. The task of the hearer in communication is to bridge this gap. Though this work mainly looked at neologisms, it was relevant to our research as our research used the processes of lexical broadening in analyzing the lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

Wanyama (2013) presented a linguistic study on Lubukusu jokes. His study followed the framework of Relevancy Theory where it aimed at analyzing Lubukusu jokes through Relevance theoretic framework. In his study he looked at the functions of jokes with their hidden frames of relevance. This study agreed with our present research because we analyzed the figurative language used in Bukusu circumcision songs and showed their functions within lexical pragmatic approach.

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Ochoki (2010) gave the study of Kenyan Hip Hop songs a pragmatic approach. The study looked at the linguistic nature and characteristics of the hip hop songs and their interpretations. She identified the use of lexical items and expressions singers use like lexical choice, borrowing, neology and euphemism and established that context is essential in the interpretation of these expressions. The study used the lexical pragmatic processes of narrowing and broadening to analyze the Kenyan Hip hop consumers' interpretation of non literal words. The study observed that language choice is influenced by social and linguistic factors between interlocutors. The study literally underscores the important role played by context, a key notion of Relevance theory in the interpretation of the lyrics. The study of the lexical items used in Kenyan Hip hop lyrics found out that lexical items used portray women as sex objects whose beauty is an invitation for sex from men. Just like Ochoki's study on Kenyan hip hop lyrics, our study looked at how Bukusu circumcision songs use lexical items to portray men and women. Therefore the study was important to our research.

Kihara and Schroeder (2012) studied mchongoano – a speech event in which playful ritual insults are directed at an opponent or his family. Their study demonstrated that the humorous effect of mchongoano is achieved when the audience recognizes the intention of the speakers to create humor. The intentional violation of world knowledge is brought about through explicatures and, or implicatures, metaphorical extensions, and pragmatic recovery of stereo types, metonymies, and the disambiguation of homonyms in explicatures. The study demonstrated that context and assumptions stored in memory about something or someone are important in interpretation of mchongoano in addition to recognizing the speaker's intention to create humor and not to insult. Lexical items used and how they are used points to the context on the right interpretation. The study showed how metaphorical extensions and metonymies are pragmatically recovered in mchongoano. In analyzing the lexical items used to portray men and women in Bukusu circumcision songs, our research also demonstrated that context and assumptions stored in memory about someone is important in interpretation of the songs. Kihara and Schroeder's study therefore is similar with our study because in the analysis of the

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selected songs, we showed that context and assumptions helps in recognizing the speaker's intention to exalt or insult.

Nyang'acha (2013) studied the relationship between linguistics and literature. His study provided some differences and similarities between linguistics and literature. Two theories of pragmatics (relevance theory, and lexical pragmatics) were reviewed. The figures of speech used in the play, Song of Lawino by Okot P. Bitek (1966) were identified, described, and analyzed using the analytic tools of relevance theory. The aim of his study was to explain how Lawino's audience understands her figurative use of language from a linguistic point. This study was significant to our study in analyzing the figurative language used in the selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

Wanyama (2006) identified, investigated and explained the various structures, forms, meanings and functions of traditional Bukusu circumcision music against the back drop of modernity. By modernity he intended capitalistic and monetary systems. According to him such ideologies are, for instance, embodied in Islam and Christianity. It was suggested that significant virtues embodied in the Bukusu circumcision ritual be included and perpetuated within the contemporary societal trends. This would maintain the social controls that such virtues affect and by extension, stand for in most African Communities. This study was significance to our research since we looked at the content of Bukusu circumcision songs when analyzing the figurative language in the songs.

Keter (2013) looked at the stylistic investigation of the relationship between the portrayal of women and the linguistic style used in contemporary Kipsigis songs. The lexical choices identified in the study included foreign words, neologism, euphemism and other lexical items. Other stylistic devices like figurative language, rhetorical questions and dialogue were also employed in Kipsigis songs. To explicate the style employed in the songs for the portrayal of women, the relevance theoretical notions of comprehension procedure, the cognitive and communicative principle and context enabled the researcher to arrive at the singer's intended and implied meanings of songs. Since our research was looking at the portrayal of men and women in Bukusu circumcision songs, this study was

important to our study. Our research also benefited from this research when employing the tenets of relevance theory in analyzing the figurative language used in Bukusu circumcision songs.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9.1 DATA COLLECTION
The instruments for collecting data for the study were observation schedules, interviews, questionnaire and focus group discussions. The instruments were used to clarify how the way men and women are portrayed in Bukusu circumcision songs and expressed in the society is actually reflected during an active participation in the songs.

1.9.1.1 Observation schedules
Observation involves collection of data and recording without manipulating it. The researcher used systematic observation when listening to some circumcision songs sung by youths and in televisions. These televisions included TV Magharibi and West TV. The purpose of observation in the context of this study was to listen to the lexical items used when the songs are in progress. From it, the researcher deduced the most common lexical items used by singers in selected circumcision songs to portray men and women.

1.9.1.2 Interviews
Our research used the unstructured interview schedule to collect data from individuals who were regarded to hold essential information on Bukusu circumcision songs. In this case the targeted respondents were youths who participated in composing and singing the songs and the elderly members of the society who have undergone various changing phases of the practice of Bukusu circumcision for a period of time. The interview consisted of open ended questions focusing on our objectives. The questions were left open to enable the interviewees to express their feelings and views. The open nature of the unstructured interview led to probing which was used to get deeper information

intended to guided the respondents towards giving data to meet the study objectives. The style of the interview was conversational to make the interview interactive.

1.9.1.3 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a set of questions on a topic or groups of topics designed to be answered by respondent (Richards et al 1992:203). Our research found this instrument to be apt to our study because was free from bias of the interviewer and gave respondents adequate time to give proper answers. The first questionnaire was filled by literate youths of age 14-25 years from three locations from Bungoma East Sub County, that is, Chetambe, Misikhu and Namarambi. This was used to seek first hand information on the message conveyed from the songs since most songs are composed and sung by youths.

The second questionnaire was filled by three old men and three old women of age between 50-70 years from the three sub locations who were also literate. The targeted old people were those deeply rooted in the traditions of Bukusu and understood well the cultural values of the community. This enabled the researcher to come up with the true picture of the societal attitude towards both genders that is normally brought out through their circumcision songs. Some artists like Jua kali have also sung these circumcision songs as part of their music. Their video tapes were much utilized too.

1.9.1.4 Focus group discussions

Three groups consisting of 9 youths (in every group) were chosen from the three locations under study. The chosen groups discussed different topics on how men and women are portrayed in selected Bukusu circumcision songs under the guidance of the researcher.

It was basically a qualitative method in which the researcher, with the help of predetermined guidelines, stimulated free discussion among the participants on the subject under study. The order in which the topics were covered was flexible. At the end, some questions were asked to reveal more in-depth information about the subject of discussion.

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The focus group session was held in a natural setting and in a relaxed manner. The full discussion was recorded on videos and tapes. The researcher also observed feedback from participants and transcribed the complete discussion based on notes and tapes. These transcripts then served as basic songs for our analysis.

1.9.2 SAMPLING OF SONGS

The researcher selected 23 songs from the community using purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999: 50). The subjects are handpicked because they are informative or they possess the distinctive features. In this study the sample size of subjects consisted of 23 circumcision songs, 27 youths and 9 elderly people. The 23 selected songs carried the linguistic devices under the study. The researcher also listened to the recorded songs; recorded live performances then selected songs relevant to the study. The selected songs were then analyzed and examined with the aim of identifying the lexical items and find out which of them carry the linguistic devices under the study.

1.9.3 DATA ANALYSIS

The 23 songs which were found to be carrying the linguistic devices under the study were selected with the aim of establishing which lexical items portray men and women. For this reason, each song was examined and the figures of speech employed in the songs noted and tabulated (eg metaphors, symbolisms and ironies).

The 23 selected songs were then transcribed in the original Bukusu and translated into English. The researchers relied on their encyclopedic knowledge in translating the songs and tried to be as close as possible to the original meaning of the songs. Other native speakers especially the old, of age 50-70 were also consulted. Previous works done on the two languages were also relied on where in doubt especially on the meaning of figures of speech.

CHAPTER TWO

LEXICAL CHOICES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examined the choice of lexical items and the characteristics of the selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The chapter begun with a brief discussion on the choice of lexical items in selected songs. The chapter then explored the various word formation processes of lexical borrowing, compounding and derivation which enhanced our analysis of the use of figurative language in Bukusu circumcision songs. The chapter also discussed different strategies that form the base of the lexical items used in selected songs. These included tabooed words and euphemisms, and figurative language like metaphors, symbolism and irony as used in the songs.

2.1 LEXICAL ITEMS IN BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

The selected Bukusu circumcision songs use language highly evocatively. The social setting of the community provides the choice of lexical items to be used. Shartiely (2005:1) states that the social environment in which people live plays a major role in shaping their attitudes and behavior. It constantly supplies them with information that may influence the way they choose lexical items. This also plays a significant role among the Bukusu community beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be a male or female member of the society.

The lexical items used in the songs are involved in showing aspects of downgrading women and at the same time aspects that exalts men. The songs carefully and selectively engage a whole range of lexical items which are used figuratively.

Basically, the selected Bukusu circumcision songs make use of three main word formation processes which have greatly contributed to the choice of lexical items. The word formation processes include;

2.1.1 Lexical borrowing

Borrowing is defined as the process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic elements from another (Fromkin 1983:292). Lexical borrowing or borrowing of the whole word is the most common part of Bukusu where lexical items are picked up from other languages.

Some lexical items used in Bukusu circumcision songs are acquired from English, Kiswahili and other languages. When new words are added into the vocabulary of Bukusu, they are made to conform to their morphological and sound systems. Borrowing of lexical items by the two languages is done to find new concepts and objects for describing men and women. The singers find it easier to incorporate some linguistic elements borrowed and use it to expose women's weaknesses and conceal some words that seem offensive to men.

Examples of borrowed words include;

SOURCE		LOANWORD	
9). Kiswahili	a) *Kuchanja*	*Khuchanja*	(To vaccinate)
	b) *Bata*	*Lipata*	(A duck)
	c) *Kiboko*	*Kipoko*	(Hippopotamus)
10). English	a) *Dame*	*Temu*	
	b) *Madam*	*Matamu*	
	c) *Wire*	*Luwaya*	

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d) Scrap	Sikirepu
e) Glucose	Kulukosi
11). Dholu (Atoti)	Atoti (a girl)

2.1.2 COMPOUNDING

Compound words are formed when at least two bases which are both words or root morphemes are combined to form a word. In some cases, words belonging to the same word class are strung together to generate another word and in other cases, the input units may belong to different word classes. The lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs show evidence of word formation process of this kind. This is illustrated as below;

12 a) *Omukhana (Noun) + yiswa (Noun) = Omukhana yiswa 'A girl an ant'*

   b) *Omukhana (Noun) + sichwisi (Verb) = Omukhana sichwisi 'A girl who tightens'*

   c) *Omulindi (Verb) + we babandu (Noun) = Omulindi we babandu 'A security guard'*

   d) *Temu (Noun) + sikirepu (Adjective) = Temu sikirepu 'A dame who is scrap'*

2.1.3 DERIVATION

Derivational processes refer to word formation processes in any language where new lexemes are formed from existing ones using derivational affixes. From the data collected from the songs under study, there is evidence of new lexemes being formed from the existing ones. For instance;

Prefix   Stem   New word

   13 a) *Si*   *Chwisia* 'tighten' -   *Sichwisi* 'a girl who tightens'

   b) *Omu*   *Linda* 'take care' -   *Omulindi* 'Security guard'

2.2.0 STRATEGIES USED IN SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

Bukusu circumcision songs employ certain linguistic strategies to convey their messages to the recipients. The linguistic strategies used include tabooed and euphemistic words and figurative language use of metaphors, symbolism and irony.

2.2.1 Tabooed and euphemistic words

In Bukusu community, an aspect that is noticeable in respect to the position of men and women is the infliction of taboos. Songs involve subjects that are tabooed which are a prohibition against performing certain acts and is motivated by social sanction (Blandier and Magnet 1974:314). It is away in which a society expresses disapproval of certain kinds of behavior believed to be harmful to its members, either for supernatural reason or because such behavior violates a moral code (Wardhaugh 1986: 230). Within the Bukusu cultural practices, taboos are used to enforce moral rules. This is evident in some songs. For example:

14) **Soloist**   **Response**

Eeh Eeh senganakananga   khunyikuri, Marita yanyola
                                                             inda khunyikuri

Ingo wa Marita mang'anyu kandia   khunyikuri, Marita yanyola
                                                             inda khunyikuri

Translation

Eeh eeh I have been thinking   about Nyikuri, Marita was
                                                       impregnated by Nyikuri

I am afraid of Maritas home   about Nyikuri, Marita was
                                                      impregnated by Nyikuri

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Song (14) talks about a girl who was impregnanted by a boy called Nyikuri. According to Bukusu's it is a taboo for a girl to conceive before marriage. Marita in the above song is being condemned of such behaviour. Though this is expected on both Nyikuri and Marita, in the song we find only Marita being criticized. The choice of the lexical items in the song is biased.

Whereas the lexical items used in Bukusu circumcision songs condemn women, some songs are used to encourage men to engage in sexual affairs with their own relatives. When such an incidence occurs, it is considered normal for men but a curse for women. This is an infantile stereotype that demoralizes women as they are disowned by their families and a times ex-communicated from their society. For instance, let's consider the data below;

15)	**Soloist**	**Response**
	Nachile khane omwana	khane omwana lusibo
	lusibo emwalo	khane lusibo emwalo
	Newenya khureba oreba Naity	Oreba Naity woluswa

Translation

I went there only to find that the	the girl had a hole, had a
girl had a hole	hole in her private parts.
If you want to seduce	seduce Naity who
seduce Naity	practiced incest

Song (15) talks of a girl Naity who slept with her father. The lexical items used in the song ie lusibo' a hole' and woluswa 'who practiced incest' condemns the girls character

and calls on men to seduce her as she is considered loose. There is nowhere in the song where the father is condemned.

The treatment given to boys and girls during and after circumcision also reveals gendered culture. Among the Bukusu's, after circumcision, boys go through Khukhwalukha (cleansing ceremony) where they are taught on cultural and societal expectations. During this time, women are forbidden from joining the groups. This initiation is an exclusive activity of men. In order to stop women from having its knowledge, they are traditionally prohibited from involving in it so as not to understand the teachings that go on. Ironically, sources from elders who teach the youths say that most of the teachings encourage men to rule over women. This infringes on the freedom of women. The lexical items used in the songs sang during this period also attacks women. This can be well illustrated in song (15) above where men are being encouraged to seduce Naity. Those who manage to seduce her will be considered as heroes.

Taboo words can also be defined as lexical items which refer to subjects or experiences or parts of the human body which are not supposed to be talked about in public or in polite society (Indangasi 1988). The commonest are the ones which refer to intimate areas of our bodies. Taboo words are characteristically emotionally charged; they arouse feelings of anger, revulsion, and excitement (Akmajian et al 2001: 306). Some common tabooed words in Bukusu are:

16) **Tabooed words**   **Euphemisms**

   a) Endene (penis)   Esimbo/ kumukilingili

                                        (Private parts)

   b) Omukhasi (A woman)   Omukhaye (one who harvests)

   c) Kamatakho (buttocks)   Kamekhalilo (bottom)

   d) Khunda (fuck)   Khusimana (make love)

In selected Bukusu circumcision songs the lexical items that are tabooed are used to expose the behaviors of women. Tabooed words are employed by these songs so as to humiliate women and arouse the feelings of excitement in them. This is a common feature in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The three songs below can well illustrate this point.

17) **Soloist**   **Response**

  Sainapu   hoo-ho, Sainapu

                                       Sabona endene kesenda

Translation

Soloist   **Response**

Zainabu   hoo-ho Zainabu

                                       cannot see a penis

                                       and move

In song (17), Zainabu is a married woman whose husband was working far from her and therefore failed to provide her conjugal rights. In order to satisfy herself, she decided to utilize young, energetic, able and willing men who could provide for the same. This habit affected many marriages as it led to family break ups. The community excommunicated her and a song Zainabu was sang to condemn her behavior. The lexical words used to condemn Zainabu's behavior directly attack her. For instance instead of using a lexical item that conceal the sexual organ, the song uses the word' penis' to expose the behavior of the woman. In song (18) below, the composer uses a woman's private part **kumunie** 'vagina' to abuse or demean her mother inlaw. While in song (19) a girl is mocked of her walking style, that she is walking slowly because she was pierced by a duck 'a penis' in her private parts.

18) **Soloist**   **Response**

  Mayi omukhwe kumunie kwasimula   tisia

Translation

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Soloist	Response
Mother in laws vagina sneezes	tisia

19)
Soloist	Response
Okendanga polepole	mng'ati
endi okupata	
kwakhusocha	

Translation

Soloist	Response
You walk slowly because	
you have pieced by duck	in private parts

The following words as used in songs 17, 18 and 19 are tabooed.

Tabooed word	Euphemism
Endene (penis)	Esimbo/ Kumukilingili (Song 17)
	(A walking stick)
Kumunie (Vagina)	bibindu (things) (Song 18)
Mng'ati (between legs)	mubikele (in private parts) (Song 19)

The mission of these songs employing the tabooed words is to ironically expose women's moral lives. Euphemistic words have also been used widely in the songs. Euphemisms are those words which soften the effect of taboo words. According to O' Grady (1996: 355), euphemism is the avoidance of words which may be seen as offensive, obscene, or somehow disturbing to the listeners or readers.

We encounter euphemism in the socio-political sphere. For instance, homosexuals would prefer to be called "gay" people, in order to negate the image of an 'unhappy' group of social 'deviants' (Indagasi 1988). The word mwenye mimba (pregnant) in Kiswahili has negative connotations, and the reference is made to mjamzito (expectant).

In selected Bukusu circumcision songs, men's sexual organs, their promiscuous behavior and other vices are referred to by lexical items that are used figuratively in a euphemistic way to conceal the intended meaning. Euphemism is used in Bukusu circumcision songs to protect the face of men and show respect to them. For instance, in song (19) above, the word **okupata**' a duck' is used in place of **endene** 'a penis'. Other examples can be brought out in song 20, 21, and 22 below where song 20 condemns Chemiati (a married man) who fornicates with many women, 21 exposes a wizard called Emanje and 22 condemns a man called Partrick who raped a sheep.

20) **Soloist**   **Response**

      Chemiati aumbula bakhana   Chemiata aumbula bakhana

      Translation

      Soloist   **Response**

      Chemiati separates girls   Chemiati separates girls

21)   **Soloist**   **Response**

      Wina niye omulindi

      wa abana yanje   Emanje

      Translation

      Soloist   **Response**

      Who takes care of girls outside   Emanje

22) **Soloist**   **Response**

      Khwenya khumanya nanu

      Owachanja likhese   Patrick

Translation

Soloist	Response
We want to know who	
vaccinated a sheep	Patrick

Sexual organs and sex issues are taboo subjects among the Bukusu's, and words describing them are mostly unmentionable. The selected Bukusu circumcision songs use lexical choices that are not seen as taboo when referring to men. This is well illustrated in the data above where the words aumbula 'he separates' in 20, Omulindi "security guard" in 21, and khuchanja "to vaccinate" in 22, have been used instead of akhunda (he fucks), omulosi (night runner) and kakwa (he raped) respectively.

Therefore, in selected songs euphemism is highly concealed, metaphorical, allusive and symbolical. The lexical items used are relevant in the sense that figurative use of this objects are understood by those who belong to the community. Cultural outsiders who do not belong to the group might not easily understand the underlying meaning of the song.

2.2.2 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

Language is a semiological system, a system of signs (Ogden and Richards 1923). A linguistic sign designates something in the external world, an object or a relationship between objects. By comparing phenomenon in nature it becomes easier for us to cognize reality which is cognized in its fullness (Indagasi et al 2013). Figures of speech help us in concretizing abstract ideas; we see something in terms of another. Indagasi et al 2013 notes that when dealing with figures of speech, there must be grounds for comparison. According to them, it works when you say, 'Barney is as fat as a pig'. This is because we associate pigs with fatness. It won't work if we say; 'Barney is as fat as a goat'. This therefore points out that figurative language is transfer of meaning which must be acquired through encyclopedic entries. In our study therefore, we discuss the figures of speech that have been effectively used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

2.2.2.1 Metaphors

This is a figure of speech which makes a comparison between two unlike things without using "like" "as" "resemble" or "similar to". It compares two things to be the same i.e. having the same characteristic or attributes (Mungai 2013).

Cuddon (1979:391) states that a metaphor is a figure of speech in which one object is described in terms of another. Thus a metaphor requires the listener to think of one thing as actually being another kind of thing.

Leech (1965) on the other hand states that in a metaphor two or more things not normally thought of as being connected with each other are brought together and fussed in the imagination of the other.

From pragmatic point of view, what happens in metaphor is that the meaning communicated by use of a particular word or phrase differs from the linguistically encoded literal meaning assigned by the grammar. There is generally a gap between the sentence meaning assigned by the grammar and the speakers meaning conveyed on particular occasion of use (Wilson and Sperber 2014). This is true not only at the level of whole utterances but also at the level of individual words. In our study we focused on metaphors as a process of broadening and we explained how hearer's bridges the gap using lexical pragmatics.

2.2.2.2 Symbolism

A symbol is a person, a place, an event or a thing that is used to stand for or represent something beyond itself such as an idea or a feeling (Indagasi et al 2013: 134).

Robert (1994:419) explains that a symbol is any object that means more than itself, any object or action that represents an impression beyond itself. According to Robert

(1994:419), the significance of any sign whether a gesture, an object, or an action, is controlled by its context.

Symbolism in our research plays a crucial role as the songs use different lexical items to either exaggerate or conceal its meaning. Thus concepts that portray men and women in Bukusu circumcision songs are presented using symbolism. When a song wants to expose and offend the vices done by women and at the same time conceal and exalt the behaviors of men they use symbolic words. Consider the lexical items employed in song 23 below:

23) **Soloist**   **Response**

    Hoo – ho   Hoo – ho – ho sumba

                                              Khumabuli

    Translation

    Soloist   **Response**

    Hoo – ho   Hoo – ho – ho an unmarried

                                           energetic man on termites

In the above song, **Kamabuli** (termites) symbolically refers to women. This symbol is used to mock a man (Sumba) and downgrade the position of a woman. Animal images are used to symbolize certain aspects. For example: Lipata (a duck) Nanjusi (wild cat), Kipoko (hippopotamus), and so on. A duck symbolizes good health and peace, a wild cat symbolizes untrustworthy and a hippopotamus symbolizes strength.

2.2.2.3 Irony

Something is ironic when it goes against our expectations. An expression is said to be ironic when the meaning of words appear to say the opposite of what is intended (Indagasi et al 2013:86). Irony involves the use of words which are not intended to be taken at their face value. If the words are spoken, the tone may give a clue as to whether they are intended to be ironic or not. Irony also occurs when a situation is odd or amusing

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because it involves two factors that you would normally expect to be connected or related.

In selected Bukusu circumcision songs, irony manifests itself as the contradiction between what we expect and what we get. The conflicts and the problems that the songs deal with are treated ironically. Often, the two genders are presented where women's humanity is taken as invisible and questionable. In selected songs, irony exists both at the level of words, phrases and overall presentation. Men's behaviors are ironically brought out through euphemistic words.

2.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the lexical items, word formation processes and strategies used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs to pass message to the hearers effectively. The intention of the song determined the lexical choices used. Direct reference to the matters concerning women were exposed or accorded denigrating lexical items. The lexical items used to portray men were concealed. The images used to portray both men and women communicated the songs intention in different ways. The chapter generally gave an overview on lexical items, word formation processes of lexical borrowing, compounding and derivation and strategies like tabooed words, euphemism, and figurative language use of metaphors, symbolism and irony as used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

CHAPTER THREE

PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN AS CONSTRUCTED IN SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

3.0   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the study looked at the portrayal of men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The chapter explored the different attributes given to men and women which are drawn from the different levels of human and natural experiences. This included portrayal of men and women as animals, objects, immoral beings, children, promiscuous and so on. Each of this was used depending on the intention of the singers and the context in which the songs were sung.

3.1   PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN AS ANIMALS

Bukusu circumcision songs describe the two genders using animal attributes. The lexical items used are derived from the cultural background of the the community. In these songs, different animals are used to portray different qualities. Particular animals are used to describe men while particular animals used to describe women. The animals used to describe men are associated with power, purity and aggressiveness while those used to describe women are associated with smallness, weakness, ugliness, untrustworthy, and loose creatures. The use of animals to describe men and women reveals the attitude of the singers (community) towards the two genders where men are compared to animals that are respected and valued while women are compared to animals that are not liked. This is evident in certain songs. For example:

24) **Soloist**   **Response**

   Ooh! Mayi wo mwana   Ooh! Ooh bira

                                                             olole Sonko khunanjusi

   Translation

   Soloist   **Response**

<div align="right">Ooh! Ooh! come and see sonko

on a wild cat</div>

Ooh mother of the child

Song 24 is sung to call on relatives of a certain boy (sonko) to come and witness their boy dating a girl (Nanjusi). The term Nanjusi (wild cat) is assumed to refer to a girl who has a characteristic of a wild cat. This lexical item of female animosity features portrays women as 'wild cats' who should be kept away from human beings-men. Consider another example in 25 below:

25) Soloist   **Response**

   Hoo – ho   Hoo – ho – ho sumba

                                            Khumabuli

Translation

Soloist   **Response**

Ho – ho   Hoo – ho – ho an unmarried

                                           man on termites

In the song above, people are surprised of how an able, energetic man goes for weak girls. In this song, the lexical word kamabuli (termites) characterizes women while the word Sumba (an able and energetic man) refers to men. Kamabuli are small termites that appear only during evening hours and are normally eaten by all kinds of animals including birds. The labeling of women as kamabuli shows that women come out to be eaten or used in the evening by everything.

In the same songs; song 24 and song 25, men are referred to as "sonko" and "sumba" respectively. Sonko is a borrowed word from 'sheng' that stands for well to do people in the society, while "sumba" is a Bukusu name that refers to young unmarried energetic men in the society. The two images invoke able and strong people. The word Sumba was also originally coined from the Kiswahili word "simba" which means a lion.

From the two songs, the lexical words and the message used in the songs uplifts the position of

men as they trivializes the position of women. Just the way lions hunt down animals for food, menshould hunt down women for sex as they are many like termites.

3.2 PORTRAYAL OF MALE AND FEMALE BODY PARTS USING ANIMALS

The bias is reflected in the lexical words used to describe men's and women's sexual organs as illustrated ealier in example 19 where men's sexual organs are referred to using the lexical word 'Okupata.' Lipata (aduck) is a domestic bird that provide proteins to human beings when eaten. The eggs produced bythese birds are also considered sweet and nutritious to human beings. Underlying this reference is the presumption that men's sexual organs are sweet to whoever who consumes it. In the song, the augmentative affix morpheme (-ku-) on the word is also used to describe the size of men's organs– they are big in stature. The manner in which a man's sexual organ is described, creates a picture of something that is special and valued in the society. A clear comparison between the two gender's sexual organs is brought out in song 26 "Tinaini" (Jackal) as shown below:

26) Soloist	Response.
Okundu okumalimali	Eeh Tinaini
Kwamela bufumbo	Eeh Tinaini
Okundu okumalimali	Eeh Tinaini
Kwechula mabele	Eeh Tinaini
Bakhana balelo	Eeh Tinaini
Bamela bariena	Eeh Tinaini
Nolola marango	Eeh Tinaini
Kiminyi kilikho	Eeh Tinaini

Translation

Soloist	Response
A big black thing	Eeh jackal
It has grown hair	Eeh jackal

A big black thing	Eeh jackal
It's full of milk	Eeh jackal
The girls of these days	Eeh jackal
How do they look like	Eeh jackal
If you lookat their thighs	Eeh jackal
It's full of urine	Eeh jackal

The song describes both male's and female's organs indirectly. First the men's sexual organs are exalted by comparing their organs to a jackal and then to milk. "Tinaini" is a wild animal among the Bukusu's that resembles a dog but is feared by most animals including dogs themselves. This is an animal that is feared, and the mention of the word Tinaini even at night makes people scared. The association of the word Tinaini to man's sexual organ accords the men special descriptive terminology as it calls on people to fear and respect their organs. Further into the song, the squalid physical conditions that generally characterize women body parts are described in detail. For instance, women's thighs are pejoratively described as ugly and filled with urine.

This evaluation implies that the song exalts whatever that is found on men and downgrades
what is found on women. At the end of these demeaning words, for instance in song 19, the lexical words used presuppose that men are at liberty of sexually exploiting women because all women need is to please men. This is attributable to the fact that a woman is seen as a property or an object to be used by men.

In chapter two we found that some Bukusu circumcision songs address women by their sexual body parts. This was evident in the song 18 where a mother in law was abused using the lexical word **kumunie** ''vagina'. A mother in-law is someone who is respected among the Bukusu's. The use of sexual body parts to identify her shows lack of respect. The woman loses her identity as a mother as she is recognized solely by the physical characteristic of her body.

3.3   PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN AS PROMISCUOUS

As stated early, taboos are used to enforce moral rules. Though this is expected on both genders, most of them limit the rights of women and enforce patriarchal dominance. On extra marital sexual affairs, Bukusu circumcision songs depicts that a woman is supposed to be submissive and faithful to her husband while the rule is loose regarding the man. Sharp – edged descriptions of the unseemly qualities that manifest the fatalistic attitude towards women are seen and contrasted to the favorable situations deliberately created for men. Example 27 below has a good example of this. In the song, a woman (Zainabu) who is considered promiscuous is condemned through a song.

27)   **Soloist**   **Response**

  Sainapu?   Hoo-ho Sainapu,

                                              sabona endene kesenda

  Omukhana Sichinji   Hoo-ho Sainapu,

                                              sabona Wanyonyi kesenda

  Omukhana yiswa   Hoo-ho Sainapu,

                                              sabona Wafula kesenda

  Yimba, Sainapu   Hoo-ho Sainapu,

                                              sabona Wekesa kesenda

  Omukhana Sichwisi   Hoo-ho Sainapu,

                                              sabona Wabwile kesenda

  Translation

  Soloist   **Response**

  Zainabu   Hoo-ho Zainabu

                                              cannot see a

                                            penis and move

A girl Jigger	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see Wanyonyi
	and move

A girl a termite	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see Wafula
	and move

Sing of Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see Wekesa
	and move

A girl who tightens	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see Wabwile
	and move

The lexical words used to condemn Zainabu's behavior directly attack her. For instance instead of using a lexical item that conceal the sexual organ, the song uses the word' penis' to expose the behaviour of the woman. Demeaning lexical words like Sichinji (jigger), Yiswa (ant), Sichwisi (something that tightens) are used to describe Zainabu. The reference of the woman Zainabu to the images drawn from animals and objects is clearly offensive. A cynical attitude towards her is enhanced in many instances in the song by sheer number of times the word 'penis' and the names of different men that are mentioned.

It is worth noting that whereas the Bukusu circumcision songs refer to the women seen as promiscuous using denigrating words, contrary, men who are seen as promiscous are referred to using euphemistic words. This is evident in some songs. For example;

28) Soloist   **Response**

Chemiati aumbula abana   aumbula abana

38

Mwichukhulu wa Nafula aumbula abana	aumbula abana

Translation

Soloist	Response
Chemiati separates children	Separates children
The grand child to Nafula	
separates children	Separates children

In song 20, Chemiati is a married man who is promiscuous. The song is sung in praise of his character. Although such a character should be condemned, at the level of word choice the song is deliberate and therefore not sufficiently suited to the subject matter.This is exemplified in the lexical words accorded to Chemiati. First the song uses the word umbula (separating but in a good way). Contrary to the words used to directly attack 'Zainabu' in song 27; the word umbula conceals Chemiati's behavior. Further in to the song Chemiati is referred to as omwichukhulu (grandchild).This is a soft and appealing name used by old people when addressing young ones not necessarily biological off springs. Again in the song, Chemiati is being encouraged to engage more in extra marital relationships-Chemiati umbula (umbula is in present tense). Though we expect his behavior to be condemned openly through the song, his sexual acts are referred to by lexical items that are used figuratively in euphemistic way to conceal the intended meaning. To illustrate this point further let's consider another song.

29) Soloist **Response**

Mose-mose	Moses ×2
Moses kamanya khuoya	Moses- eeh eeh-Mose,
	Moses
Kosia, kosia	kosia khumatamu ×2
Tila tila	tila khumatam

Translation

Soloist **Response**

Mose Mose	Moses ×2
Moses knows how to seduce	Moses- eeh eeh- Mose
	Moses
Sweet talk, sweet talk	Sweet talk madam ×2
Hold, hold	Hold madam

In the above song a man called Moses is being praised of his promiscuous behaviuor. First that Moses knows how to seduce, that he seduced a madam, he caressed a madam and so on. Therefore men are exalted and seen to be strong when found to have taken part in extra marital sexual affairs. In the songs, adultery is construed as proving the value or worthness of men.The lexical items used in the song privately hail men's behavior. Ironically, such acts by women are condemned ruthlessly and a time women who are found guilty are severely punished.

3.4 PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN AS IMMORAL BEINGS

According to the oxford advanced learners dictionary (New 8th Edition), immorality is a noun that means not being in accord with standards of right or good conduct. Immorality is evil, sinful, promiscuity, impurity, corruption, murder or otherwise any other un acceptable behavior.

Any kind of immorality is not accepted among the Bukusu's where immoral people are treated with ostracism. Given this rules, people try to abide to the norms and rules of the society. However, this does not imply that moral rules are not broken. Immoral behaviour in every community should not be gender based; both men and women could be guilty of unethical conduct (Familusi 2012:305). Looking at the lexical items used in selected circumcision songs to show the status of men and women in traditional Bukusu society, men are exalted of any immoral ineptitude while women are condemned. This is evident in some songs. For example:

30) Soloist   **Response**

Jane	Jane we khusoko omukumba×2
Kasukuna	kasukuna omwana mchoo ×2
Sisa	sisa siambanga wasala×2

Translation

Soloist	**Response**
Jane	Jane who lives at the market is barren ×2
She threw	she threw a child in the toilet ×2
Sorrow	sorrow affects those who gave birth ×2

Song 30 is sung of a barren woman called Jane who worked as a prostitute and stayed at the market place. Her neighbor's child ate her meat that had been brought by one of her lovers. The only form of punishment she could mend for the child was to throw the child in the toilet. At the depths of the semantic of sub humanism, this is an animalistic behavior, Jane is condemned of this behavior and the community assumes that may be she did this because she has never experienced the pain of giving birth. In this song the words omukumba (barren) directly points out the status of Jane. The lexical word 'khusukuna' (to throw) also points out the exact activity done by Jane. The song generates a lot of scathing criticism and hatred for Jane. Again the lexical item woluswa 'of incest' used in song 15 directly addresses what Naity did. The criticism done on women is harsh and full of hatred. On the other hand the criticism done on men is different. That is, it conceals the exact thing done by men by using polite words. Lets consider example 31 below;

31) **Soloist**   **Response**

Tomola Emanje mungo   Emanje
muno tomola Emanje
Ee wa papa ndoya   Emanje
Wina niye omulindi   Emanje
wa bandu yanje

41

Translation

Soloist	Response
Talk of Emanje in this	
home talk of Emanje	Emanje
Ee ee who belongs to	
our father ndoya	Emanje
Who takes care of	
people outside	Emanje

Looking at song 31 at first glance, one would imagine that the song is in praise of a man called Emanje. This is because the lexical words used exalt his character i.e. of our father Ndoya, one who takes care of people and so on. In real sense the song questions the behavior of a man called Emanje who is a night runner. Night running is a vice that is condemned in many societies and many communities including the Bukusu go to an extent of ex-communicating those involved. Therefore instead of the song exposing Emanje's behaviour just like song 30 exposed Jane's character, it uses a euphemistic word khutomola to conceal the character of night running. Song 32 below is another example that exalts vices in men.

32) Soloist   **Response**

Khwenya khumanya nanu

owachanja likhese   Patrick

Translation

Soloist	Response
We want to know	
who vaccinated a sheep	Patrick

This song provokes bestiality though indirectly. Bestiality is a vice that is highly condemned by the Bukusu community. Patrick was a herd's boy who lacked the seductive language to convince girls in the village. At the age of 32 years he had failed to marry and as a man he had feelings for women. Lacking a woman to satisfy his desires, he went for a sheep. He was found by his employer, sacked and later condemned through a circumcision song. It could have been apt for the song to directly address what Partrick did instead of hiding.

In the songs above, issues involving women are brought out clearly and condemned while those concerning men are addressed indirectly and sometimes replaced with lexical items that conceal their behavior. For instance instead of saying who raped the sheep, the lexical word 'rape' is replaced by 'vaccinated'. Again instead of saying Emanje is a night runner, the phrases, "one who takes care," "of our father," and "grandchild" are used.

3.5 PORTRAYAL OF MEN AND WOMEN USING NAMES
The bias is also reflected in the lexical words used for naming, where the most demeaning words are assigned to the female members of the society as compared to men. Consider examples 33 and 34 below:

33) Soloist   **Response**

Atoti omwoyo kwakhapara   mbe omukhasi

Translation
Soloist   **Response**
Atoti my heart has thought   give me the woman

In song 33, a woman is referred to as omukhasi. Omukhasi is a term that comes with negative connotations to show "someone on the ground ". In the Bukusu community

43

there is a difference between "omukhasi" and "omukhaye." The two terms can be used to refer to married women but one with negative connotation and another with positive connotation. For instance, 'Omukhaye' means 'one who harvests 'and hence is respected. While 'omukhasi' means one on the ground. Therefore the lexical word omukhasi in the above song belittles the position of women in the society. Contrary to the deaming lexical items used to refer to women as in 33 above, the lexical items used to refer to men come with positive connotations. This can be illustrated in song 34 below;

34) **Song code 15**

Soloist	Response
Matiapa wuno	ahee
Matiapa wuno	Matiapa mundu
Matiapa system	
Kipoko	
Kibulei wuno	ahee
Kibulei wuno	Kibulei mundu
	Kibulei system
Kipoko	
Wekesa wuno	ahee
Wekesa wuno	omusiani mundu
	omusiani system
	Kipoko

Translation

Soloist	Response
This madiaba	Ahee
This madiaba	Madiaba somebody
	Madiaba system
	excellent
This Kibulei	ahee

44

This Kibulei	Kibulei somebody
	Kibulei system
	excellent
This Wekesa	ahee
This Wekesa	boy somebody
	boy system
	excellent

Matiapa in song 34 refers to a man. "Matiapa" is a big soda that is valued in the Bukusu community. The association of men to Matiapa accords them a special position. In the same song, names of people like Kibulei and Wekesa are mentioned and likened to human beings "omundu" and an animal Kipoko (Hippopotamus). The reference of men to powerful animals and items and that of women to weak animals and items is asymmetric. This asymmetric language use for men and women reflect a serious gender relation among the two communities.

A part from using names, most Bukusu circumcision songs use possessive adjectives in describing men while descriptive adjective, interrogative adjectives and quantity adjectives in describing women. Interrogative adjectives are used to question the behavior of women, at the same time, the possessive adjectives are used to show the possessive nature of men, that is, who owns and not owned. This is a common feature in selected Bukusu circumcision songs as shown in example 35 below:

35)Soloist   **Response**

Soloist	Response
Fl-o-ora	woyaya Flora seumba
	Khubindu $\times 2$
Wamwene wandaka oli nenja khusoko ekhunyole	seumba khubindu
Wamwene wandaka oli nenja mutinga ekhunyole	seumba khubindu

    Translation

Soloist	Response
Fl-o-ora	surely Flora give me
	some things ×2
You yourself promised that on	
your way to the market I meet you	You give me some things
You yourself promised that on your way	
to the posh mill I meet you	You give me some things.

In the song, the interrogative adjective wamwene 'you yourself' and seumba "you give me" are directed to women. In song 33, mbe omukhasi wanje (give me my woman), the pronoun "wanje" (my) refers to men. Possessive adjectives in the songs are used to show a form of ownership. How men are at liberty of possessing women while the interrogative pronouns are used to question why women are not fulfilling men's demands.

3.6 PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN AS CHILDREN

Women are also painted as children in the same songs. This is evident in song code 36 as shown below:

36) Soloist	Response
Mutikiye enjeko Mulongo	Etila omwana
	omukhana Mulongo

Translation

Soloist	Response
Hold on the centre post	Get hold of a
Mulongo	baby girl, Mulongo

The lexical word "omwana" (child) though used with some level of affection has a myriad of negative connotations. It implies that a woman is senseless, defenseless, timid and dependent like a baby. Throughout the song, there is no other interpretation to show

that women are special like babies. Contrary to this song, is song 25 'Sumba khumabuli' (a man on termites).The lexical word "sumba" an energetic man, positions men in opposition to women. Men are constructed as tough, strong and independent hence special masculine ideals. Therefore, the song Mulongo patronizes women by using the term "omwana".

3.7 PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN AS OBJECTS

The reference of women and their sexual organs in selected Bukusu circumcision songs to objects is clearly offensive. Objectification means treating a human being as a product or as a thing, with no regard to their individuality or self-respect. Objectification is frequently examined at a level of a society, however can also refer to the behaviour of individuals (https//:en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sexual-objectification).

In selected Bukusu circumcision songs, women are treated as if they are not human beings. Women are advised on self hate, to look at their own bodies and personalities with shame, discomfort and disgust. The songs carefully and selectively engages images from many fields of natural life and human activity to describe women; scraps, bats, things and the like. Consider the data below:

37) Soloist   **Response**

  Temu sikirepu birei   ooh! Temu sikirepu birei

  Sumba bekamani khwola   sumba bekamani khwola

  Bandu ba klukosi khwola   bandu ba klukosi khwola

  Translation

  Soloist   **Response**

  Scrap dem come here   ooh! scrap dem come here

  Energetic men have arrived   ooh! Energetic men have arrived

  People of glucose have arrived   ooh! Men of glucose have arrived

In the song, the lexical word "Sikirepu" (scrap) refers to a woman. Scrap refers to materials or objects that are no longer used for the purpose they were made for, but can be used again in another way. Underlying the reference of women to scrap is the presupposition that women should be exploited by men, and once they have been used, they should be replaced.

Again it is worth noting from the song that where as the Bukusu circumcision songs refer to women using non human attributes, men are referred to as "sumba" (energetic people) and "bandu" (people). This shows that men possess both unique human traits and traits essential to human nature.

3.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we looked at the representation of men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs using lexical items from many fields of natural life and human activity. The two genders were compared both directly and indirectly to the qualities of animals, objects, children and so on. On one hand, the qualities of men were compared to things that are powerful, aggressive and pure, whereas the qualities of women were compared to the behaviors of the things that are ugly, small, helpless and untrustworthy. The intention of the lexical items in the songs was also addressed. For instance the lexical words accorded men are used to conceal their behaviors while those accorded women are used to ridicule or pour scorn on women.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEXICAL PRAGMATIC INTERPRETATION OF SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Language is a semiological system, a system of signs (Ogden's and Richards 1923). A linguistic sign designates something in the external world, an object or a relationship between objects. By comparing phenomena in nature it becomes easier for us to cognize reality; reality is cognized in its fullness (Indagasi 1988). Thus the process takes the form of comparing abstract qualities to physical entities.

Figures of speech are an integral part of the Bukusu circumcision songs. They are of necessity realized at the linguistic level; they exist in and derive their meaning from a linguistic context and are sometimes realized at the extra – linguistic level.

This chapter found out whether lexical pragmatic processes of narrowing and broadening adequately analyses figurative language used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Lexical adjustment bring about the widespread examination that an utterance which seems to have a particular established meaning in the linguistic system can nevertheless be used to express a wide range of separate concept on diverse occasions of utterance (Carston 2002).

The theory was chosen because of its capability to explain constructions based on information available from encyclopedic entries of the set concepts. We recognized that lexical pragmatic processes such as narrowing and broadening add to the truth conditional substance rather than just touching on the implicatures.

4.1 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE INTERPRETATION

In this study we outlined the relevance – theoretic observation as outlined in Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08 that lexical understanding involves a development of ad hoc concept building, based on information accessible from the encyclopedic entries of the encoded concepts and guarded by expectations of relevance. What happens in metaphors and symbols used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs is that the meaning communicated by employing a particular word or phrase differs from the linguistically-encoded 'literal' meaning assigned by the grammar. We accounted for the figurative language interpretation by examining how the lexical items used in the songs are perceived by hearers in favour of what the songs intend to communicate based on context. Figures of speech from many fields of natural life and human activity have been employed in the songs to portray men and women. These lexical items are perceived to have been manipulated with the intention of treating women as less humans and treating men as humans where the numerous attributes that characterize men and women are expressed indirectly so that hearers infer their meanings. The aim of this chapter therefore was to demonstrate that context and assumptions stored in memory about someone (a particular gender), are important in interpretation of Bukusu circumcision songs. This was done by analyzing the lexical items used in the songs by using lexical pragmatic approach.

4.1.1 THE USE OF LEXICAL NARROWING IN SELECTED BUKUSU   CIRCUMCISION SONGS

In selected Bukusu circumcision songs, lexical items in reference to men and women and to their promiscuous nature take to different degrees and different directions. The songs entail the use of lexical items that communicate a more clear sense than the encoded one. Some illustrations used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs are given in 38, 39 and 40 below:-

38) Soloist   **Response**

Ee kongona mungo	
muno oli kongona	kongona
Ewe wakhateli	
nebakhuwelekho oli kongona	kongona
Ewe Wangila nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona

Translation

Soloist	Response
Finish everything in this home, finish everything	Finish it
Ee finish everything in this home you finish it	Finish it
You Wakhateli, if you are given you finish it	Finish it
Oo Wangila if you are given you finish it	Finish it

In song 38, although nothing has been specified to be given out, the song implies a pragmatic reason for narrowing. On accurate explanation, the song would be understood as creating the fake assertion that when one is given a chance in another person's home or if invited for a stay in someone's home, then they should take advantage of maximizing on everything i.e. including food, plates, chairs, clothes, animals and so on. Thus the lexical word kongona 'Finish everything' might not convey the encoded sense of finishing food, plates, animals and so on but, more specifically a man having sex with a woman to his own satisfaction. Again let's consider the interpretation of the lexical item omukhasi 'a woman' in 39 below;

39) **Soloist** **Response**
   Omukhasi he he   hee, he-he, omukhasi

Omukhasi	omukhasi
esura embi	
Omukhasi esura	omukhasi
endayi	
Esura enga siraro	omukhasi
Kakhaba nelitoka	omukhasi
Kakhaba omuleme	omukhasi
Omukhasi aba omukhasi	omukhasi

Translation

Soloist	**Response**
A woman ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho
a woman	
Even if she is ugly	a woman
Even if she is beautiful	a woman
Even if she looks like	
a shoe	a woman
Even if she drives	a woman
Even if she is lame	a woman
A woman is a woman	a woman

The concept Omukhasi 'a woman' in song 39, which is encoded by the word omukhasi, according to the song denotes the category of women and activates encyclopaedic knowledge which can be added to context and used in comprehending utterances about women. The diagram below illustrates the different concepts and encyclopaedic entries about women as brought out in the song.

WORD: 'Women'

⇕

CONCEPT: WOMEN

⇕

-   ⬭ ⇐   CATEGORY:

    The set   The set   rich or poor,

                                               Of women   beautifuly or ugly

                                                             tall or short
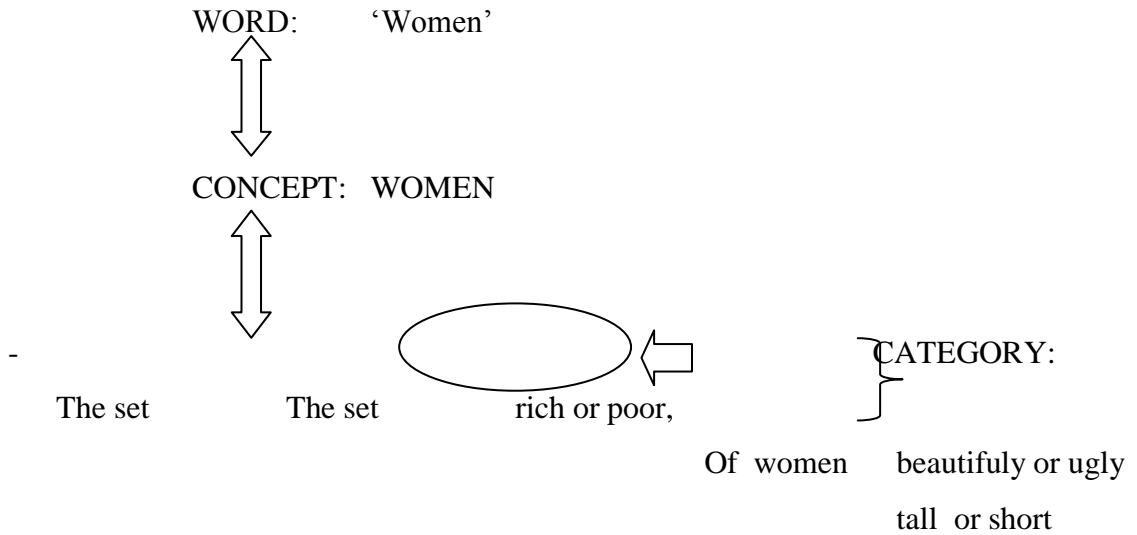
As illustrated in the whole song 39, in various different circumstances, the lexical words in "Omukhasi" might be understood as conveying that any women, whether holding a high position in society or not, beautiful or ugly, rich or poor, the fact remains that she is a woman –one on the ground. Each explanation about women in the song is narrower in significance than the preceding one, with a more controlled denotation.

Song 40 on the other hand also shows that fine tuning of the lexical items may happen not only to different degrees but also in different directions

40) Soloist   **Response**
　Yaani mchaka mchaka   mchaka ndombolo

　Sumba bekamani khwola   sumba bekamani khwola

　Bandu ba klukosi khwola   bandu ba klukosi khwola

Translation
Soloist   **Response**

Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
Energetic men have arrived	ooh! Energetic men have arrived
People of glucose have arrived	ooh! Men of glucose have arrived

Under different circumstances of expression, song 40 might be alleged as communicating that "sumba be kamani" (energetic men) are typical men who can work on the land for long hours (where the notion of what constitutes an energetic man is contextual dependent), i.e. men who can work (have sex with women) to women tirelessly. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), information can be relevant in one context and not in another (or more relevant in one context than another). Context here is a set of mentally represented assumptions used in interpreting a given item of information.

Another way of showing suppleness and context reliability of narrowing in our research is to look at a number of interpretations of the lexical items used in other songs and show how they would receive different interpretations in different linguistic contexts. This can be done by using these lexical items to construct different sentences in other contexts. For instance, the different meanings of the lexical words khuumbula, khutomola and khuchanja in song 41, 42 and 43 below can be brought out in sentences to show the flexibity.

41)Soloist   **Response**

  Chemiati aumbula abana   aumbula abana

  Mwichukhulu wa Nafula aumbula abana   aumbula abana

Translation

Soloist	**Response**
Chemiati separates children	Separates children
The grand child to Nafula	
separates children	Separates children

Khuumbula (separate/ remove)

a) Lekha khuumbula kamaumbu. (Stop separating clods from the house)

  A sentence used to stop someone from separating clods especially from a house.

b) Bakhana be muarusi baumbule kamaua bulayi sana.

  (The maids in the wedding separated flowers in an attractive way).

  The sentence explains the manner in which maids in a wedding separated their flowers.

c) Nasimiyu aumbula litakho tu.

  (Nasimiyu knows how to separate her bottoms).

  This is a sentence used especially by men when describing the bottoms of women.

d) Chemiati aumbula bakhana. (Chemiati separates (commits adultery) with many girls.)

  The sentence talks about Chemiati (amarried man), who commits adultery with many

  many women including young girls.

Separating clods from a house

Separating flowers in an attractive way

Khuumbula   Separatig bottoms

Commiting adultery
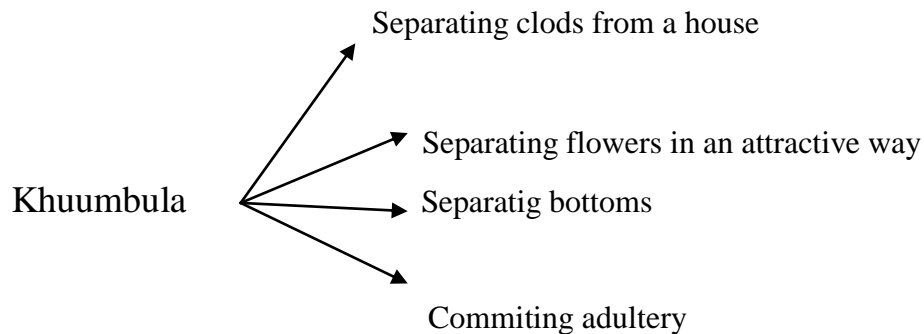
From the sentences above, there is no stereotypical way of "separating/ removing". But there are standard methods of separating flowers, separating clods from a house, separating body parts (behinds of a woman), and separating (sorting out) different vaginas. Therefore by following a course of least effort in adding up to the assumptions that the hearer has about the context and looking for cognitive effects, the hearers for instance, are likely to interpret the lexical word khuumbula in sentence (d) as commiting

adultery as used in the song. Let's consider the interpretation of the word tomola 'a way of creating something small like a hole on an object' in 42 below and see how it can be applied in different sentences and contexts.

42) Soloist   **Response**
  Tomola Emanje mungo   Emanje
   muno tomola Emanje

   Ee wa papa ndoya   Emanje

   Wina niye omulindi   Emanje
   wa bandu yanje

Translation
Soloist   **Response**
  Talk of Emanje in this

   home talk of Emanje   Emanje

   Ee ee who belongs to
   our father ndoya   Emanje

  Who takes care of
   people outside   Emanje

"**Tomola" (a way of creating something small like a hole on an object).**
a). Sifuria sie khufukilakho siatomokhe.(The sufuria used for cooking ugali obtained a small hole).
   The sentence describes a sufuria that is no longer functional.
b). Babembi batomole kimima kia Emanje.(Singers exposed Emanje's behaviors).
 The sentence describes the manner in which someones(Emanje) behavior was exposed by singers.

Making a hole

Khutomola
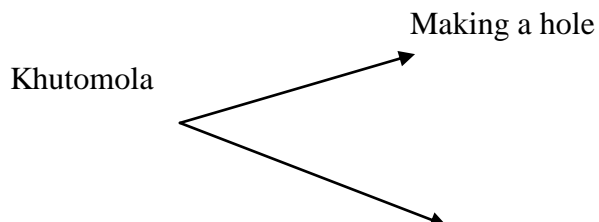
To expose

In example 43 below, the lexical word khuchanja 'to vaccinate' can also be interpreted in different sentences and contexts as shown.

43) Soloist   **Response**

Khwenya khumanya nanu

owachanja likhese   Patrick

Translation

Soloist   **Response**

We want to know

who vaccinated a sheep   Patrick

3. **Khuchanja (Vaccinate)**

1a). Nekesa kayilile omwana owewe bamuchanja.

   (Nekesa took her child for vaccination).

   The sentence explains where Nekesa could have gone with her child.

 b). Patrick Kachanja likhese (Patrick raped a sheep).

   The sentence explains what Partrick did to a sheep- he raped a sheep.

Khuchanja

Vaccinate

Rape
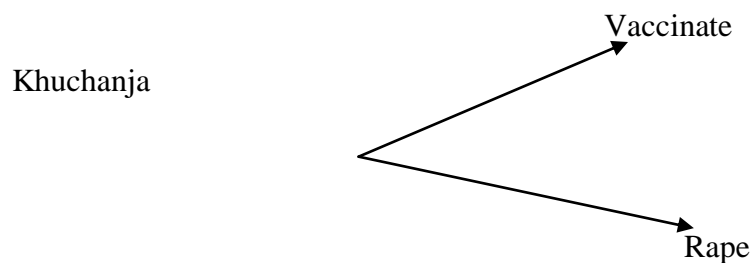
As stated, each of the words "Khuumbula", "Khutomola" and Khuchanja" have no stereotypical

ways of doing it but each word involves a narrowing of a more general concept KHUUMBULA which stands for committing adultery, KHUTOMOLA which stands for exposing and KHUCHANJA which stands for rape.

Our examples apparently illustrates the point that what is debatably a distinct lexical item, encoding a common notion like KHUUMBULA, gets slightly modified in different ways and in different linguistic contexts(lexical items describing wedding or circumcision or construction or social life etc), and supports the more general claim that for a hearer to understand the meaning of the lexical items khuumbula, khutomola and khuchanja then he/she has to pursue a path of slightest effort in adding to the assumptions that he/she has to the context and looking for cognitive effects.

According to the relevance- theoretic observation, lexical conception involves a development of ad hoc concept building, based on information readily accessible from the encyclopedic entries of the determined concepts and controlled by expectations of relevance. A bit of support comes from the truth that lexical pragmatic processes may lead to semantic modification, so that what starts out as an ad hoc perception may end up (for at least a group of people) as a new determined logic. For example, as an outcome of recurrent lexical use, various speakers of Bukusu represent words such as "TOMOLA" and "KHUUMBULA" as having an extra determined sense (TOMOLA*(make a hole or expose), KHUUMBULA*(remove clods/ flowers/ body parts)). To Bukusu's,' tomola' and 'khuumbula' are true examples of words with multiple meanings, and the understanding of song (41) and song (43) does not involve ad hoc building but is a simple stuff of stabling a semantic interpretation . For those who have come across these lexical items often or not at all, "khuumbula' and 'khuchanja' may consist only a particular determined meaning (KHUUMBULA (separate clods), KHUCHANJA (to vaccinate)) and the interpretation of song (41) and song (43) would involve constructing or (re-constructing) a suitable ad hoc concept. In the prime position where' khuumbula' (separating clods/ flowers/ body parts) and 'khuchanja' (vaccinate or rape) are true

polysemous words and are interpreted by means of disambiguation, there is no doubt that the determined senses 'KHUUMBULA' and 'KHUCHANJA' would add to the truth conditional substance of song (41) and song (43), as well as to what is asserted that is to commit adultery or to rape.

In general, narrowing is undertaken in the investigation for relevance. Hearers convince their outlook of relevance by looking for factual implicatures (or other positive cognitive effects) (Wilson 2003:13). Narrowing increases implications. A hearer following the relevance- theoretic conception procedure is therefore allowed to narrow the encoded sense to a position where it yields adequate accurate implications to please the general expectation of relevance raised by the expression, collectively with any more precise expectations raised by the reality that the utterance has been produced by that song, for that listeners, at that particular point (Wilson 2003:13). If numerous possible narrowing are presented, the listener follows a path of least effort, by means of whatever assumptions and expectations that are most greatly activated (e.g. by the utterance itself and the preceding discourse). If the listener finds enough true implications to satisfy his/her expectations of relevance, he/she assumes that this was the speaker's connotation; if not, he/she tries another direction.

4.1.2 ADHOC CONCEPTS AND FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE USE IN SELECTED BUKUSU CIRCUMCISION SONGS

The other category of lexical items that is found within the vicinity of a free pragmatic development of ad hoc concept construction concerns whether and if so, how this notion plays a part in explanation of our understanding of certain figures of speech such as metaphor, symbolism and irony as used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

4.1.2.1 Metaphor

Communication, the model case of which is spoken communication, is the field of a committed cognitive system, according to Relevance Theory (Carston 2009). This pragmatic component is accountable for inferring the meaning or content that the

communicator intends by his/her regulation or modulation of lexically – encoded sense, which makes it possible for speakers to converse immeasurably in a greater range of concepts than those that are steadily encoded in their linguistic organization. This includes the significance communicated by at least some cases of figuratively – used language.

A metaphor is believed to be a case of free use where the meaning communicated is far-off from the truthful meaning. In selected Bukusu circumcision songs, lexical items in reference to women and men are widely used metaphorically. The composers are found to have made effective use of the metaphors by selecting appropriate words that conceal and exalt the status of men and trivialize women.

Table 1.Metaphors used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs

Song No	Metaphors	Gloss
19	Okupata kwakhusocha	A duck pierced you
24	Sonko khunanjusi	Sonko on a wild cat
27	Lirango lye enjofu Omukhana Yiswa Omukhana Sichwisi	Thighs of an elephant A girl an ant A girl who tightens
34	Matiapa wuno Matiapa mundu, Matiapa system, kipoko	This matiapa Matiapa somebody Matiapa system a buffalo
37	Temu sikirepu Sumba be kamani kwola Bandu ba klukosi khwola	Dame scrap Men of energy have arrived. Men of glucose have arrived.
39	Omukhasi esura siraro	A woman whose face is like shoe

From the data above, there is evidence that the selected Bukusu circumcision songs use several metaphors. This can be seen from the underlined lexical items and phrases. These lexical items portray men and women in different ways.

According to Relevance Theory, the interpretation of the lexical items used to portray men and women in Bukusu circumcision songs would involve non- expressive deduction process which takes as input an idea (together with other related assumptions) and yields as output conclusion(encoded concept). For example, the title of song 24 Sonko khunanjusi (A financial able and stable man on a wild cat). Sonko khunanjusi is a statement with a disconnected decoded meaning demanding for an inferential concluding and perfection. The song means that (a man (z) is financially able, man (z) is powerful, man (z) is aggressive) who is found making love to a woman z (woman (z) is weak, woman (z) is ugly, woman(z) is untrusted, woman(z) is loose, woman (z) is a creature etc).

Since solving of an utterance occurs   at a risk, the reality of the statement 'Sonko khunanjusi' cannot guarantee the accuracy of the outcome that man z who is financially able, powerful and aggressive makes love to woman z who is weak, ugly, untrusted and loose. But according to Relevance Theory, hearers encompass a habitual inferential heuristic for constructing the best analysis given the facts available to them (Wilson and Carston R. 2007:20). This explanation itself has an inside logical organization: its production involves the appliance of deductive inference processes which take as input premises such as SONKO* KHUNANJUSI* (together with further contextual proposition) and give way as output conclusions such as man z is powerful, man z is strong, man z is aggressive or woman z is untrusted (etc) which follow reasonably from the set of grounds chosen.

According to (Wilson, D. and Carston, R. 2007:32) such an account is said to be doubly inferential: on the one hand, the implicatures of an expression must be deducible from its

explicatures (together with suitable background assumptions), on the other hand, the fact that the presenter has uttered the above stretch on this particular occasion should (together with the right contextual assumptions) justify the conclusion that the speaker intended to convey this particular set of explicatures and implicatures.

Within Relevance Theory, conception of metaphorical utilization is a case of ad hoc concept formation where, significantly, the concept inferred is much broader in its sense than the lexical perception from which it was derived. Consider the following examples from song 19 and song 26.

19). Okupata kwakhusocha

   (a duck pierced you)

26). Okundu okumalimali, eeh Tinaini

   (Something big and black, eeh jackal)

In the above developed metaphors, it seems improbable to us that understanding involves the formation of a chain of (fundamentally broadened) ad hoc concepts (OKUPATA*, TINAINI*,) and so on). What seems to go on is that a factual explanation of the songs is maintained and is represented completely, so that what we have is a symbol of an imaginary state of associations in which individual life takes place on a great theatre stage, and the phases of every person's life and the events he or she takes part in are an issue of acting out a pre-existing play (Wilson, D. and Carston, R. 2007: 171). Our psychological representations of this non-actual, predictable off from our truthful beliefs (our illustration of the actual world), as with games of make – believe or pretence and other unreal conceptions that we identify as such (Wilson, D. and Carston, R. 2007: 171) giving out of the (strictly false) accurate interpretation inside the illustration will yield a range of implications and other things, some of which will be judged to be relevant to the actual world, that is, to be true. For instance, 'The way of human life is basically programmed,' 'we are defenseless against the passing of time,' 'most of our actions and

concerns are of only temporary significance,' and so on (Wilson, D and Carson, R 2007: 171).

The hearer could disembed these implications from the meta representational structure, taking them as speaker – intended, and take them over into his/her expressive mental representation of the real world.

Consider another metaphor in song 37 which is used to trivialize the status of women, *"Temu sikirepu"*

For many hearers, the encoded thought sikirepu (scrap) would supply access to a broad array, of encyclopedic assumptions about 'sikirepu', some of which will obtain additional establishment from the mention of temu (dame)and from the speech context, including the fact that the utterance is provided by men to downgrade women. Although these highly activated assumptions will differ from hearer to hearer, they are likely to include the information that "sikirepu" provides the following encyclopedic entries:

Sikirepu (scrap) ⟶ - to discard
- A (small) leftover piece
- (Usually) leftover food
- Discarded material (especially, metal), junk.

All the encyclopedic entries refer to 'scrap' in general and are stored in the mind of singers or hearers. However, only a little can be selected to refer to other connected item that resemble' scrap'. In these conditions, a hearer following the path of least attempt and looking for accurate implications (or other positive cognitive effects) via shared adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects is likely to arrive at an interpretation in which sikirepu expresses an ad hoc concept SIKIREPU * which denotes not only sikirepu (scrap) but other women with these encyclopedic attributes, and conclude that the song is claiming that women fall into this ad hoc category and are therefore likely to be discarded by men.

Again let's consider how an explanation along ad hoc concept explanation might apply to the analysis of lexical items used to portray men.

- **Okupata** kwakhusocha

 (A big duck pierced you).

 (Source: Song 19)

- **Matiapa** Mundu, Matiapa system Kipoko.

 (Matiapa somebody, Matiapa system, buffalo).

 (Source: Song 26)

On the Gricean approach for example, the metaphors Okupata and Matiapa have three separate interpretations: as a truthful assertion, a hyperbole or a metaphor. Of these, the hearer should examine the literal understanding first, and consider a figurative understanding only if the literal interpretation obviously violates the maxim of truthfulness (Wilson and sperber 2004).

On the Relevance Theoretic account, there is no supposition that the factual meaning will be experienced first. The encoded concepts OKUPATA and MATIAPA are simple points of access to controlled arrays of encyclopedic assumptions from which hearers are anticipated to select suitable sub sets. For instance let us assume that the singers compose songs 24 (Sonko khunanjusi) and 25 (Sumba khumabuli) to contrast the characteristics of men and women.

Encyclopedic entries of the lexical words Sumba, Kamabuli, Sonko, Nanjusi

24) A) Nanjusi   - An untrusted animal

 - A loose animal

 - An ugly animal

 -A sexually aggressive animal

- A wild cat

  B) Sonko   - A financially able man
                                    - A respected man
                                    - A stable man

25) **A)** Sumba   - An able man
       (A man)   - An energetic man
                                    - A bachelor

   B) Kamabuli   -   Small animals (termites)
                                -   Appears during evening hours
                                -    Eaten by animals
                                -   Helpless animals

Given these expectations, the lexical words in the songs are likely to activate the contextual   assumptions i.e. in (25) that SUMBA (who is an able, energetic, bachelor) is making love to kamabuli
(Small, helpless animals that appears during evening hours and are eaten by all kinds of animals).

Through following a path of least attempt in the shared adjustment of background, cognitive effects and content, the hearers should afterward arrive at an understanding on which sumba and sonko expresses the ad hoc concepts SUMBA* and SONKO*, which denotes broader categories containing not only accurate cases of sumba and sonko but additional cases that share with them the encyclopedic attributes of financially able, energetic, stable, respected men. Only if such a free interpretation fails to suit their expectations of relevance would the hearers be accepted to explore further contextual assumptions, and moving towards a further accurate explanation.

4.1.2.2 Symbolism and Lexical broadening

As stated earlier, a symbol is a person, a place, an event or a thing that is used to stand for or represent something beyond itself such as an idea or a feeling (Indagasi et al 2013: 134). The symbols used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs are relevant in the sense that the figurative language use is understood by the inferential meaning derived from the context. Lexical items that demean women and those that exalt men are always presented in selected circumcision songs as shown below;

Table 2.Symbols used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs

Song Code	Symbol	Gloss	Non-Literal Interpretation
19	• Okupata	• A duck	• A male sexual Organ
24	• Sonko	• A financially able man	• A man
	• Nanjusi	• A wild cat	• A woman
27	• Enjofu • Sichwisi • Yiswa	• An elephant • Something that tightens • An ant	• Female thighs • A beautiful woman • A woman
34	• Matiapa	• A big soda (500ml)	• A man
	• Kipoko	• A buffalo	• A man
35	• Bibindu	• Things	• Female sexual organ
37	• Sikirepu	• Scrap	• A woman
42	• Omulindi	• Security guard	• A night runner

The data above shows evidence that Bukusu circumcision songs use different symbols to allude to males and females and their promiscuous actions. The symbols used are relevant in the sense that the figurative language used is understood by the inferential meaning derived from the context, and the symbols are also understood by those who share the same background knowledge. A systematic survey and interpretation is necessary if one is to comprehend the meaning of the lexical items. The songs below are good examples of these.

Soloist	Response
Okundu okumalimali	Eeh tinaini
Kwechula mabele	Eeh tinaini

| Nolola marango | Eeh tinaini |
| Kiminyi kilikho | Eeh tinaini |

Translation

Soloist	**Response**
A big black thing	Eeh jackal
It's full of milk	Eeh jackal
If you look at their thighs	Eeh jackal
They are full of urine	Eeh jackal

(Source: Song 26)

The above song has used several symbols which include tinaini (jackal), mabele (milk), and kiminyi (Urine). We will use one of them for our analysis. The lexical item kamabele "milk" , which is a concept encoded can be broadened to employ other objects and actions which fall outside it's linguistically – particular sense as triggered by the search of relevance. In the interpretation of the lexical item kamabele (milk), the hearer will be required to expand the category milk to the category MILK* which includes the actual milk and objects that share with milk the encyclopedic property. Some of the encyclopedic entries that the hearer will work on include:

Milk   - A cow's product
- White in color
- Comprises of high value of proteins.
- Required to build and repair body tissues
- Forms anti bodies which spread in the blood to help in combating infection.
- Contains minerals like magnesium, calcium, phosphorous, and potassium.
- Is a source of Vitamin B_2 which promotes healthy skin and eyes.
- Is sweet.

All the above entries refer to kamabele 'milk' in general and are stored in the mind of the composer.

The determined concept 'milk' is merely an initial point for inferential understanding. By following a trail of least effort in the modification of content, context, and cognitive effects (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08), listeners can arrive at the clarification that milk has a broader meaning. The lexical items and phrases which precede the utterance such as a big black thing full of hair (okundu okumalimali, kwamela bufumbo), leads the hearer to arrive at the kamabele 'milk' as sperms found in male's sexual organs that are used to move on the required biological information necessary for producing new organisms. A man's sperms which have characteristics, of entries such as white, fertilize women, and makes women happy.

4.1.2.3 IRONY AND LEXICAL BROADENING

Irony is one of the properties of any language. Irony is a common phenomenon in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Most of the lexical items involve the replacement of a figurative connotation with the standard, truthful meaning.

The term Irony is defined as the trope in which the none literal meaning is the opposite of the literal meaning (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). In our study, irony is used to indirectly allude to thoughts that songs tacitly attributes to people, which they want to make fun of. Several utterances can be tacit in two different ways; as expressing the speakers own opinion, or as representing an idea a speaker tacitly attributes to someone else (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). This is evident in selected Bukusu circumcision songs as shown below:

44)   **Soloist**   **Response**

Ee babuye ekholo

embi khembole babuye   ebabuye

ekholo embi nalobili   ekholo embi eh.

E basani khwechuba
khwakhomba liloba okhatima   e babuya
waila omukoko mubuye   ekholo embi eh

Translation

Soloist	**Response**
E Babuye is a bad clan let me reveal, Babuya is a bad clan I refuse.	Ee Babuya is a bad clan eh!
E, we men have sworn never to marry girls from Babuya clan	Ee Babuya is a bad clan eh!

The phrases used in the song i.e Babuye ekholo embi (Babuye is a bad clan) and Okhatima waila omukoko mubuye (Don't make a mistake of marrying a girl from Babuya's clan) are ironic.

Generally speaking, in saying okhatima waila omukoko mubuye (Don't make a mistake of marrying a girl from Babuya's clan), the song could be addressing the singers' opinion about the clan or it could ironically be referring back to the song.

Occasionally e.g. in simultaneous analysis of the selected songs, the position of an interpretive utterance is basically to let the hearers know what the song communicates. The communicators own view of these feelings is not expected to contribute much to the relevance of her utterance (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08).

But at other times, the main point of explaining an expression may be to bring out the speaker's stance to the thought or attributed utterance. This is evident in selected Bukusu circumcision songs where the lexical items used in the songs are repeated by respondents either to question some behaviors or show how humanity is invisible to some gender as shown below;

Soloist	Response
Sainapu	
	ho – ho Sainapu
	Sabona endene kesenda

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
Zainabu	Ho – ho Sainabu, cannot
	see a penis and move
	(Source: song 27)

In the lines above extracted from song (27) and the whole of song (39) as mentioned earlier, by repeating the soloist's utterance, the respondents are not informing him of what he has just sung, but conveying their reactions by emphasizing the message. For instance in song (27) the respondent's attitude of disgust towards 'Sainapu' is brought out, whereas in song (39) the cynical attitude of downgrading women is strengthened. Such utterances, whose significance depends largely on the speaker's expressed feelings to an attributed thought or utterance , are echoic (Wilson Lecture notes PLIN (2002) 2007-08).

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More instances of ironical instances are brought out in the manner in which the lexical items used to portray the two genders are juxtaposited.

Consider the data's below;
 Sonko (a finacial/stable on man) khunanjusi a wild cat.

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Sumba khumabuli (An able and energetic man on termites).
The two expressions are ironical echo of the portrayal of men and woman. Promiscuous men are ironically presented to be able while women's behaviors are openly exposed. The reason of using these ironical utterances is to separate the speaker from the feelings expressed in the songs. The two expressions thus express a mocking attitude to women as it exalts men.

The relevance – theoretic description explains why various ironical utterances are real quotations from past conversations, poems, films, speeches, and songs. This can be well explained by using song (43) where the lexical item khuchanja 'vaccinate' is used in place of khukwakho 'rape'. What song (43) would imply when ironically anticipated is not – as it is against the Bukusu community to practice bestiality - the lexical item vaccinate being used in place of rape is ironical. To vaccinate is to protect a person or an animal from a disease, while to rape is to force somebody to have sex when they do not want to. The point of song (43) would be not so much to deny the claim that Patrick raped a sheep, but to conceal the practice by bringing it out in a lighter tone.

Irony also involves a component of embellishment or caricature of the opinions being echoed (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). In song (24) and song (25) the lexical items Nanjusi 'wild cat' and kamabuli 'termites', which refer to women, have been designed to emphasize on the women's character. Hearer's find these lexical items ridiculous when comparing to the lexical items used to echo men's personalities i.e Sonko in song (24)and Sumbain song (25).

In summary we can say that in relevance we differentiate between accurate interpretations, where the intention expressed is equal to the opinion being represented, and less than factual interpretations, where the intention expressed merely resembles the

attitude being represented (Wilson Lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08). Ironical embellishment is a less than factual explanation.

4.2. CONCLUSION

All the lexical items discussed eg those that exalt men and those that demean women suggest the infantile stereotypes that have long been a pre occupation for the Bukusu society. The figurative language used represents a multifaceted relationship between men and women among the Bukusus. The study looked at a variety of metaphors and symbolical lexical items accorded the two genders. The use of irony as a strategy has also been discussed. The study shows that the actual meaning and interpretation of the lexical items is determined by the combining clusters of factors, such as the explicit content, context and positive cognitive effects.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A summary of our research findings which led us to the conclusions and recommendations is presented in this chapter. This study aimed at analyzing the lexical items used to portray men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The study was conducted using lexical pragmatic approach rounded in the relevance theory. The study set out to establish whether the lexical pragmatic processes of narrowing and

broadening can adequately interpret lexical items that are used and shared figuratively in selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

5.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings of our study reveal the following:

Firstly, it was established that in selected Bukusu circumcision songs, figures of speech are of necessity realized at the linguistic level; they exist in and derive their meaning from a linguistic context and sometimes realized at the extra linguistic level.

Secondly, it was established that the figurative language used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs reveal the intention of singers. Animals held in high esteem are used to portray men's attributes while those despised are used to portray women's attributes.

Thirdly, the study has also revealed that ironical instances are common in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. The irony is used to ridicule certain behaviors in women but conceal men's characters. The songs do this using certain lexical items that have negative aspects that are not admired in the society to refer to women. The lexical items include termites, wild cat, objects and so on. On the other hand lexical items that have positive aspects are used in reference to men i.e. a duck, a buffalo, a lion and so on.

Fourthly, it was established that the lexical items used in selected songs reveals the society's attitude towards the two genders. A sneering attitude towards women and the respectful attitude towards men are brought out. The study found out that women are referred to negatively using lexical items that are considered useless while men are praised using lexical items that are considered pure, powerful and strong.

Fifthly, there was evidence that the selected Bukusu circumcision songs used tabooed words and euphemisms as strategies to convey their messages.

Sixth, the findings reveal that lexical pragmatic processes of narrowing and broadening adequately analyses the figurative language used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. It was established that the context of the conversation and pragmatic expectations powerfully manipulate the course towards which narrowing and broadening occurs.

Seventh, the study shows that ad hoc concepts add to the truth-conditional content of expressions, phrases and sentences in interpreting Bukusu circumcision songs rather than merely to implicatures.

Lastly, the study establishes that understanding any utterance, literal, loose or metaphorical, is an issue of following a trail of at least effort in jointly adjusting explicit context, content and cognitive effects.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Our observation led us to the conclusion that in order to interpret the lexical items used in selected Bukusu circumcision songs, there must be something about the word that facilitates the transfer of meaning in such a manner that we understand the song. That is, the hearer's background information helps him/her to make correct inferences of the message. Effective communication depends on the knowledge shared between the presenter and the hearer, and the lexical pragmatic process of narrowing reveals this intention. The context in which the lexical items have been used helps in understanding the singers' message. Context is therefore of a great importance in the analysis of selected Bukusu circumcision songs.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study focused on the lexical items used to portray men and women in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Some of the figures of speech that were examined include metaphors, symbolism and irony. The study examined these lexical items using a lexical pragmatic approach. The study left out other figures of speech like neologisms, proverbs,

personification, hyperbole and so on. Other research can be done on the songs using them.

Bukusu circumcision songs can also be coined in such a way as to praise or ridicule political leaders. It will be of great significance if research was carried out on the lexical items used to portray political leaders to reveal the meaning and intention of the singers.

Borrowing, code mixing, code switching and derivation are common features in selected Bukusu circumcision songs. Further research can also be carried out to identify the motif behind these songs using the features.

It will also be of linguistic interest to carry out such a study using the contrastive lexico-semantic theory.

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APPENDIX 1

SONG CODE 1

KONGONA

Soloist	Response
1. Ee kongona mungo muno oli kongona	kongona
2. Ewe wakhateli nebakhuwelekho oli	
oli kongona	kongona
3. Ewe Wangila nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
4. E ndiwe Furango nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
5. Tenisi nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
6. E mara ya kwanza nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
7. E papa Wanyonyi nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
8. Embalu ya musano nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
9. Fundi we chindika nebakhuwelekho	
oli kongona	kongona
10. Eh rema khumukhebi oli rema	kongona
11. Yuno omuengele Heruni keya	
oli kongona	kongona

ENGLISH

KONGONA

Soloist	Response
1. Ee finish everything in this home	
You finish it	Finish it
2. You Wakhateli, if you are given	

you finish it	Finish it

3. Oo Wangila if you are given

you finish it   Finish it

4. Even you Franco if you are given

You finish it   Finish it

5. Dennis if you are given

You finish it   Finish it

6. If you are given for the first time

You finish it   Finish it

7. Father Wanyonyi if you are given

You finish it   Finish it

8. Circumcision of our tradition, if you are

If you are given finish it   Finish it

9. The bicycle repairer in Tulwet market,

You finish it   Finish it

10. Eh cut you circumciser

You cut it   Finish it

11. This o muengele Henry Keya

You finish it   Finish it

SONG CODE 2

SAINAPU

Soloist	**Response**
1. Sainapu?	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
2. Sainapu?	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
3. Sainapu?	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona kwoba kesenda
4 .Sainapu ?	Hoo-ho Sainapu,

	sabona Simiyu kesenda
5. Lirango lye njofu	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona Wekesa kesenda
6. Yaya Sainapu?	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
7. Omukhana Sichinji	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
8. Omukhana yiswa	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
9. Yimba, Sainapu	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda
10. Omukhana Sic hinji	Hoo-ho Sainapu,
	sabona endene kesenda

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu cannot see a penis and move.
2. Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu cannot see a penis and move.
3. Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu cannot see a penis and move Kwoba and move.
4. Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu cannot see Simiyu and move.
5. The one with big thighs	Hoo-ho Zainabu

	cannot see
	Wekesa and move.
6. Zainabu	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see a penis
	and move.
7. A girl Jigger	Hoo-ho Zainabu
	cannot see Wanyonyi
	and move.

SONG CODE 3

MBE OMUKHASI WANJE OYO

Soloist	Response
1. Atoti omwoyo kwakhapara	mbe omukhasi
2. Ese omwoyo kwakhapara	mbe omukhasi
3. Ngeba semanya khuoya	mbe omukhasi
4. Kang'ali omwoyo kwakhapara	mbe omukhasi
5. Ee papa?	mbe omukhasi
	wanje oyo,mbe
	omukhasi wanje
	oyo, mbe omukhasi
6. Musa aoyanga Nasambu	mbe omukhasi
7. Nasambu keyama bwiyama	mbe omukhasi
8. Mala baacha mumikachi	mbe omukhasi
9. Nasambu yabuta masafu	mbe omukhasi
10. Malayaala asi	mbe omukhasi
11. Mala bakona bukona	mbe omukhasi
	wanje oyo,mbe
	omukhasi wanje

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1.Atoti my heart has thought	give me the woman
2. personally my heart has thought	give me the woman
3. Maybe I don't know how to seduce	give me the woman
4.Surely my heart has thought	give me the woman
5.Ee father	give me that woman of mine, give me that woman of mine, give me that woman
6. Musa seduces Nasambu	give the woman
7. Nasambu accepted	give me the woman
8. Then they went to the sugarcane plantation	give me the woman
9. Nasambu plucked leaves	give me the woman
10.Then she spread it	give me the woman
11. Then they slept	give me that woman of mine, give me that woman of mine, give me that woman

SONG CODE 4

OKUPATA KWAKHUSOCHA

Soloist	Response
1. Okendanga polepole endi okupata kwakhusocha	Mng'ati
2. Mukhasi okupata kwakhusocha	Mng'ati

3. Okendanga newiteya

    endi okupata kwakhusocha   Mng'ati

4. Mayi – we bira ungwekho   wowe bira

                                         ungwekho Mng'ati

5. Mayi –we bira undile   Wowe bira

                                         Undile   Mng'ati

6. Mayi we bira undikitie   Wowe bira

                                         undikitie mng'ati

7. Mayi we bira ungwekho   Wowe bira

                                         ungwekho Mng'ati.

ENGLISH

Soloist   **Response**

1. You walk slowly because   in private

    a duck pierced you   parts

2. Woman a duck   in private

    pierced you   parts

3. You walk proudly when   in Private

    a duck pierced you   parts

4. Mother –we come and   Wowe come and

    rape me   rape me in private parts.

5. Mother – we come and   Wowe come and

    hold me   hold me in private parts.

6. Mother – we come   Wowe come and

    tickle me   tickle me in private parts

7. Girls come and rape me   Wowe come and

                                         rape me in Private parts.

SONG CODE 5

SONKO KHUNANJUSI

Soloist	**Response**
1. Ooh! mayi wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh bira
	o lole sonko khunanjusi
2. Ooh mayi wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh! Bira
	Olole Sonko khunanjusi
3. Khocha wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh! Bira
bira olole	Olole Sonko khunanjusi
4. Papa wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh! Bira
bira olole	Olole sonko khunanjusi
5. Ooh senge wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh! Bira
	Olole Sonko khunanjusi
6. Yaya wo mwana	Ooh! Ooh! Bira
	Olole Sonko khunanjusi

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. Ooh mother of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat
2. . Ooh mother of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat
3. Uncle of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat
4. Father of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat
5. Aunt of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat
6. Brother of the child	Ooh! Ooh! Come and see sonko on a wild cat

SONG CODE 6

EMANJE

Soloist	Response
1. Tomola Emanje mungo muno tomola Emanje	Emanje
2. Tomola Emanje mungo muno tomola Emanje	Emanje
3. Ee wa papa ndoya	Emanje
4. Ee wa papa ndoya	Emanje
5. Wina niye omulindi wa bandu yanje	Emanje
6.Hehe wa papa ndoya	Emanje
7. Wina niye omulindi wa bandu yanje	Emanje
8. Wina niye omulindi wa abakhasi yanje	Emanje
9. Hehe wa papa ndoya	Emanje

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. Talk of Emanje in this home talk of Emanje	Emanje
2. Talk of Emanje in this home talk of Emanje	Emanje

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3. Ee ee who belongs to
our father ndoya   Emanje

4. Ee ee who belongs to
our father ndoya   Emanje

5. Who takes care of
people outside   Emanje

6. Hee who belongs to
our father Ndoya   Emanje

7. Who takes care of our
children outside   Emanje

8. Who takes care of
Women outside   Emanje

9. Who belongs to
our father Ndoya   Emanje

SONG CODE 7

MARITA

Soloist   **Response**

Eeh Eeh senganakananga   khunyikuri, Marita yanyola
                                                        Inda khunyikuri

Ingo wa Marita mang'anyu kandia   khunyikuri, Marita yanyola
                                                        Inda khunyikuri

ENGLISH

Eeh eeh I have been thinking   about Nyikuri, Marita was
                                                        impregnated by Nyikuri

I am afraid of Maritas home   about Nyikuri, Marita was
                                                        impregnated by Nyikuri

SONG CODE 8

OMUKHASI

Soloist	Response
1. Omukhasi ho-ho!	Hoo, ho-ho omukhasi
2. Omukhasi ho-ho!	Hoo, ho-ho omukhasi
3. Omukhasi esura embi	omukhasi
4. Omukhasi esura endayi	omukhasi
5. Omukhasi ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho omukhasi
6. Seli lazima abe chonjo	omukhasi
7. Esura enga siraro	omukhasi
8. Omukhasi ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho omukhasi
9. Kakhaba ne siraro	omukhasi
10. Kakhaba omuleme	omukhasi
11. Omukhasi aba omukhasi	omukhasi
12. Omukhasi aba omukhasi	omukhasi
13. Omukhasi ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho, omukhasi

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. A woman ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho a woman

2. Even if she is ugly	a woman
3. Even if she is beautiful	a woman
4. It is not a must	
for her to be active	a woman
5. A woman ho-ho,	Hoo,ho-ho
	a woman
6. Even if she looks like a shoe	a woman
7. A woman ho-ho	a woman
8. Even if she drives	a woman
9. Even if she is lame	a woman
10.A woman is a woman	a woman
11. A woman ho-ho	Hoo, ho-ho
a woman	

SONG CODE 9

CHEMIATI

Soloist	Response
1. Chemiati aumbula abana	aumbula abana
2. Chemiati aumbula bakhana	aumbula abana
3. Chemiati aumbula Ruth	aumbula abana
4. Papa abana kumi na mbili	aumbula abana
5. Chemiati aumbula Rose	aumbula abana
6. Mwichukhulu wa Nafula aumbula abana	aumbula abana
7. Chemiati papa aumbula abana	aumbula abana
8. Pata pata	pata pata
9. Chemiati	Chemiati
10. Sina siakwa ewe?	umbula abana
11. Chemiati umbula abana	umbula abana

ENGLISH

CHEMIATI

Soloist	Response
1. Chemiati separates children	Separates children
2. Chemiati separates girls	Separates children
3. Chemiati separates Ruth	Separates children
4. Daddy twelve children	Separates children
5. Chemiati separates Rose	Separates children
6. The grand child to Nafula	
separates children	Separates children
7. Chemiati daddy separate children	Separate children
8. Pata pata	Pata pata
9. Chemiati	Chemiati
10. What happened?	Separate children
11. Chemiati separate children	Separate children

SONG CODE 10

PATRICK

Soloist	Response
1. Khwenya khumanya nanu	
owachanja likhese	Patrick
2. Khwenya khumanya nanu	
owachanja likhese	Patrick
3. Eeh! Ooh! Ooh.	Patrick
4. Eeh! Ooh! Ooh.	Patrick
5.Papa ooh! Ooh!	Patrick
6. Nanu owachanja	
Likhese	Patrick
7.Kalekha bakhasi	
acha khwikhese	Patrick

Soloist	Response
8. Eeh! Ooh! Ooh.	Patrick
9 Kalekha bakhasi acha khwikhese	Patrick
10 Bakhasi balila kamasika	Patrick
11. Eeh! Ooh! Ooh.	Patrick

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. We want to know who vaccinated a sheep	Patrick
2. We want to know who vaccinated a sheep	Patrick
3. Eeh ! ooh! Ooh!	Patrick
4. Eeh ! ooh! Ooh!	Patrick
5. Father ooh! Ooh!	Patrick
6. Who vaccinated a sheep	Patrick
7. Left women for a sheep	Patrick

SONG CODE 11
JANE

Soloist	Response
1. Jane	Jane we khusoko omukumba
2. Jane	Jane we khusoko omukumba
3. Kasukuna	kasukuna omwana mchoo
4. Kasukuna	kasukuna omwana mchoo
5. Sisa	sisa siambanga wasala

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6. Sisa   sisa siambaga wasala

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. Jane	Jane who lives at the market is barren
2. Jane	Jane who lives at the market is barren
3. She threw	she threw a child in the toilet
4. She threw	she threw a child in the toilet
5. Sorrow	sorrow affects those who gave birth
6. Sorrow	sorrow affects those who gave birth

SONG CODE 12

TEMU SIKIREPU

Soloist	Response
1. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
2. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
3. Temu sikirepu birei	ooh! Temu sikrepu birei
4. Temu nakhaile mkwekho	ooh! Temu nakhaile mkwekho
5. Temu sikirepu birei	ooh! Temu sikirepu birei
6. Yaani mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
7. Temu nakhaile mkosie	ooh! Temu nakhaile mkosie
8. Yaani mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
9. Sumba bekamani khwola	sumba bekamani khwola
10. Bandu ba klukosi khwola	bandu ba klukosi khwola

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ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
2. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
3. Scrap dem come here	ooh! scrap dem come here
4. If a dem has .refused rape her	ooh!! If a dem has refused rape her
5. Scrape dem come here	ooh! scrape dem com here
6. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
7. If a dem has refused seduce her	ooh! If a dem has refused seduce her
8. Mchaka mchaka	mchaka ndombolo
9. Energetic men have arrived	ooh! Energetic men have arrived
10. People glucose have arrived	ooh! Men of glucose have arrived

SONG CODE 13

SINDU SYAUNYA

Soloist	Response
1. Esindu ooh! sindu	Sindu ooh! sindu
2. Esindu ooh! sindu	Sindu ooh! sindu
3. Esindu Joyce! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
4. Esindu sikora! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
5. Esindu syaunya! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
6. Siabeya Chemiati! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
7 Esindu sichafu! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
8. Sie bilenje oli luiongo! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
9. Esindu ooh! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu
10. Esindu sisimbi! sindu	Sindu ooh! Sindu

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something

2. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
3. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
4. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
5. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
6. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
7. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
8. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
9. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something
10. Something ooh, something	something ooh, something

SONG CODE 14

MATIAPA

Soloist	**Response**
1. Matiapa wuno	ahee
2 .Matiapa wuno	Matiapa mundu
Matiapa syste	
Kipoko	
3. Kibulei wuno	ahee
4. Kibulei wuno	Kibulei mundu
Kibulei system	
Kipoko	
5. Wechesa wuno	ahee
6. Wechesa wuno	omusiani mundu
omusiani system	
Kipoko.	

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. This madiaba	Ahee
2. This madiaba	Madiaba somebody
Madiaba system	

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a buffalo

3. This Kibulei   ahee

4. This Kibulei   Kibulei somebody

Kibulei system

a buffalo

1.   This Wechesa   ahee

2.   This Wechesa   boy somebody

                                                                    boy system

                                                                    a buffalo

SONG CODE 15

FLORA

Soloist   **Response**

1. Fl-o-ora   woyaya Flora seumba

                                                                             khubindu

2.Fl-o-ora?   woyaya Flora seumba

                                                                             khubindu

3.Wamwene wandaka   s eumba khubindu

   oli nenja khusoko ekhunyole

4. Wamwene wandaka oli nenja mutinga   seumba khubindu

   ekhunyole

ENGLISH

Soloist   **Response**

1. Fl-o-ora   surely Flora give me

                                                                              some things

2. Fl-o-ora?   surely Flora give me

                                                                             some things

3. You promised that on

     your way to the market I meet you….   give me some things

4. You promised that on your way

to the posh mill I meet you…….   give me some things.

SONG CODE 16

SUMBA KHUMABULI

Soloist	**Response**
1. Hoo – ho	Hoo – ho – ho sumba Khumabuli
2. Hoo –ho	Hoo – ho - ho sumba Khumabuli
3. Sumba be kamani	Ooh !
4. Hoo –ho	sumba khumabuli
5. Yaya sumba wefwe	Ooh!
6. Hoo-ho – ho	Sumba Khumabuli

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. Ho – ho on termites	Hoo – ho – ho an unmarried man
2. Ho – ho on termites.	hoo – ho -ho an unmarried man
3. An energetic and unmarried man	Ooh!
4. Hoo – ho-ho	an unmarried man on termites
5. Brother our own man	Ooh!
6. Hoo- ho –ho	an unmarried man on termites
7. Hoo – ho	Hoo! ho – ho a man on termites

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SONG CODE 17

Soloist	Response
Nachile khane omwana	khane omwana lusibo
Lusibo emwalo	khane lusibo emwalo
Newenya khureba oreba Naity	Oreba Naity woluswa

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
I went there only to find that the	the girl had a hole, had a
girl had ahole	hole in her private parts.
If you want to seduce	seduce Naity who
seduce Naity	practiced incest

SONG CODE 18

BABUYA

Soloist	Response
1. E Babuya ekholo embi	
Khembole babuya ekholo	e Babuya
Embi nalobili	ekholo embi eh
2. . E Babuya ekholo embi	
Khembole babuya ekholo	e Babuya
Embi nalobili	ekholo embi eh
3. E babuya khwama nabo	
ekibuchori nebera	e Babuya
omwana Protus	ekholo embi eh
4. E Babuye ekholo embi	
khembole batekhela	e Babuya
bandu chikhaniafu	ekholo embi eh

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5. E babusia bitasi earo

   yakhilwa baenja naseti   e Babuya

   yabala ekwena   ekholo embi eh

6. E Rirr! Ndi sinya

    Musinye kang'ali   e Babuya

    Musinye kang'ali   ekholo embi eh

7. E basani khwechuba

    Khwakhomba liloba okhatima   e Babuya

    waila omukoko mubuya   ekholo embi eh

ENGLISH

Soloist   **Response**

1. E Babuye is a bad clan let   Ee Babuya is
   me reveal, Babuya is a bad   a bad clan eh!
   clan I refuse.

2. E Babuye is a bad clan let   Ee Babuya is
    me reveal, Babuya is a bad   a bad clan eh!
   clan I refuse

3. E Babuya who come from   Ee Babuya is
   Kibichori killed the   a bad clan eh!
   young Protus

4. E Babuya is a bad clan   Ee Babuya is
   I reveal; they cooked   a bad clan eh!
   chameleons for people

5. E the rags they tied together   Ee Babuya is
   would only be split by   a bad clan eh!
   'nacet' razor blade, sharp
    enough to dissect a crocodile!

6. E, Rirr! Truly make tremors   Ee Babuya is
   That will shake the earth   a bad clan eh!

7. E, we men have sworn never   Ee Babuya is

| to marry girls from Babuya | a bad clan eh! |
| clan | |

SONG CODE 19

TINAINI

Soloist	Response
1. Okundu Okumalimali	Eeh Tinaini
2. Kwamela bufumbo	Eeh Tinaini
3. Okundu okumali mali	Eeh Tinaini
4. Kwechula Mabele	Eeh Tinaini
5. Bakhana balelo	Eeh Tinaini
6. Bamela bariena	Eeh Tinaini
7. Nolola marango	Eeh Tinaini
8. Kiminyi kilikho	Eeh Tinaini

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. A big black thing	Eeh jackal
2. It has grown hair	Eeh jackal
3. A big black thing	Eeh jackal
4. It's full of milk	Eeh jackal
5. The girls of these days	Eeh jackal
6. How do they look like	Eeh jackal
7. If you look at their thighs	Eeh jackal
8. It's full of urine	Eeh jackal

SONG CODE 20

TIMBULA OMUSIEMBE

Soloist	Response

1.	Mlamwa Rose	Timbula omusembe
2.	Mlamwa Rose	Timbula omusembe
3.	Mayi Rose	Timbula omusembe
4.	Mayi Rose	Timbula omusembe
5.	Timbu timbu	Timbula omusembe

ENGLISH

1. In law Rose	shake the tail
2. In law Rose	shake the tail
3. Mother Rose	shake the tail
4. Mother Rose	shake the tail
5. Shake shake	shake the tail

SONG CODE 21

Soloist	**Response**
1. Mayi omukhwe kumunie kwasimula	tisia
2. Mayi omukhwe kumunie kwasimula	tisia, tisia

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. Mother in-laws vagina sneezes	tisia
2. Mother in-laws vagina sneezes	tisia, tisia

SONG CODE 22
MULONGO

Soloist	**Response**
1. Mulongo	Haho
2Mulongo	Haho

3Ese omutecho yanduma	Haho
4. Khwama wa khocha bona	Haho
5. Mutikiye enjeko Mulongo	Etila omwana
	Omukhana Mulongo
6 Khwola engo efwe Mulongo	Etila omwana
	Omukhana Mulongo
7. Muume buuma Mulongo	Etila omwana
	Omukhana Mulongo
8. Mukhwese bukhwesa	Etila omwana
Mulongo	Omukhana Mulongo

ENGLISH

Soloist	**Response**
1. Mulongo	Haho
2. Mulongo	Haho
3. I was circumcised	Haho
4. We are from uncles place	Haho
5. Hold on the centre post	Get hold of a
Mulongo	baby girl, Mulongo
6. We have reached home Mulongo	Get hold of a
	baby girl, Mulongo
7. Roar loudly Mulongo	Get hold of
	baby girl, Mulongo
8. Hold firmly Mulongo	Get hold of a
	baby girl Mulongo

SONG CODE 23

MOSES

Soloist	**Response**
1. Mose-mose	Moses
2. Mose-mose	Moses

3.	Moses kamanya khuoya	Moses- eeh eeh-mose, Moses
4.	Kosia, kosia	kosia khumatamu
5.	Kosia kosia	kosia khumatamu
6.	Tila tila	tila khumatamu

ENGLISH

Soloist	Response
1. Mose Mose	Moses
2. .Mose Mose	Moses
3. Moses knows how to seduce	Moses ee,ee,ee Moses
4Talk well, talk well	Talk well to madam
5. Talk well, talk well	Talk well to madam
6. Hold, hold	Hold madam