The Gender Dimension of Songs in Maragoli Marriage Ceremonies

by

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

In Memory of Mama Esther Lihema Bwonya
(The Great Lady)

You single-handedly steered us your children
Towards achievement of academic excellence
In perpetuation of yours and father’s ideals
A tribute you paid to him after his demise
So Mama, this indeed is your thesis.

Now as I stand on this academic podium
Receiving my Master of Arts degree
I remember your advice to all of us your children
To pursue education to the highest peaks
Never giving in to despair --- the enemy of success.

Forever shall I treasure your Christian faith and counsel
The brain child of this thesis
Just but the beginning of greater heights
Of the academic ladder that I must climb on
Always remembering that this is your thesis.
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ABSTRACT

The marriage song in the Maragoli community has been the monopoly of women over the years. There are various reasons why women play a central role in the marriage song. In the first instance, the culture requires a woman to leave her parents' home and join her husband's family when she gets married. The composers of the marriage song, being themselves women, artistically portray this cultural requirement by highlighting the woman's fears, anxiety and insecurity at the prospect of going to the unknown. These feelings are revealed in the sad moods and gloomy atmosphere created in some of their songs on an otherwise festive and happy occasion such as a wedding.

The women's reaction to the society's gender roles is another reason for their domination of the marriage song. They see the society's distribution of gender roles as oppressive to them and since the very society has denied them a forum to air their views, they utilize the marriage ceremony to raise gender issues. They use satire to bring out the futility of the society's failure to revise its economic empowerment of the man.

Besides, in their clever use of paradox, the women highlight the complexities of life in marriage relationships. This enables the prospective bride to stop idealizing marriage and come to grips with the realities of life. Moreover, the women carefully choose to use a wide range of words including foreign ones for aesthetic and cathartic effects. Through semantic oddities and punning, women not only relieve the sad moods in the songs but they also underline the continuity of feminine gender roles. The study therefore shows the extent to which the marriage song in the Maragoli community subtly raises gender issues.
INTRODUCTION

0.1.1 Background To The Study

The song, which is the earliest verbal art that a person encounters in life through lullabies, is an almost spontaneous and immediate reaction to a soul touching event. The immediate impact of the song allows the audience to listen to it and ponder over it. Although there are many types of songs, we are interested in the marriage song due to the fact that the marriage ceremony is an area rich with songs that are gender focused.

Furthermore, the marriage song is important to us because it is a value-packed social commentary. Thus, through their clever depiction of the bride and bridegroom as literary personae, the singers are able to comment on men's and women's breaking of society's moral laws with a view to enabling the audience to assess themselves and amend their behaviour. As such, when the singers wish to caution men against breaking certain social norms, they use the bridegroom whom they depict as breaking moral laws, and this way men who fail to conform to social norms correct their mistakes. The same is applicable to women.

The marriage song is also a rich area to study because in traditional society, songs played an important role in marriage counseling. One such illustration is Song 11 which continues to be a very good psychological preparation for the bride about what she should expect in her marital home. Therefore, when the bride later on reflects on the songs in her marital home, she realises their complexity.

Finally, through gender awareness in Kenya, we have tended to overlook the fact that our oral sources are rich with materials that tackle gender issues. The Maragoli are a gender sensitive people because the marriage songs show that the woman is an important person whose superior and subordinate positions are brought out. This is
exhibited in the marriage songs that show the paradox that is the woman's place. Besides, the marriage ceremony lays emphasis on the importance of both genders during the adorning ceremony.

0.1.2 The Maragoli: An Overview

The Maragoli are a sub-ethnic community of the Abaluhya of Western Kenya. They occupy two political constituencies in the Western Province of Kenya: Sabatia and Vihiga in Vihiga District (see FIG.1 p3). Due to overpopulation and the search for new settlements, some Maragoli have settled in the Rift Valley Province in places like Kitale, Nakuru, Molo, Nandi, Njoro and Elburgon. Some have migrated to Nyanza Province in parts of Migori District while others stay in settlement Schemes such as Lugari. Others have settled in Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan.

Mulogoli was the founding father of the Maragoli and his wife was known as Kaliyesa. The couple had five children. Their sons were Sari, Kizungu, Kirima and Mavi in that order. The fifth child was a girl known as Kavogoyi. Since the community is patriarchal, it has four clans each of which bears the name of Mulogoli's sons. There are very many families from Mulogoli's grandchildren and each family traces its ancestry to a Maragoli clan and to Mulogoli the community's founding father. From the foregoing, we note that marriage is a respected social ritual that brought Maragoli clans and families into existence. The Maragoli therefore see marriage as central to the community since it imparts those values that hold them together. Therefore, the marriage song is an affirmation of the fact that marriage is an important social institution.
There are three very important rites of passage in the Maragoli community: circumcision, marriage, and death. There are songs that mark each rite of passage but the most important one is marriage because it is not only complex but the beginning of life. The complex nature of marriage is revealed in Song 11 that tells the bride how difficult it is for her to leave her home and also emphasizes to her the importance of child-bearing. In addition, Song 34 satirises the bridegroom's economic ability, yet at the same time revealing the fact that the bride is getting married due to the bridegroom's ability to settle the required bridewealth in the form of cattle. This shows that marriage songs are of intellectual import as far as our thesis is concerned. Besides, marriage songs have originated from the community's view of marriage and their awareness of the woman's disposition to it.

Through the marriage song, women bring out their fear of the unknown in marriage. This fear is established and intensified through the marriage mood which is known as *Kuhihiza keselero*. *Kuhihiza* is a Maragoli word meaning "to sing or cry; rejoice or mourn, in preparation for" or "to expect a momentous occasion". *Keselero* means "wedding". Marriage songs are therefore sung to show that somebody is about to wed.

*Kuhihiza keselero* in this community is performed in the evenings at least four days prior to the wedding day in the home of the prospective bride. During this time, the bride is expected to participate in the singing and dancing. The songs that are sung *kuhihiza keselero* in the bride's home are the same ones that are sung on the wedding feast organised in her home and on the wedding day in the bridegroom's home. This explains why singers from the bride's home usually outsing the bridegroom's singers in his home on the wedding day. This is because songs *kuhihiza keselero* are not sung in the bridegroom's home. According to Richard Agufana, these songs are not sung in the bridegroom's home because it is the bride who is joining his family and community (Personal interview).
0.1.3 A Comparison between traditional and modern Maragoli marriage ceremonies

The community has developed from the use of banana leaves for bedding to the use of modern furniture such as beds. In terms of attire, people wore skins in ancient times but these have been replaced by modern suits and veils as indicated in Songs 10, 14, 24 and 25. Although the community traded by barter in ancient times, the introduction of money and what it can purchase is evident in Songs 14 and 25.

Furthermore, Christianity has had a very big impact on the Maragoli marriage ceremony because the early Christian missionaries viewed marriage songs as well as stylised jokes as heathen and satanic and replaced them with Christian hymns. For example, Lois Musimbi Lutaza tells us that since her marriage was a Christian wedding, those girls who satirised her in songs and stylised jokes were apprehended (Personal Interview). This is why some of the ancient marriage songs that Christianity regarded as obscene and satanic in nature have been abandoned. What this reveals is the fact that these people from other cultures regarded such songs as being obscene because they failed to understand them within the marriage context. The gist of the argument in our thesis is that the context makes them functional so that the purpose for which these songs are sung overrides the obscenity. Hence what would be seen as obscene in a normal singing festival is not obscene in a wedding ceremony. Song 24 in our thesis is a good illustration of this. As such, most Maragoli marriage ceremonies nowadays are a blend of Christian, traditional and Western influences.

The attainment of the right age for marriage was mandatory for both boys and girls because of what their roles entailed. According to Mwavali, the correct marriage age for both boys and girls was "between twenty-five to thirty years of age during
which period the boys and girls were energetic and mature enough to carry out manual
work" (1). He adds that a man had to pass the following tests before he got married:

1. To mow a thick bushy garden.
2. To pull enough grass for thatching a house.
3. To make enough mud for putting on the house...
4. Above all, the boys' (sic) manners should be exemplary.
5. The boy or boys must be habitual hard-workers (sic) and industrious (1).

This means that a man had to pass the society's marriage tests before he got married.
Interestingly, the marriage song normally satirises the man's failure to comply with his
roles; yet it is due to his fulfillment of society's expectation of his roles that he is
wedding. This is usually a foreshadowing of his family life that will make him run into
debts and probably depend on his wife's salary in modern times. Mwavali goes on to
tell us that a girl too had to pass the following tests:

1. To be hardworking in doing manual work with special reference to
digging....
2. To grind grain on a grinding stone into fine flour, enough for the family's
meal.
3. To fetch water from the river using a reasonably big water pot
4. . . . the girl or girls should be hardworking and prove mature before their
parents allowed them to be married so that their parents will (sic) know
that they will (sic) be able to look after their family members adequately...
(1).

These tests give us a summary of the roles of the woman in marriage in this society.
Although a girl passed these tests, the female singers from the bridegroom's home often
satirised her stating that she was lazy. Such satirical songs still go on to date. A case in
point is Song 17 in which the bridegroom is complaining about the lazy wife the
mediator brought him. This highlights the paradox in human relationships.
In traditional society, a mediator played a very important role in marriages because when a man wanted to marry he went through the mediator who, according to Mwavali, was always a trusted woman (3). The mediator then approached the parents of a girl who had passed the marriage test and after investigating her family background and finding no fault or relationship, then the marriage negotiations began. The relationship was too broad for as Wagner observes, the laws of exogamy "prohibit marriage between a man and woman if any of his four grandparents belongs to the same clan as one of her four grandparents" (383). This observation expands the scope of one's kin. It is because of such kinship ties that the singers who are not necessarily the spouses blood sisters and cousins refer to the spouse's father as their father and other blood relatives as theirs in songs such as 3 and 25.

Having ascertained that there were no kinship ties, other issues were looked into. Wagner for instance tells us that diseases such as leprosy, epilepsy and severe ulcers would make one remain unmarried (392). Mwavali adds that the family should neither comprise thieves nor practice witchcraft and sorcery. He also says that the family should not consist of murderers (3). Apart from illnesses, other practices are considered anti-social. As such, due to the bride's uncertainty about the family to which she is getting married, songs such as 33 are composed satirising the anti-social behaviour of the bridegroom and his family. In addition, certain illnesses result from filth and this is regarded as unbecoming, thereby prompting the singers to satirise the spouse's filth as in songs 22 and 23.

When both parties were satisfied with their findings, the girl's parents gave the mediator an appropriate day when they would go to the bride's home to discuss bridewealth. Mwavali states that the bride's family then prepared for the arrival of bridewealth which in ancient days consisted of two goats and five to six hoes known as mahaya (2). However, Lois Kayavi states that the payment of goats for bridewealth was later on
replaced by cows and the hoes were later on replaced with money (Personal Interview): It is against such a backdrop that women compose songs and stylised jokes satirising bridewealth.

The wedding day having been fixed, Mugisa tells us that the bride in the company of her best maid visited both her paternal and maternal relatives informing them about the wedding and at the same time gathering foodstuff from them which would be cooked during the wedding feast in her home (Personal Interview, a). This indicates that marriage was a communal affair.

Berita Onzere says that while the bride collected foodstuff from her relatives, songs *kuhihiza keselero* were sung in her home daily. The performances started at about 7 p.m. and went on up to 10 p.m. during which time the bride would be back to participate in them (Personal Interview). Such performances still go on in the countryside except that the duration of *kuhihiza keselero* varies from one family to another. These songs are important to our thesis because they establish the relevant wedding moods, and as Jeremiah Egala believes, they serve as rehearsal sessions for the songs that are sung both on the pre-wedding and wedding days. These rehearsals are advantageous to the bride's singers because they are usually victorious during partisan singing on the wedding day (Personal Interview, a).

The wedding feast that was held in the bride's home in the olden days according to Endusa was meant for the bride's relatives and neighbours. It excluded the bridegroom and his relatives and friends (Personal Interview). We shall refer to this feast as the pre-wedding ceremony in our thesis. But later on with the introduction of Christianity as Hanah Egala tells us, the bridegroom, the groom's men and two church elders attended the pre-wedding ceremony in the bride's home. On that occasion, the bridegroom was really satirised in song and the stylised jokes while the bride was praised (Personal Interview, a).
The bridegroom's attendance of the pre-wedding feast in the bride's home is still practised today albeit with modifications such as his parents attending this ceremony. On this day, the bridegroom is a little shy for according to Charles Olienyi, he is not familiar with the bride's relatives, neighbours and friends; he eats gently so as not to be regarded greedy. At the same time, the stylised jokes directed against him for his greed actually make him reduce his eating speed as a way of play-acting (Personal Interview). This indicates that a man is supposed to be dramatic on this occasion.

Tirus Umbima posits that in a traditional Maragoli marriage ceremony, the bride and her party made technical appearances at the bridegroom's home after the pre-wedding feast held at her home (Personal Interview). That meant that the feast had to end early to enable the bride and the bride's maids to go to the groom's home. He goes on to tell us that the girls went singing wedding songs and on reaching there, the bride pulled off a lot of grass from the house of the bridegroom's parents if she was a virgin (Personal Interview). Susana Avwasi adds that the pulling of grass from the house is known as kwiha ekesesu (Personal Interview). This pulling of grass is symbolic of the bride's inevitable loss of her virginity during the consummation of her marriage. According to Umbima, no sooner had the bride pulled off the grass and thrown it on the ground than one of the girls threw a bunch of firewood in the doorway of the bridegroom's parents' house and then they took off very fast singing and dancing. They had to go away very fast or else the bride would be hijacked so that there would be no wedding the next day (Personal Interview). The bunch of firewood symbolises the bride's roles of collecting firewood and cooking for her husband's family.

What we observe from the foregoing is the fact that there were very many dramatic as well as theatrical instances in marriage ceremonies worthy of literary attention. In spite of the abandonment of some of these practices, new ones have replaced them while others have been modified. An example of a new addition to the Maragoli marriage
ceremony is the bride's carrying of flowers and the role of flower girls in the ceremony. This according to Susan Avwasi did not exist in traditional society because when she wedded in December 1936, she neither carried flowers nor did she have flower girls (Personal Interview). We are therefore justified in asserting that the inclusion of flowers in the marriage ceremony emanates from the society's aesthetic consciousness which is depicted in Song 40.

Mwavali tells us that on the wedding day, an old man took a cow's skin and spread it directly in the doorway of the house of the bride's parents. The bride was then asked to stand on that skin so that she would be anointed with ghee and simsim (5). Aireni Karamwa adds that only a virgin stood on the cow's skin (Personal Interview). This means that virginity for a woman was highly valued in society. As such, marriage songs and stylised jokes were composed to encompass this cultural norm.

Adornment of the bride followed the anointing. According to Mwavali, the bride was adorned with ornaments of a well decorated skin known as *endeeretsi* which was decorated with "beads, cowrie shells as well as the beads of a wild hog"; this ornament was only given to virgins (5). This reveals the society's gender blindness in its emphasis of the bride's virginity and her adorning without giving such special treatment to a bridegroom who is also a virgin. Moreover, this being a fertility rite overlooked the bridegroom's role in procreation. However, the adorning with *endeeretsi* has been replaced with the adorning of both spouses with decorations such as garlands bought from shops. This ritual normally takes place in church both on the pre-wedding and wedding days. Consequently, the modern marriage song makes a reference to this adorning—a case in point being Song 42. Hence the adorning of both spouses shows the community's gender sensitivity.

Avwasi goes on to say that on the wedding day, the bride's maids sang songs praising her on their way to the bridegroom's home (Personal Interview). When the bride's
singers met the bridegroom's singers, the singing was partisan. Jeremiah Egala tells us that the singing was and is still partisan because the singers turned it into a singing competition between the bride's village and that of the groom (Personal Interview, a). And Lois Gimadulu adds that the bride's singers were always victorious because of the many rehearsal sessions that had taken place in her home (Personal Interview). Apart from the songs, Hannah Egala tells us that the bridegroom's singers cracked stylised jokes at the bride's expense when her singers had gone to eat (Personal Interview, a). Such jokes are still cracked in modern Maragoli marriage ceremonies that take place in the countryside. What partisan singing does is to give women the opportunity to vent their feelings about their subordinate status while at the same time showing that they are superior in their own rights.

At this juncture, we need to show what takes place in church during marriage ceremonies -- a Christian impact that influences the entire ceremony. In church, the ritual begins with the final reading out of the banns on the pre-wedding and wedding days. The swearing and sealing of the marriage that includes the signing of certificates and exchange of rings take place in church on the wedding day. Hymns are also sung at intervals. Besides, the Bible is read and preaching is also done. Nevertheless, the church ritual is usually interspersed with the beauty of adorning and the singing of the marriage song as we see in Chapter One.

Going back to traditional weddings, Mwavali states that when the bride was eventually left in the bridegroom's home on the wedding day, she was given a small girl to wait on her. And since unmarried men did not own houses of their own in those days, the newly married couple would either put up with the bridegroom's married brother or with his grandfather if he had no married brother (6). What this reveals is that a man only owned a house if he was married. In short, marriage for a man empowered him to own property.
Mwvali goes on to tell us that if the bride was a virgin, she went to the cowshed of the bridegroom's parents and put her *endeeretsi* round the neck of the fattest cow or goat that she chose the next day in the morning. That animal was then taken to her home where it was eaten by her relatives excluding her parents and herself because it was taboo for them to partake of it (6). This exclusiveness shows that traditional society had some unfair rules. But Christian marriage ceremonies changed this so that on discovery that the bride was a virgin as Kemoli observes, she was given money for herself plus that to take to her mother after her seven days of stay in her marital home (Personal Interview). This shows a difference in values for traditional society and Christians. Whereas traditional society attached great importance to animals, Christianity attached more value to money. Besides, Christianity tended to move away from communal living to individualistic life in its failure to alert the society about the bride's virginity. There is little wonder that the modern society does not emphasise virginity.

A bride stayed in her marital home for one week after which she visited her parents. During her one week's stay in her marital home, she was still considered as a bride. For example, Adagala tells us that she ate very slowly as though counting each food particle she was eating and that was really trying for the girl waiting on herf (Personal Interview). We shall therefore see how the marriage song reacted to this cultural practice that required the bride to act shy. During the bride's one week stay in her marital home, she participated in some household chores such as fetching water from the stream, grinding millet and sweeping. Ironically, although these are generally a woman's roles, the bride insisted on being paid the first time she performed a duty. For instance, Karamwa tells us that the bride would go to the stream and on coming back refuse to bring the water-pot from her head until she was paid (Personal Interview). And according to Bernard Chahilu, the bride's insistence on payment for her first duties in her marital home was a subtle way of saying that she was much more precious than the bridewealth that had been given to her father (Personal Interview). This means that bridewealth should not be equated to a woman's toil in her marital home.
Nevertheless, Hanah Egala tells us that Christian Marriages discouraged the bride's demand for payment for any first task, including the eating that she undertook in her marital home. The only payment the bride received was from her husband just before the consummation of their marriage. This time, the bride would stubbornly refuse to remove her pants until her husband gave her the amount of money that she demanded or they at least settled for a certain amount of money (Personal Interview, a). This shows that with the changing times, the community under the influence of Christianity was also changing their values. Such requests for payments have been abandoned in modern Maragoli marriages.

When the bride made her first visit to her home, she took all her gifts in the form of payments with her. As maintained by Mwavali, when she returned to her marital home, she was given a lot of foodstuff to take to the bridegroom's parents (6). And Dorica Kigalo adds that if there was any witchcraft in the bride's home that she was to inherit, that was the time her parents gave it to her together with the foodstuff (Personal Interview). Thus, aware of this anti-social practice, the performers referred to it in their songs and stylised jokes with a view to making the society reform.

The bride's visit to her home marked the end of her play-acting and the beginning of her full participation in the family affairs of her marital home. Hence women composed songs that dealt with the bride's life in her new home and the difficulties of adjustment. Thus, having heard the songs during the rehearsals for the pre-wedding, the bride is able to cope with the problems she encounters in marriage.

We cannot overlook the importance of language in the women's compositions and performances. As such, we shall briefly talk about the dialect of the Maragoli. The Maragoli speak Lulogoli which is a Bantu dialect. One peculiar aspect about it is the overlapping nature of words. This is especially the case with two consecutive words in
which the first one ends with a vowel, as all words in this dialect end with vowels, and
the second one begins with a vowel. When this happens, the vowels overlap so that *Ni
uvudinyu* (it is difficult) in Song I I is read as *Nuvudinyu* which makes it appear as one
word. Another peculiarity is the women's contraction of words so that what appears in
the songs on the surface level as untranslatable words are actually words which convey
meaning on close scrutiny as we shall see in Chapter Four. This means that the women
manipulate their understanding of Lulogoli to come up with contractions of the language
in song -- contractions that are not used of in ordinary discourse.
0.2 Statement of the Problem

The song is a genre that is rich because it is alive due to its message and melody. In addition, it is a direct immediate social commentary. Although circumcision, marriage and death are three areas rich in song in the Maragoli community, little research has focused on song in this community. As such, the song deserves special attention in an academic undertaking such as this thesis does. Furthermore, there are two people involved in a marriage: male and female. Therefore, the rich material on gender is obtained from wedding songs. However, hardly have any studies focused on song in relation to gender. Hence our research shows that the gender dimension of songs is important in literary studies.

Lastly, the marriage song which is made complete with the stylised jokes transforms the actual bride or bridegroom in a wedding to a literary persona. Nevertheless, not much research has been done to show the importance of performance as an aspect of the marriage song. As such, our thesis points out the fact that performance is an integral component of the marriage song.

0.3. Justification of the Study

Our study is justifiable because the marriage song brings the masculine and feminine genders together. Moreover, stylised jokes which are artistic creations interspersed with song enrich the dramatic moments of the marriage ceremony. Furthermore, our study is justified by the fact that it is gender focused.

0.4. Objectives of the Study

The following are the specific objectives of our thesis:

- To highlight the literary or aesthetic value of the song;
• To highlight the social value of the song;
• To identify the roles of men and women in the entire performance;
• To identify the stylised jokes that enrich the song or comment on it;
• To comment on the dramatic moments in the entire performance.

0.5. Hypotheses

This thesis hopes to verify the fact that the marriage song is a rich source of literary and aesthetic values. Besides, the thesis is founded on the assumption that women use the marriage song to artistically reject society's cultural norms that assign them their subordinate status while elevating the masculine gender. Finally, this thesis is based on the premise that the marriage song has a social value.

0.6 Scope of the Study

This thesis is confined to the marriage song as sang by women in the Maragoli community because marriage is a self-contained cultural entity.

0.7 Literature Review

A lot of anthropological as well as literary research has been carried out among the Abaluhya of western Kenya. An anthropologist such as Gunter Wagner in his The Bantu of Western Kenya has given examples of songs only insofar as they have a bearing to his anthropological discussion. This indicates that his study only points out instances in the songs without commenting on them.

Literary scholars have also carried out research in the oral literature of the Abaluhya. Most of these works are unpublished Master of Arts theses, some of which are: Jane Nandwa's "Oral Literature Among the Abaluhya" (1976); Egara Kabaji's "The Maragoli
Folktale: Its Meaning and Aesthetics" (1991), and Machayo Olilo's "The Ambiguous Nature of Freedom in Luhya Ritual Ceremony Song Texts" (1991). Although these scholars have made invaluable literary contributions, none of them gives a gender dimension to the work. This in effect means that the works will be of little assistance to us on gender issues.

Nandwa's comment on the wedding song is that a wedding gives the bride's sisters a chance to "express themselves and say what they think about the man who was going (sic) to marry their sister" (217). Although we concur with the surface level of this contention, she omits the deeper level of the song that uses the bridegroom as a literary persona to satirise men's follies in society. Hence our thesis shows that this is one of the dramatic instances of the marriage ceremony. In addition, Nandwa says that "in traditional society a woman was supposed to obey her husband all the time. She was always in subordination to him . . . the girls too stress this idea of obedience in their songs during a wedding" (218). Much as the literal level of this assertion is true, the scholar does not show what an in-depth analysis of the song reveals about women's feelings.

The monopoly of women in the Maragoli marriage song is supported by Ruth Finnegan in Oral Literature in Africa in which she tells us that "certain kinds of poetry are typically delivered by women" and the examples she gives are lullabies, mocking verses and songs to accompany women's ceremonies or work (98). Despite our agreement with her assertion, marriage is not exclusively a woman's ceremony since it brings both genders together. In effect, marriage cannot be classified as a woman's ceremony. We have therefore added that a Maragoli marriage ceremony has two phases, all of which are important to both spouses.

The song is used to drive home the fact that marriage is an important rite of passage. According to Finnegan, *Rites de passage* are very common occasions for singing. There are songs
associated with birth, with initiation and puberty, betrothal, marriage, acquiring a new title or status, and funeral and memorial celebrations .... But often such ceremonies are occasion for festivity which include song than a solemn ritual with specially designed music, and the gatherings normally at these times are a reason for singing for its own sake (242).

We concur with Finnegan's assertion that rites of passage are occasions for singing. Nevertheless, we disagree with her contention that singing during these occasions is done for its own sake because there is nothing like art for its own sake in African oral literature. Despite the gaiety and laughter during a rite of passage such as marriage, the songs that are sung during the occasion are loaded with meaning, because they depict the people's way of life and their understanding of that particular ritual. Hence, this thesis explores the social significance of the marriage song.

Since the marriage ceremony comprises female singers, the important issue that Nandwa raises about the bridal singers is:

the bride's girls expressed their opinions in the songs in order to let the bridegroom know what they required of him. They also praised the bride so that she may not be mistreated after marriage. The songs were used as a kind of protection for the bride (220).

This contention has some loopholes that we fill in this thesis. Firstly, Nandwa fails to show us that the singers are using the couple as their literary persona to satirise men's superior status. Secondly, she does not show us that there are usually two groups of female singers in the marriage ceremony. These groups comprise the bride's singers and the bridegroom's, and their singing is usually partisan. This partisan singing is what Wagner observes by telling us that:

In place of the cordiality and mutual politeness which ordinarily prevail between hosts and guests, both parties in this case adopt an exceedingly contemptuous and haughty attitude towards one another, each group provokes one another by showering every kind of abuse upon it. The bridal party displays the greater
initiative in these efforts amply outdoing the bridegroom's people. The abusive remarks made by the latter are mainly retorts to the insults hurled against them (415).

What we shall add here is that the contumacious and haughty attitudes displayed by both parties is due to the singers' poetic licence that allows them to use taboo words during such a ceremony. This contention is further clarified by Olilo in his assertion "the ambiguities and contradictions in the songs are really another way in which the songs express the contradictions and complexities that thrive in the social fabric of society"(9). All the same, we have added that when the bride reflects upon these songs in her marital home, she realises their complexity and accepts the complex nature of life.

Wagner tells us that while partisan singing is going on around the bride on the wedding day, she "puts on a shy and meek behaviour, casting down her eyes and showing herself unresponsive to everything that goes on around her" (414). Despite our agreement with him, we have gone a step further to show that this is significant role-playing that is actually rehearsed because in Phoebe Luvai's view "before my wedding day, old women advised me to act shy and not to behave like one who had eloped. It is because of this piece of advice that I acted shy on my wedding day" (Personal Interview). This reveals the society's dislike for eloping as a form of marriage. Hence acting shy for the bride on the wedding day reveals the society's attitude towards weddings as a form of marriage.

The woman's play-acting on her wedding day is a way of exhibiting her superiority. This contention is maintained by Ciarungi Swinimer who tells us that "the song provides women with an avenue to express their importance during wedding ceremonies" (41, a). This is true of the Maragoli marriage song that encourages the bride to act shy as a way of showing her importance. In addition, the slow rhythmic marching of the bridal party both on the pre-wedding and wedding days displays the woman's superiority. Thus, the marriage song enhances the bride's role-playing as a
springboard for displaying her superior status.

Apart from partisanship in singing, the stylised jokes are also partisan. In Nandwa's observation,

It is an accepted custom for the people on the bride's side to criticize the bridegroom. They hurl all sorts of abuses to (sic) the bridegroom in a lighthearted manner. The people on the bridegroom's side are also supposed to hit back, but usually they are overwhelmed by the bride's company. People are usually more interested in the bride than in the bridegroom (219).

What Nandwa refers to as abuses are actually stylised jokes which as we have shown augment the song and are therefore of literary value.

Indangasi's contribution to the marriage song is also important to us because he highlights the difficulty of adjustment for the bride and the difficult tasks she will undertake in her marital home. He tells us that "it is painful . . . to leave your home for another, to call another person your mother, mama or father, baba or aunt, senge or uncle, koza," and adds that the bride will carry a large water-pot and grind plenty of sorghum (146). His observation that grinding millet is not only difficult, but unpleasant for the bride (146) implies her roles which we have addressed more pointedly in our thesis.

In their discussions, the critics present us with varied opinions about the marriage song and its gender angle. Wagner sees the marriage song as a contravention of rules of etiquette from both the bridal singers and the bridegroom's. However, he observes that the bride is unresponsive to the singing that goes on around her.

Nandwa on the other hand tells us that the bride's singers sing songs that comment on the bridegroom as a way of making him treat her well. She adds that the song prepares the bride for her total obedience to her husband and her subordinate status. She also
posits that the bride's singers hurl abuses at the bridegroom while his singers also do the same, but they are overcome by the bride's singers.

Finnegan's contribution on the song is that there are those that are rendered by women and they include lullabies and songs that accompany women's ceremonies. She also enumerates rites of passage and tells us that singing is done for its own sake during these rites.

Despite the foregoing critics' failure to address gender issues, Swinimer and Indangasi give gender angles to their discussions. The former tells us that women depict their superiority in the marriage song. Indangasi uses an illustration to reveal the arduous nature of female tasks.

Finally, there is need for us to examine the gender angle in the marriage song more pointedly than these researchers have done. Hence our analysis of the marriage song in terms of composition and performance portrays gender issues.

0.8 Theoretical Framework

"Mum kneads the dough and dad reads the newspaper" is a quotation that appears in Angela Castellanos' article titled "Schoolbooks review part of gender revolution" in the Daily Nation of March 28th 1995 (37). Castellanos' quote raises the issue of gender roles in society. There is a parallel between her quote and the Maragoli marriage song which is an art form dominated by women in its composition and performance; the Maragoli marriage song is gender focused. As such, the feminist theory is appropriate for our thesis.

The importance of the feminist theory to our thesis is its gender inclination. According to the feminist theory, women are disadvantaged due to socialization. The theory is thus
Ruthven's contention is that the psycho-feminist theory uses Freud's and Lacan's psychoanalysis to find out how the literary texts depict repression of the female desire. This branch of feminist theory is also important for us because the women use their poetic licence during a marriage ceremony to use taboo words in their songs as a way of showing the society's suppression of the female desire.

In addition, Ruthven points out that Marxist feminists are concerned with oppression. This branch of feminist theory deals with women's oppression. However, the branch will only help us to see and understand that women in the Maragoli community are oppressed but beyond that oppression, there is love and understanding; this is what keeps the marriage happy. In other words, the marriage song in this community goes beyond what the feminist theory stipulates.

Helene Cixous is another feminist critic who tells us that kinship structures exclude women and they have rendered women to be philosophically passive so that they cannot verbally express their desires without being led back to the men (288). In other words, the passive nature of women is structured by society. The woman's recourse to men is illustrated in our thesis that shows how the management of bridewealth in a Maragoli marriage is done by men. Meanwhile, the girl remains passive until she is married. And when she gets married, she succumbs to her husband's authority. It is within this context that the women succinctly raise an outcry about their subordinate status.

In addition, Elaine Showalter advocates for "a theory based on a model of women's culture" which she feels is the best method to deal with women's writing (344). In other words, Showalter is of the opinion that women must formulate a theory incorporating their culture as a reaction to the male dominated culture that has no place for female writing. This position is important to our thesis because female composers in the
Maragoli community have invariably always elevated the woman in their songs.

To sum up, the feminist theory is important to our thesis because the Maragoli woman is aware of her position in the male dominated culture. In effect, her songs have very strong gender messages which are represented in a very subtle manner because they are neither political nor propagandist. As a result, the marriage song has a very strong feminist message that is rendered with a lot of subtlety.

0.9 Methodology

The present form of this thesis is the result of putting it together piecemeal. We were able to do so by using various techniques. To begin with, we found the library work invaluable for it was through such a research that we established a working theoretical framework. In addition, the research gave us the background information that we needed for the thesis.

Since our research involved going to the field to collect raw data, we used some of the relevant field techniques. In the first instance, we used the questionnaire method in which we had a series of questions that often culminated in lively discussions, thereby giving us the information we needed for the thesis. The questionnaire was divided into two sections: "Section 1.1" for women and "Section 1.2" for men. These sections form our Appendix 1. Although we interviewed both men and women, the majority of our interviewees were women.

Secondly, we found performance to be an important field technique. There were some organised performances that did not fall within the marriage ceremony, but they arose from the interviews. Nonetheless, we were able to capture authentic performances in the bride's and bridegroom's homes on the pre-wedding and wedding days. The
importance of performance is supported by Finnegan who posits that apart from making an important contribution to the text, performance gives a literary form its due fulfillment (2-3). In short, oral literature is performance without which, as Kabira tells us, "the real aesthetic value of oral art cannot be fully comprehended" (34). In other words, performance augments the literariness of a literary text.

Thirdly, participatory observation is another field technique that we found relevant. We attended both the pre-wedding and wedding ceremonies with the objective of getting a clear picture of all artistic devices and relevant scenes in which the devices appeared in the performance.

Fourthly, Appendix 3 is a copy of unpublished work by Jamin Mwavali who gave us notes when we interviewed him and asked us to avail them to our readers.

Finally, we found the tape recorder to be an invaluable gadget in the field. Apart from using it to record the songs that were sung by the women we interviewed, we also used it to tape the songs on the pre-wedding and wedding days. The songs were single-handedly collected by the researcher, except on the wedding day when a research assistant was available. In some cases, the researcher participated in the singing of the songs that were being taped. The songs collected form Appendix 2 of the thesis. We then transcribed the songs, translated them and analysed them for their literary value.
CHAPTER ONE

A DISCUSSION OF THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

The importance of performance is elucidated in our participation of a marriage ceremony. Marriage, according to *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Volume 7* is a legally and socially sanctioned union between one or more husbands and one or more wives that accords status to their offspring and is regulated by laws, rules, customs, beliefs and attitudes that prescribe the rights and duties of the partners (871).

Here we are given monogamy, polyandry and polygamy as the types of marriages practised in different communities as legal and socially accepted by the communities that practice them. The Maragoli marriage falls within this definition because it was polygamous in the olden days but due to the influence of Christianity, it has become monogamous, except in few isolated cases where polygamy is practised.

Furthermore, marriage ceremonies according to the encyclopaedia include symbolic rites, usually sanctified by a religious order which are thought to confer good fortune on the couple. Because economic considerations play an essential role in the success of child-rearing, the offering of gifts, both real and symbolic, to the bride and bridegroom are a significant part of the marriage ritual (871).

In other words, the symbolic rites in marriage ceremonies stipulated by certain religions signify good fortune. In addition, the award of gifts to the couple has economic implications as our discussion below shows.

The Maragoli marriage ceremony has two phases to it -- the pre-wedding feast held at the bride's home and the actual wedding ceremony in the bridegroom's home. These
phases are important to us because they display deep cultural implications which bring to the limelight the gender dimension of the marriage songs and stylised jokes. Moreover, the theatrical implications of the ceremony as well as the rich verbal art inherent in the performances are important to us due to their literary values.

Notably, any Maragoli marriage ceremony comprises songs and stylised jokes that are satiric in nature. This means that satire is one of the ingredients of the marriage ceremony. Satire, according to Matthew Hodgart " has its origin in the state of mind which is critical and aggressive, usually one of irritation at the latest examples of human absurdity, inefficiency or wickedness" (10). He adds that

all good satire contains an element of aggressive attack and a fantastic vision of the world transformed: it is written for entertainment but contains sharp and telling comments on the problems of the world in which we live, offering imaginary gardens with real toads in them (12).

What this means is that satire emanates from the critical human mind that depicts human weaknesses, vices and follies. Besides, satire offers entertainment by presenting an imaginary world that is transformed, in which imaginary flora and real fauna abound.

Roberts and Jacobs tell us:

Satire, of major importance as an aspect of tone, is designed to expose human follies and vices. In method a satiric poem may be bitter and vituperative in its attack but quite often it employs humour and irony on grounds that anger turns readers away while a comic tone more easily gains agreement. The speaker of a satiric poem either may attack folly and vice directly or may dramatically embody the folly of vice, and thus serve as an illustration of the subject of satire (662).

In short, a satiric poem conceals the bitter and angry remarks by employing humour and irony since a comic tone is more acceptable than an angry one.
1.1 The Pre-wedding Ceremony

The pre-wedding feast in the Maragoli community is held in the bride's home some days prior to the wedding day. Singing goes on in the bride's home in the evenings three days or so prior to the occasion. The songs sung are referred to as zinyimbu tsio kuhihiza keselero. Hence zinyimbu zio kuhihiza keselero refers to songs that are sung in anticipation of the marriage ceremony. The climax of the singing is usually the eve of the pre-wedding and the pre-wedding day itself. As such, in order for us to capture these songs with their artistic renditions, we attended the pre-wedding ceremony in the bride's home on the eve of the occasion and on the pre-wedding day itself.

On 30th April 1996 we went to the bride's home in Kigunga Village, Kegoye Sub-location of Sabatia Constituency. Although we arrived at about 6.30 p.m., the singing did not start until 8.00 p.m., when the youth comprising about twenty girls aged between six and twenty, and ten boys aged between six and fourteen assembled outside the house of the bride's parents. Despite the chilly weather owing to a heavy downpour in the evening, the youth braved it and started singing. Girls took the lead in the singing because some of them were soloists. They sang twenty-six songs and repeated most of them in the process. Both boys and girls sang and danced while some of the boys whistled rhythmically as the singing went on. Hence the artistic delivery of this performance established the happy mood of the occasion.

While the singing was going on, some of the boys acted as commentators on some of the sentiments expressed in certain songs. They at times contradicted jeeringly some sentiments in the songs thereby interfering with the moods established in those songs. At other times, they used a lot of satirical comments meant to cause derisive laughter. For example, their version (Kegoye Singers' Version) of Song 3 that starts like this:

*Aa mama nandeve*

*Orechi hai umwana x 2*
One of the boys responded to the question "where have you left the child" by shouting, "aveye mu maduma handangu yaha", which means, "she is in the maize plantation here below". Bearing in mind the fact that the song alludes to the wedding day when the bride's relatives will return to her village without her since she will have remained in the bridegroom's home, we note that the boy's comment contradicted the rhetorical question jeeringly.

Furthermore, one of the boys randomly responded to the question "Nakogende na wina", "With whom shall I walk" by shouting "nakogende nivi" which means "I shall walk with you". The word 'walk' in the song as believed by Kimiywi is used to show "deep friendship or comradeship and unity of a group of people who have a common purpose. Age mates walk together" (Personal Interview) because they have a lot to share in common. He adds that this kind of friendship is deep "because it encompasses
most aspects of life" (Personal Interview). In view of this observation, the boy's random comment was intended to scorn the solemn mood of the song. The mood in the song is solemn because the song refers to the wedding day and beyond when the bride will join the bridegroom's family and be parted from her close friends. Thus, this solemn mood goes further than the wedding day since the song refers to the future and it is very predictive because it refers to the time when the bride will be lonely in her marital home, with no advisers. The context assumes that the bride and bridegroom have never met. This in effect evokes feelings of insecurity and fear in the bride who is unsure about what marriage portends for her.

Although the boys scorned the solemn mood established in the song, they enhanced the satire in some of the songs. A case in point is Song 18 in which we are told: *Evan yiva/Evan yiva embededia/Evan Yiva/Evan yiva embededia* which means "Evans stole/Evans stole *embededia/* Evans stole/Evans stole *embededia". The word *embededia* means "a grain of dry maize prepared on fire in a container without water; the local type of a grain of pop corn. The accusation levelled against the bridegroom of stealing a grain of local pop corn is hyperbolic. The intention of the hyperbole is to show that the bridegroom comes from a very needy background since *zimbededia* (plural for *embededia*) among the Maragoli were eaten during hard times. When eaten, *zimbededia* make a harsh sound from which this ideophonic word is derived. This means that *embededia* is symbolic.

According to Bergman and Epstein,

> In its broadest sense, a symbol is any object or action that signifies more than itself. For example, the badge an officer wears is not merely a decorative silver pin: it refers to or symbolises, legal authority. The candles on a birthday cake. . . are not placed there primarily to light the room or keep the cake warm. They symbolise the number of years the person has lived (545).

This means that a symbol is an object or action that signifies another thing rather than
itself. Therefore, *embededia* symbolises poverty and the harsh living conditions in the bridegroom's home -- conditions that the bride will have to adjust herself to.

As the singing and dancing went on, some of the boys were shouting and gesticulating, "*ndavol'la mama! ndavol'la mama!*" whose translation is, "I shall tell mother! I shall tell mother!" The word "tell" here is far much deeper than it appears on the surface level because the dramatis persona will report the bridegroom's theft to "mother". The word "mother" has many meanings among the Maragoli. However, in the context of the song, the word refers to the bridegroom's mother. This meaning is from the bride's point of view so that the dramatis persona, impersonating the bride, is predicting the future when the bride will tell her mother-in-law about her son's wayward behaviour and misdeeds. As a result, the boys' comment is effectively used to enhance the satire in the song in which the bridegroom is accused of stealing *embededia*, leaves of beans and silver fish -- foodstuffs that symbolise poverty in the bridegroom's home.

While some boys were shouting that they would report the bridegroom, others were also shouting *yiva wa guku*, which means "he stole at grandmother's!". This comment is made by the commentators who, impersonating the bride's sister, are referring to an earlier time before the bride and bridegroom declared their intention to marry. They are stating that although the bridegroom is marrying the bride, he stole cheap foodstuff from her grandmother; as such, he is not the right spouse for the bride because he is a thief.

Furthermore, the foodstuff eaten with ugali that the bridegroom is accused of stealing are leaves of beans and silver fish. Leaves of beans are eaten during famine between the months of April and June. When the famine is intense, some families may eat the very young green pods of beans for their supper without any ugali. This accusation reduces the bridegroom's family to the poorest in society. These illustrations show that the bridegroom is not economically fit to marry the bride. Therefore the comments are
aimed at satirising the economic empowerment of men.

Similarly, the bridegroom is accused of stealing silver fish which is usually eaten in small measures with ugali during drought. However, it is rarely eaten in rich people's homes because they can afford better fish like tilapia. Silver fish therefore symbolises poverty. In other words, the singers are saying that the bridegroom comes from a very poor background. What this means is that the bride is going to suffer when she joins his family.

The singers go on to tell us that the bridegroom defecated in spear grass. In the first place, the Maragoli relieved themselves in bushes before the introduction of toilets. However, it was unheard of for one to relieve oneself in spear grass due to the nettles at its edge. Secondly, spear grass was used and is still used for thatching houses. What the singers are doing in this song is to dress down the smartly dressed bridegroom whom they depict as naked and squatting amongst spear grass where he defecates and gets pricked and is even spied on. The observation we make here is that the singers are using the bridegroom as their poetic mask to expose the folly of poor toilet mannerism in this society.

What the foregoing song and stylised jokes have shown is that men in this society are capable of erring, and they do actually make mistakes. Thus, they are not above reproach. The singers have also used the bridegroom as their literary persona to satirise men who get married when they are economically unstable yet go on to assert themselves as heads of their families according to the cultural requirements.

Another song that attracted comments from the singers is Song 24. The third verse of the song: Gwene si guri ugundu/ Gogendaa gwehenza/Gwene si guri ugundu translated as "He is not a man of substance/ He looks at himself as he walks/ He is not a man of substance" attracted comments. One of the boys said, "ku nutehenza wakamanya ndi
kuri ufwanaa?” Which is translated as "so if you don’t look at yourself, how will you know what you look like?” This comment contradicts the satire in this verse of the song that satirises the bridegroom’s behaviour of admiring himself; yet this society does not expect men to admire themselves. Secondly the use of the augmentative Gwene si guri ugundu which literally means “The big person is not an important big person” is aimed at creating a mental picture of the big-bodied bridegroom walking along the road and consciously admiring himself without realising that he is being spied on. Hence the augmentative form highlights the satire.

The singers also sang Song 19 which satirises the bridegroom’s greed. It is unheard of in the Maragoli community for someone to eat the leg of a duck which is webbed, tough and ugly. However, the singers tell us: Evanzi yaria ekerenge che ribada/pole pole Evanzi/pole pole Evanzi/pole pole Evanzi/pole sana whose translation is "Evans ate the leg of a duck/Sorry sorry Evans/ Sorry sorry Evans/ Sorry sorry Evans/ I am very sorry". Mwenesi mantains that the song indicates that the bridegroom eats things that people throw away because he has a roaring appetite for meat (Personal Interview). In short, the song highlights the bridegroom’s carnivorous tendencies and greed portrayed in the eating of a duck’s leg. Moreover, underneath the singers’ commiseration for the bridegroom’s act of eating a duck’s leg lies a lot of humour that was evident in the happy facial expressions and the giggling of some of the boys and girls. As such, sarcasm is conveyed in their commiseration.

Apart from the bridegroom’s carnivorous tendencies, the singers sang Song 32 that talks about each spouse in alternate verses. To illustrate this, the first two verses are as follows:

Ma nambuguri a Emma
Ma nandende okodenda
Ma nambumbuguri a Emma
Ma nandende okodenda x 2
As they sang this song, the singers clapped their hands and wore happy faces as a demonstration of their tender treatment of the bride. This shows that they are protective of the bride. Furthermore, they are warning the bridegroom to take good care of the bride or else meet dire consequences. However, they wore angry faces and angrily stamped their feet on the ground -- indications of how they would completely crush the bridegroom. The singers' anger directed against the bridegroom was evident in their facial expressions while the stamping of their feet is a warning to him about what fate is in store for him should he dare mistreat the bride.

In spite of the difficulty we had in our translations of certain words in the song, we have tried to keep as close to the original meanings of the words in the song as possible. For instance, the words *ma nandende okodenda* whose literal translation is "Then I shall treat (her) tenderly in a tender manner" and *Ma nanduyage ukuduyaga* literally means "Then I shall hit (him) in a hitting manner". Since the Maragoli words are more
emphatic than the English translations, the singers' facial expressions, their clapping of hands and stamping of feet on the ground fill in the details of the emphasis. Besides, the fast rhythm of the song enhances the emphasis. In short, the singers, using the bride and bridegroom as their literary personae, have raised gender issues in this song that is ironically stated. The irony lies in the fact that society expects a woman to treat her husband tenderly but the singers are saying that it is the woman who should be treated tenderly. They also say that the bridegroom should be hit severely, yet we know that the society has for a long time sanctioned wife-beating.

The community's aesthetic sensibility is highlighted in the third verse of the song in which the singers tell us, "Then I shall take Emma/ And really adorn her." The adornment is an allusion to the impending fertility rite that the bride will have to undergo as part of the pre-wedding ceremony.

The songs *Kuhihiza Keselero* went on up to about 12.30 a.m. when the singers were served with tea and buns which they took as they listened to *Lingala* and Western music. This indicates that the youth in this community have been influenced by foreign music. When the singers finished taking their tea at about 1.30 a.m., they dispersed. Some of them spent the night while those from nearby went back home.

Preparations for the pre-wedding ceremony went on up to 10.30 a.m. on 1st May, 1996, in the bride's home and at Kigunga Pentecostal Assemblies of God (P.A.G.) Church in Kegoye. Two banana stems had been planted at the gate of the church which had assorted decorations such as balloons. Even the writing on the blackboard in the church which read "Emma weds Evans" was also decorated. The decorations showed the people's aesthetic sensibility, which, from our point of view, form an adequate backdrop for other theatrical performances on the occasion.
When the bridal party arrived at church at about 11.45 a.m., it was met with singing and ululations from different church choirs and elderly women. The guests were asked to go to church and be seated. Western music was then played for the bridal party to march into the church. When they started marching, we saw two small boys each with a burning white candle on a saucer. The bridal party formed two columns behind the boys. Behind each boy was a small girl carrying a small basket of flowers. Next came yet another small girl in each column carrying a small basket full of decorations and flowers which she scattered rhythmically. The bride who was carrying flowers was behind the girl scattering flowers on the right side of the column. Two other bride's maids followed in each column. Then there was a lady in a green dress who prompted the marching by giving instructions to the boys and girls. The theatrical presentation of this scene which was mainly dominated by women except for the boys was very impressive. The women's domination of this scene emanates from their support of one of them about to wed; this is an indication of women's solidarity.

During the marching, we observed that the bridal party marched slowly to the tune of Western music and its slow rhythm. In this episode according to Mwenesi the bride marches deliberately slowly because she is showing her "bridehood" and acting without fear because she is wedding (Personal Interview). This means that on realising that she is the centre of attraction on this day, the bride acts according to what the society expects of her. Moreover, this reveals her superiority because everyone has to patiently wait for her and the bridal party to take their seats before the church ceremony commences. The bridal party then took their seats at the front where chairs had been set aside for them.

At about 1.00 p.m., the bridegroom and his party arrived at Kigunga P.A.G. (Pentecostal Assemblies of God) Church. His arrival was met with singing from elderly women who were joined by the bride's mother after about five minutes of the bridegroom's arrival. The first comment that he received amidst the singing was from a
woman who moved close to the car in which he was and pointed at her watch saying, "Evanzi niva ni wasoma ohenza ku isa" which means "Look at your watch Evans if you are educated". This stylised joke that was rendered musically satirises the bridegroom's formal education that has failed to instil in him a sense of keeping time. However, one of the singers pulled the commentator away. What this reveals is that stylised jokes are nowadays censored in Maragoli marriage ceremonies. In this case, the censorship might have been done due to the fact that the woman noticed our presence with a tape recorder and realised that we were going to tape their stylised jokes and they probably did not like it. After about seven minutes of singing, someone ushered the bride's mother to the church. Meanwhile, the bridegroom's singers, including his mother and sisters, were singing his praises outside the church.

When the two groups of singers met, each group tried to outsing the other. This was partisan singing. Nevertheless, partisan singing in the bride's home is not in conformity with Maragoli marriage ceremonies because women from the bridegroom's home do not sing during the pre-wedding ceremony. This is an example of a modern Maragoli marriage ceremony. The pre-wedding ceremony is also considered modern because the bridegroom's mother, his sisters and paternal uncles attended it; yet this did not happen in the olden days. In those days, the bridegroom's relatives did not attend the pre-wedding feast.

The bridegroom, in the company of the groom's men took their seats in the church and the church marriage ritual commenced presided over by the church pastor. In the first place, a short prayer was said and after that the banns was read for the third and last time. Since no one was opposed to the marriage, the Bible was read and interpreted. This reveals that most Maragoli marriages are mainly a blend of traditional, Western Christian and modern influences.

Next came the adorning ceremony which was different from the traditional one in which
the bride would be adorned in her home on condition that she was a virgin. In this case, the bride's mother first of all adorned her daughter with decorations which she put round the latter's neck and then she adorned the bridegroom in a similar manner. The adorning of both spouses is a modification of the traditional one that concentrated on the bride. However, this particular ritual performed on both spouses is a symbol to the couple to beget children. It recognises the importance of each gender in the procreation process.

A woman then sprayed the couple with sweet smelling perfume. Meanwhile, Song 29 was being sung. The tender treatment accorded the bride in the song is due to the fact that she has earned herself respect by wedding because whoever weds in this community receives such special treatment. This treatment is emphasised in the last verse of the song which is a repetition of the first verse. Both the second and third verses of the song portray the happy mood of the occasion as seen in the words "Alas the joy at Emma's home", and " Alas the joy in Kigunga." The third verse brings out the communal aspect of life in this community so that the bride's family's joy is shared by the entire village.

Song 30 which also reveals the happy mood of the occasion was sung during the adorning ritual. In the second verse of the song, the singers bestow peace upon the bride. This verse is predictive for it goes beyond the wedding ceremony when the bride will require peace in order to sustain the marriage.

No sooner had a male soloist of Liduguyiu Friends Church Choir started singing Song 37 than the lady who had been spraying the couple with sweet smelling perfume surprised the congregation by spraying them with the perfume. The spraying of the couple and the congregation with perfume reveals the society's aesthetic consciousness and it also adds to the joyful mood of the occasion. This episode is important to us because apart from its gender concerns, it shows that performance is an integral part of
a Maragoli marriage ceremony.

Our observation was that the singing was taken over by Liduguyiu Friends' Church Choir led by a male soloist at this juncture. The song was sung over and over again to the accompaniment of the drum. This song is a turning point in the monopoly of the marriage song genre by women in this community because of the gender balanced choir that had a male soloist. Consequently, the community is striving towards gender equity in the marriage song genre. The mumbling of the congregation when the singing was eventually stopped was an indication that they would have loved it to go on.

The adorning was followed by speeches from the bride's parents, her siblings and other close relatives. The bridegroom's mother and his paternal uncle were also invited to give their speeches but they only greeted the guests saying that they would say much more on the wedding day in Kisatiru. Among other invited guests who were asked to give their speeches was the Assistant Chief of Kegoye. In his speech he told the bride, "uzie kwaganira ikirago" which according to Desi Javeha is translated as, "go and be given a child quickly" (Personal Interview). This is the euphemism of "go and conceive quickly," which has sexual connotations. This sentiment was met with deafening claps from the congregation and ululations from some of the women -- an indication of the community's attitude towards children. In this community, no marriage is complete without children since they (children) perpetuate the family tree. As such, the saying is a reminder to the bride that one of her biological roles in marriage is bearing children.

Our interest in the scene described above was due to its artistic depiction as seen in the theatrical performance of the claps and ululations that enhanced the happy mood. The scene portrays a mental picture of an audience in a theatre watching a play and showing their emotions by clapping and ululating.

It started raining very heavily when the speeches ended and since the church had no
ceiling and there was no loudspeaker, the business of the day was temporarily stopped. This gave the Liduguyiu Friends' Church choir time to sing Song 31 in praise of the bride. Led by their male soloist, the one verse song was sang very many times to the accompaniment of the drum. Since the Maragoli do not have a word for electrocution, they used the words *arakasambwe ne sitima*, which literally means "will be burnt by electricity". This is a much more powerful way of stating the tragedy of complete destruction that awaits anyone who despises the bride. The emphasis of electrocution is seen in the repetition of the verse and the fast rhythm of the song. In addition, the song depicts communal life in the words "our Emma", which means that the entire community is concerned about the bride's well-being.

The presentation of gifts to both the bride and bridegroom took place when it stopped raining. The male soloist of Luduguyiu Friends' Church choir led the guests in singing Song 36. This part of the ceremony is of interest to us due to the fact that it was an action-oriented episode in the sense that the guests queued to take their gifts in the order in which the song stated. For example, the sixth verse tells us: *Pasita weve/Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa/Pasita weve/Yenyaa kumuyanziza* which is translated as "Her pastor/Wants to give her a gift/ Her pastor/ Wants to please her". This meant that it was the turn of the bride's pastor to present his gift which he actually did. Hence, rather than the master of ceremonies announcing from time to time that it was the turn of a particular person or category of people to take their gifts, the song did it very well. Thus, the song is used here as a public address system.

Before the church ritual ended, an announcement was made to the effect that all guests should go to the bride's home for a late lunch after the prayers. A prayer was then said after which the bridal party moved out to the tune of Western music; they were followed by the bridegroom and the groom's men, then other guests left the church all heading for the bride's home. Since a tent had been pitched there in the morning, most of the guests sat there eating and talking. However, important guests such as the bridal party,
the bridegroom and his group ate their meal in the house of the bride's parents.

Meanwhile, young boys and girls, most of whom had sung the previous night started singing outside the house of the bride's parents. They sang most of the satirical songs that they had sung the previous night. However, by the time the bridegroom was leaving at 6 p.m., he was not satirised because the singers had gone to eat.

We saw the bride and her mother in the doorway of their house from where they had just bade the bridegroom farewell. On moving close to mother and daughter, we captured the following dialogue:

"Mother, why did the singers not satirise him when he was leaving?"
"Did you want them to satirise him?"
"Not really. It is alright that they did not."

The bride's question is based on her awareness of the traditional Maragoli pre-wedding ceremony in which the bridegroom is satirised until his departure. But her mother's question is noncommittal. This question prompts the bride to come back to reality through her comment that implies instances of make-believe are over.

The importance of the scenes captured during the pre-wedding ceremony is that apart from being artistic, they were also captivating. They remind us of an opera in which the singers are busy with satirical tunes while other people are going on with the business of the day as though not perturbed by the satire.

1.2 The Wedding Ceremony

The wedding which is the last phase of the ceremony is a very important occasion as it is the day the marriage is sealed; marking the beginning of new lifestyles for both spouses. It is on this occasion that the bride joins the bridegroom's family and has to
adjust to life in her new environment. Most of the scenes in this phase of the ceremony are of literary value because of their artistic inclination. As such, in order for us to capture the artistic performances, we attended the wedding ceremony.

On 4th May 1996, we set off for the wedding in the bridegroom's home in Kisatiru Village, West Maragoli Location in Sabatia Constituency (see FIG. 2 P 43). We arrived there at about 10.15 a.m. and found preparations for the wedding going on. At about 11.30 a.m., the bridegroom's party left in three cars for the bride's home. Meanwhile, the guests in the home were asked to go to Kisatiru Friends' Church where the church ritual was to take place. We found the church beautifully decorated with balloons and other assorted decorations. Apart from showing the community's aesthetic consciousness, the decorations also depicted the happy mood of the occasion.

At about 11.30 a.m., we heard Song 40 being sung from the direction of the bridegroom's home. We rushed there and met the bridegroom's paternal aunts, his mother, his sisters and other female relatives heading for the church. One of his paternal aunts was leading a decorated sheep on a tether. We joined them in the singing up to the church compound where we were told to get in and be seated since the wedding party was expected any time.

Meanwhile, the sheep was tethered in a shade outside the church where it started grazing. The importance of this episode lies not only in the theatrical entry of the bridegroom's mother and other relatives at church, but also in the use of song to reveal their identity.
FIG. 2: LOCATION OF KISATIRU VILLAGE IN VIHIGA DISTRICT

The community’s aesthetic consciousness is seen in their decoration of the sheep. The sheep was decorated because according to Hanah Egala, a wedding is a joyous occasion on which all gifts should be decorated (Personal Interview, b). And the mention of flowers in the last line of each verse of the song that says “There they come carrying flowers” also highlights the community’s aesthetic appeal.

The fact that the bridegroom’s relatives who came from his home to church singing were women is an indication of the women’s monopoly of the marriage song in this community. Hence the women’s joy about the bridegroom’s imminent wedding is seen in the song announcing their arrival in church.

When we heard songs with the body of a lorry being hit, we were aware that the bridegroom had arrived with the bridal party. We rushed out of church and saw the bride’s relatives emerging from the Mbale High School bus singing and hitting the body of the bus as though it were a drum. The bridegroom’s singers also sang so that it became a singing competition between the two parties. The bridegroom’s singers sang Song 41 in which they praised the bridegroom for his achievements. On the surface level, mwana wa mberi means “first born”. But at a deeper level, Hanah Egala tells us that the words refer to the first person either in a family or a clan or community to undertake something worthwhile (Personal Interview, b). In the case of the bridegroom, he was the first person in his family to obtain a Master of Arts Degree and this achievement was being heightened with the joy of the wedding so that apart from rejoicing about his wedding, the singers were using the wedding ceremony as a forum for enumerating his achievements. Having sang the bridegroom’s singers were unable to put up with the gusto of the bride’s singers. One of his singers lamented, "mwatia" which means, "you are cowed". We left them trying in vain to sing and joined the bride’s singers who, on alighting from the bus started a tune satirising the bridegroom as they went round the compound of Kisatiru Primary School which is separated from the church by a fence.
The episode above is a good illustration of partisan singing in Maragoli marriage ceremonies in which, according to Bernard Chahilu:

marriage is not the business of a man and a woman .... A woman joining a community through marriage is not her husband's affair -- it is marriage between two communities. Hence the singing takes a protective stand towards the spouse from the singers' village (Personal Interview).

In other words, communal life among the Maragoli is what brings about partisan singing which protects the spouse from the singers' village while despising the spouse from the other village. In short, partisan singing emanates from group identity.

Kegoye singers then sang their version (Kegoye Singers' Version) of Song 10. In the song, the soloist impersonates the bride's mother and enumerates her roles as a mother which include bringing up her daughter starting from child care; taking her to school, ensuring that she gets a training; seeing to the pair matching, and ensuring that her daughter weds. From this song, we deduce that a woman strains a lot in bringing up her child and seeing to it that that child gets married. Although the women highlight their role of nurturing children, the overriding joy of the marriage ceremony tends to supersede their complaints; this way, the women raise pertinent gender issues that are well depicted in the fast rhythm of the song and repetition.

On coming back from the school compound, the bride's singers were asked to go to church. Meanwhile, the bridal party was still in their vehicles. The bride's vehicle became the centre of attraction for young girls and young women numbering about fifty and about fifteen boys all from Kisatiru. They cracked satirical jokes at the expense of the bride and bride's maids, although there was a man who frantically tried to stop the satire. The satire was censored because there was an interested party -- a white man. The white man who was the bridegroom's staff mate at Braeside School in Nairobi was video-taping the ceremony; this was done to please him. Secondly, the influence of
Christianity on the marriage ceremony has watered down satire and dramatic instances in Maragoli marriage ceremonies because Christianity takes satire at its face value and therefore misses the point. For instance, Lois Musimbi Lutaza who was born in 1910 tells us that she wedded on 8th September 1930 at Viyalo Friends' Church and when she was satirised by the bridegroom's singers that she was dying to get married to him, she was annoyed. And since hers was a Christian wedding, the satirists were arrested afterwards and pleaded for their release, but were set free with a warning (Personal Interview). In short, being a Christian exempted the spouses from some of the dramatic instances of the marriage ceremony.

Another illustration of censorship is cited by Richard Agufana who wedded on 20th August 1988. He tells us that when he went to the bride's home for the pre-wedding party, his mother-in-law's sternness made the singers fear singing with fervour. She prevented them from singing satirical songs despising him and instead did the editing of the songs so that at the end of it, he could not remember if he had been satirised or not (Personal Interview).

Despite censorship, we were able to get some of the jokes that were spontaneously cracked. One such joke was cracked by a boy. The joke "kari wakera" whose translation is "you are even old", hints at the society's attitude towards age. In other words, the age of the feminine gender plays a major role in marriage so that if a single woman is old, she will not get married.

Apart from the boy's comment, a girl told the bride, "uguri e neti mu chozore" which is translated as "you bought the veil in chodhore". There was hearty laughter amidst which another girl said "aririraa mu neti", which is "she is crying in the veil". Notably, chozore is the Maragoli corruption of the Luo word chodhore which means "get in plenty". Nevertheless, the Maragoli use the word to refer to second hand clothes. Thus the bride's expensive veil which is probably imported is reduced to
second hand clothes sold in open air markets. The joke satirises the economic ability of the bride's family. Although the bride did not cry in the veil as one of the jokers stated, a bride's crying on her wedding day was part of the drama and such a joke was cracked so as to prompt her into crying. The hearty laughter from the satirists reminds us about an audience in a theatre watching a comedy.

The most outspoken female satirist sang for the bride the following song:

Pole pole ridari
Pole pole ridari riereranga
Ndori Emma ridari riereranga

I am sincerely sorry about a rag
I am sincerely sorry about a rag that is hanging
I have seen a rag on Emma that is hanging

The reference to the bride's exposure of a rag as part of her attire on her wedding day is highly satirical. This is because she is supposed to be smartly dressed as she is the centre of attraction on this occasion. The purpose of this satiric verse is twofold. To begin with, the joke implies that the bride comes from a poor background. In addition, the satirist is dressing down the bride who is wearing a very expensive wedding attire that is probably imported and introducing her to the life of the ordinary rural folks in the village where people put on rags.

Another female satirist told the bride:

Witu rirogo rivurayo
Wava ni uzi ni rirogo
Wiranye winyu isa yinu

There is no witchcraft at our home
If you have come with witchcraft
Take it back to your home right now

The foregoing joke is a reference to witchcraft which society regards as an anti-social practice. This joke issues from the Maragoli belief in witchcraft. Mwenesi tells us that the Maragoli believe that when a girl from a family that practices witchcraft gets married, she inherits some of her family's witchcraft during her first visit to her home after her wedding. During this visit she is given a lot of foodstuff -- witchcraft included (Personal Interview). It is in view of this belief that the satirist uses the bride as the dramatis persona to criticise the anti-social behaviour of witchcraft in this society.

Another female satirist commented on the small basket that one of the flower girls had by saying,

*Enza ikikabo yiki*

*Vabimiraamu uvwuni wa Mbale*

Look at this basket

It is used for weighing silver fish at Mbale

Silver fish is usually sold in open air markets and whose unit of measure are tins in which it is packed and sold. Moreover, the reference to the decorated flower basket as one used for weighing silver fish at Mbale which is a Maragoli market signifies the bride's poor background. This means that the bride has borrowed a basket used for weighing silver fish from market women at Mbale in order to use it as a flower basket on her wedding day. The satire in the joke lies in the bride's failure to smell the strong odour of silver fish from the basket. In other words, she should not have borrowed such a basket.

Referring to the flower baskets, a female satirist said:

*Enza ikikabo yiki*
Look at this basket
They borrowed it from our home
I shall take it
I shall really blast mother
Who told her to lend out our basket?

The joke reveals that due to the bride's poor background, her family is unable to purchase even the cheapest of items such as a flower basket and so they have to borrow one. Apart from depicting the bride's poverty, the sentiment that the satirist will blast her mother is wishful thinking because this society expects children to respect their parents. The implication is that when parents err before their children, there is no one to tell them (parents) off.

Furthermore, the most outspoken satirist on noticing that the bride had her flowers in her arms facing the right hand side said,

*Kivikaa ndi amaua?*

*Chaivuraku kare ikindu yiki*

*Vamanyaa vavikaa ndi (Amanyia kuri vavikaa)*

How is it placing the flowers?
It has already given birth this thing

They (flowers) are usually placed this way (Demonstrates how they are placed).
The satirist is telling us that the bride has a child or children outside wedlock from the way she is carrying her flowers. This joke reveals the society's attitude towards single motherhood -- that is, a young girl giving birth to children before she gets married.
Kimiywi tells us that in traditional society, such a girl or woman would either be married off to a widower or to an old man (Telephone Interview, a). In short, such a woman would not get a young man for a husband. In addition, the satirist uses the bride as her poetic mask to show that a woman who has a child or children outside marriage is regarded as an object from the use of the word "it" in the joke. This shows that such a woman is not respected. She is actually stigmatised.

Another female satirist told the bride,

*Ta degera dave guku*

*Wang 'aha dave*

*Oveyage na kaviri akagasu*

Do not panic *guku*

You are not thin

You have a good body

The word *guku* not only means grandmother, but also daughter-in-law. This shows that the joke is ambiguous. In the first place, the joker is impersonating the bridegroom's sister and referring to the bride as her grandmother. This implies that the bride is too old to get married to her brother. This reveals the society's attitude towards a girl's age in marriage. Therefore, the older a woman grows in this society, the more she loses her chances of getting married.

On the other hand, the satirist is impersonating the bride's mother-in-law and giving her daughter-in-law words of comfort when the latter arrives home later on in the evening of the same day when all the guests have left. The implication is that the bride's mother-in-law is telling her not to worry about the satire that has been directed against her in the day and this is doubly ridiculous. The ridicule lies in the diminutive forms of *akaviri akagasu* literally translated as "the small body is good in a small way". In short, she is telling the bride that she does not meet the qualities of a good wife for her son because
she has a small unattractive body.

When the satirists were forcefully dispersed and asked to go to church, the most outspoken satirist said,

*Kari mu kugaye*

*Amanye arie ku mba*

*Kurarora wa yenye kuriira*

Even if you stop us
She will not eat
We shall see where she will eat from

We cannot overlook this comment because it implies that however much the satire is censored, the satirists' day is not yet over. They will satirise the bride during the meal time according to tradition. The fact that the bride will be satirised until she is unable to eat shows that she too is expected to be part of the drama by acting shy during the meal time.

When the satirists reluctantly went to church, the bridegroom and his party were asked to leave their vehicle and go to church. They were followed by the bridal party as they marched very slowly to the tune of Western music. During the marching, the bride acted shy casting her head down. Chahilu tells us that

A good bit of the shyness is comical. If the bride is generally a shy girl, she will be much more shy on her wedding day. She is also enjoying the whole thing and is aware that she is the centre of attraction. She gives the people what they want. That is, the Maragoli value system requires that a woman should be: meek, loving, nice, humble, soft, delicate, gentle and withdrawn, and this is what she gives them on her wedding day (Personal Interview).

Hence by marching very slowly and acting shy, the bride is acting in conformity to society's expectations of a woman's behaviour.
This scene in which the bride marches very slowly is important to us due to the theatrical entry of the bridal party to church. Consequently, the deliberate slow pace of the bridal party that seems to temporarily halt the business of the day as the guests patiently wait for her to reach the church is a way of stating that irrespective of the subordinate status the society accords women, they are important; more so on their wedding days.

When the bridal party had taken their seats in front of the church, the church ritual commenced with a short prayer that was followed by the reading and interpretation of the Bible. Thereafter, there was a short prayer that was followed by the spouses' matrimonial swearing and exchange of rings. The couple and their witnesses were asked to sign the marriage certificate; this was followed by a short prayer.

The sealing of the marriage was followed by a Kiswahili poem entitled *Heshima* which means "Respect". The poem was recited by four girls aged about seven. It was about the spouses' respect for one another in marriage. The fact that this poem was recited in Kiswahili indicates the influence of this language among the Maragoli.

The adorning of the spouses that came soon after the recital was one of the most captivating scenes of the occasion. Starting with her son, the bridegroom's mother adorned the spouses by placing decorations round their necks. Meanwhile, Song 42 was being sung. The singers tell us in the first and fourth verses of the song that they will adorn the bridegroom with plain flowers. The verses refer to the bride's purity because "plain flowers" symbolise purity. In addition, "flowers" in the third verse symbolises handsomeness. In this case, the singers are telling us that the bridegroom is handsome. However, the negative connotation of "flowers" is seen in the singers' reference to the bride as flowers that "we picked on the road" in the second verse. "Flowers" in this case symbolise cheapness. In other words, the bride is cheap. The inherent contradictions in the song that depict the bride as pure; yet cheap is a reference
to the complex nature of life.

Our interest in the adorning ritual is due to its gender sensitivity. The community's gender awareness is seen in the adorning of both spouses as opposed to traditional society's gender blindness.

No sooner had the bride's mother finished adorning the couple than a lady sprayed them with perfume and then proceeded to spray the guests as the song went on. The theatrical nature of this scene was evident in the couple's adornments that reminded us about the costumes actors put on in readiness to stage a play.

Speeches were made after the adorning. The bridegroom's mother made the first speech which was followed by his paternal uncles, brother and other relatives. The bride's parents were also given a chance to speak. Pastors and other church leaders were also given the opportunity to give speeches. One female church leader from the bride's church said that once married a woman became her husband's mirror so that if his shirt collar was undone, she would adjust it for him. This part of her speech was met with claps, cheers, and laughter from the guests because of her artistic delivery of the speech. The speech was characterised by facial expressions, gestures and movement to depict a situation in which a wife is amicably stopping her husband to adjust his shirt collar. As such, the female church leader's speech indicates that one of the woman's roles is to see to it that her husband is neatly dressed.

One of the church choirs sang a song about giving of gifts in Lunyore during the presentation of gifts which followed the speeches. This shows the influence of Lunyore in Maragoli marriage ceremonies. The next song was the choir's Kiswahili translation of Song 36. The song communicated the order in which people took their gifts to the couple. Once again, the song indicates the influence of Kiswahili on this community. The bride's parents awarded the couple the gifts they had received during the pre-
wedding ceremony.

The bridegroom's paternal aunts presented their decorated sheep which symbolises wealth. This means that the bridegroom's aunts were empowering him economically. Another instance of the bridegroom's economic empowerment was seen in his mother's presentation of a sisal rope that signified a grade cow that was in the cowshed, but which would not be brought to church for display. The bridegroom's economic empowerment by being given a cow is supported by Desi Javeha's contention that he is now being given his wealth which no one will take from him (Personal Interview). Hence, the bridegroom is economically empowered from the type of gifts he receives on the wedding day.

The sharing and cutting of the cake then followed. The lady in charge of the cake gave a short speech outlining the significance of the cake. She told the couple that since they had invited the guests to the wedding, it was the couple's duty to serve them. She also told them that the sharing of the cake signified their generosity and hospitable nature. She then invited them to cut the cake and feed one another. Having fed one another, the couple was given a plateful of pieces of the cake to serve the guests starting with their parents. This episode shows the complementary nature of the male and female roles.

While one of the church choirs was singing, each of the bride's maid's was given a plateful of pieces of cake to serve the guests. This was followed by a prayer that marked the end of the church activities. The master of ceremonies then announced that the couple, the bride's maids and groom's men would march out first and proceed to the bridegroom's home in their vehicles. He then asked the guests to proceed to the various homes where they had been allocated to have their late lunch. He advised the remaining guests to proceed to the bridegroom's home from where they would be told their venues for late lunch. The provision of both invited and uninvited guests indicates the communal aspect of life in this community.
We observed that the marching from the church took a different turn because the bridal party formed one column except for the flower girls and candle boys who retained their positions. The bridegroom and groom's men formed another column and they all marched out to the tune of Western music and headed for their various vehicles. The observation we made here was that that was the first time the bride and bridegroom marched together side by side. They then sat together in the back seat of one of the vehicles. From the foregoing, we deduce that the couple marched out together and sat together because they were now officially married.

After leaving the church, we went to the bridegroom's home in order to capture the songs and other performances that would be taking place there. We only found a group of church choirs singing outside. There were no youth to sing satirical songs and crack satirical jokes. There is little wonder that a disappointed male guest who did not wait for late lunch went away complaining that most modern Maragoli weddings are not like those of long ago. His complaint was due to the fact that there were no satirical songs and stylised jokes after the church ceremony, yet that would be the time for deafening satirical songs that would be partisan in a traditional Maragoli wedding. It would be the time for satirical jokes cracked at the expense of the bride and bride's maids as the jokers peeped through the windows in a traditional wedding. We could not help feeling that the satirists' absence from the scene might have been caused by censorship.

The foregoing discussion of the marriage ceremony provides us with an adequate backdrop into which the episodes and scenes relevant to this study fit. The songs and stylised jokes are better understood when placed in their contexts --that is, in the particular scenes where they were captured in the performance. It is also through such a discussion that the roles of each gender are highlighted.
CHAPTER TWO

A COMMENTARY ON GENDER ROLES

The marriage song is an effective medium for outlining gender roles among the Marsagoli. To begin with, the marriage song socialises the bride to her roles in her marital home. These gender roles are augmented by certain qualities and behaviour that the bride is expected to demonstrate. However, the women use the songs to subtly show their resentment of some of the roles and qualities attributed to them. Secondly, they use the marriage song to satirise the male gender roles that are founded on the male ego and masculinity.

2.1 A Commentary on Feminine Gender Roles

A woman's roles are effectively portrayed in the marriage song. Since the woman leaves her home and joins the bridegroom's family, the song is used to socialise her into her new home where she is expected to adjust quickly and demonstrate her roles effectively. However, some of the singers' sentiments on gender roles are said with their tongues in their cheeks, implying their use of irony. This is intended to show the disparities in gender roles. These songs are sung both on the pre-wedding and wedding ceremonies.

During the pre-wedding ceremony, songs in praise of the bride are sung in her home. A case in point is Song 7 which praises the bride's ability to cater and endear (her husband) tenderly. And through the repetition of "I myself will say" at the beginning of every verse, the singers, impersonating the bride's mother, are advertising the latter's gender roles that qualify her for marriage.

It is through the women's demonstration of their roles of cooking and catering that we
see *Woud Oseombo ni gwamo gweno* which is the Maragoli corruption of the Luo words *Woud Asembo chamo gweno* which means "the son of Asembo is eating chicken". This means that a Luo man from Asembo is one of the guests attending this ceremony. According to Desi Javeha, this Luo man is a boyfriend to one of the singers. As such, he receives very good treatment (Personal Interview). Chicken among the Maragoli is a delicacy which is cooked on important occasions and for special guests. Hence the eating of chicken highlights the festive mood of the occasion.

Bearing in mind the fact that guests at a wedding ceremony expect to be served with good food, it is ironical for them to complain about the badly cooked food they have just eaten. This is the case with Song 8 which was sung by the bride's singers in the bridegroom's home after eating. The poor catering skills of women from the bridegroom's home are illustrated in their badly cooked ugali and watery tea. Their poor cooking is intensified by the repetition of the word *Igaranga* which Mwenesi tells us means "very tough ugali" (Personal Interview, b) that is in crumbs due to the use of too much flour in it.

The song takes the form of competition between women from the bride's village and those from the bridegroom's village in their demonstration of their cooking skills. Women from the bride's village judge themselves as the victor's in cookery because they have just eaten badly cooked food in the bridegroom's home on the wedding day. Therefore, the women use partisan singing as a way of accepting their role of cooking.

Hanah Egala tells us that when the bride's relatives and friends departed from the venue of the wedding, the bridegroom's female relatives sang for her Song 9 (Personal Interview, b). The song is an affirmation of the tradition because the bride is being requested to perpetuate the feminine gender roles and qualities of acting shy, waiting on (her husband), smiling, dancing, endearing (her husband), and marching slowly. However, the pride with which the women sing this song is ironic. Irony, according to
Michael Meyer "is a technique that reveals a discrepancy between what appears to be and what is actually true" (113). In other words, the truth in an ironical statement lies in the opposite of that statement. Therefore, whereas the singers are identifying with the bride and telling her to conform to society's expectations of the feminine gender roles and qualities, the overstatement revealed in the chorus after each verse indicates their feelings of dislike for these female attributes. The slow rhythm of the song as well as the repetition of certain words show that these gender roles are boring and monotonous.

Closely connected to the foregoing song is Song 39 which was sung by the bride's singers on their arrival at church on the wedding day. The singers use the simile "turn round like a turkey" as an effective way of telling the bride to be fearless and to proudly assert herself in her marital home. The word "turkey" whose Maragoli version riguruguru is onomatopoeic, is a symbol of boldness and confidence. This means that the singers are telling the bride to assert herself in her marital home boldly and confidently.

It is ironical for the singers to tell the bride "Just act shy Just act shy/ Emma just act shy you are at home" when they have already instilled boldness and confidence in her in the first verse of the song. This shows their feelings of dislike for "acting shy" as a feminine gender quality.

A married woman's role of waiting on her husband is implicit in the predicted changes in his physical appearance in Song 10. The anticipated changes are exemplified in "You were slim in the waist/Now you are rounded in the waist/ You were black like soot/ Now you are shining like gold". The similes used here compare the bridegroom's physical appearance before marriage and after marriage. The repetition of "sorry" in the song shows the singers' feelings of sympathy for the bride who will work very hard at her roles before there are evident changes in her husband's physical appearance.
The fast rhythm in the fifth verse of the song as well as its emphatic rendition introduce us to the bride's preservation of her virginity before marriage. Virginity in this community is a woman's source of pride but when she loses it on her marriage bed, she becomes depressed. This is well brought out in the use of "cupboard" and "safe" which symbolise her chastity. The use of the past perfect tense. "I had kept" and "I had taken" shows that the bride's virginity is no more, hence her depression. This contention is supported by Desi Javeha who tells us that the bride in this verse "is crying because her body is spoilt" (Personal Interview). In short, the bride is being prepared for her imminent sexual encounter and the resultant loss of her virginity.

In Kegoye singer's version of Song 10, the soloist impersonates the bride's mother by stating a mother's role in her daughter's upbringing. she tells us that she nurtured the bride by bathing her, smearing oil on her skin, putting her in a napkin and wrapping her in a towel. She also took the bride to nursery school and class one where the bride learnt very well. Consequently, the bride obtained a career and is now wedding. The song also states that the mother had to see to the matching of her daughter before her marriage. This shows that a mother plays a very vital role in the upbringing of her children starting with child care; then seeing to it that the child gets the right marriage spouse. Thus, the song reveals that the marriage of a daughter is the climax of a mother's role in child care.

The chorus in the two versions of the song that tells us "You were slim in the waist" and "Now you are rounded in the waist" is symbolic of the confidence bestowed on the bridegroom at marriage. This means that whereas marriage bestows confidence on the bridegroom, the bride only finds out later that her roles are not only arduous, but also unpleasant as Song 11 illustrates.

In Song 11, we are told that the bride will be grinding a lot of red sorghum on an enormous grinding stone revealed in the augmentative ugusudi which means "red
sorghum". Hanah Egala tells us that grinding *kisudi* (red sorghum) on a grinding stone is very difficult. It is easier to grind *ingumba* (white sorghum) and *ovoro* (finger millet). *Kisudi* was used to gauge a girl's grinding capability (Personal Interview). Hence, red sorghum was used in the bridegroom's home to test the bride's ability to grind.

Through the use of the augmentative *gusiongo* which means "large water pot", the singer states that the bride's role will be fetching water from the stream in a frightfully large water pot. According to Javeha, a bride would be given a very big water pot -- bigger than the one she used for fetching water from the stream at her home. This was done to find out if she was ready for marriage with all the duties that went with it (Personal Interview). The bride's role of fetching water from the stream is supported by the joke that was cracked at the expense of Richard Agufana's cousin on her wedding day. The joke, *Rero konyoye ebombo ya mazi* which means "Today we have got a water pump" (Personal Interview) is a metaphor that refers to the many daily trips the bride will make to the stream to fetch water for the family's use.

Kegoye singers' version of Song 11 tells us that the bride's roles will be grinding red sorghum and digging a farm. According to Mwenesi, a bride was given a piece of land in her marital home that had not been tilled for a very long time and asked to dig it as a way of gauging her ability to work hard (Personal Interview). In addition, the song spells out a woman's biological role of giving birth to children as a way of socialising the bride into what marriage entails for her.

The song also prepares the bride psychologically for life in her marital home where she will encounter in-laws she will have to address as *mama* (mother), *baba* (father), *vamwavo* (sisters) and *mbozo* (brother). This song as maintained by Dorothy Agufana is received with feelings of fear and sadness by the bride who is made aware that her own biological mother treated her with loving care but one who was not her biological
mother would not treat her with real motherly love and care (Personal Interview).

The unpleasantness of the roles assigned to women are highlighted in the augmentative forms ugusudi (red sorghum) and ugusiongo (water pot) in the song. Furthermore, the monotony of these roles is depicted in the slow rhythm of the song as well as in the repetition of words such as "And the water pot". This therefore portrays the women's dislike of some of the roles assigned to them.

The bride's anxiety at the prospect of her hasty marriage to a soldier is highlighted in Song 16. This song according to Phoebe Luvai was composed during the Second World War when the British who were fighting the Germans had recruited Maragoli soldiers and stationed them in Mombasa and Nairobi. When such a soldier took leave and came home, he sent a mediator to get him a wife and the marriage was usually contracted in haste since the soldier's time in the countryside was limited. The song was composed due to the hasty manner in which marriages to soldiers were contracted (Personal Interview). The word keya according to Esther Bwonya is the Maragoli corruption of the acronym K.A.R "King's African Rifles" (Personal Interview). Therefore, umukeya refers to a soldier in the King's African Rifles army (Personal Interview).

The fact that the bride poses questions and resolves them in the song indicates her feelings of anxiety at the prospect of her imminent hasty marriage. In her question "What shall I do with the boot of a keya" and her resolution "I myself know how I shall carry (it)", the bride is telling us that the soldier's boots evoke feelings of awe mingled with fear in her due to her impending marriage. This is because the boots symbolise the bridegroom's fearless and warlike nature. The implication of her question about what she will do with the soldier's boot which is alien to her is that society has not prepared her for her role of dealing with a soldier's boots. She also wonders how she will treat the soldier tenderly because his stay in the military camp has exposed him to alien
values which she is unaccustomed to.

In Elizabeth Mugisa's version of this song, the bride, overwhelmed by the size of the soldier's boots poses the questions "what shall I do with the boot of a keya and "How shall I carry the boot of a keya . This is because according to her, during the Second World War, a soldier married a woman and before they knew each other, the man went back to the military camp (Personal Interview, b) probably leaving behind a pair of boots. As such, "the bride is wondering how she will cope with such a situation" (Mugisa). Hence the song is sung in anticipation of the bridegroom's departure from home soon after the wedding leaving behind a pair of boots to signify his presence.

The fast rhythm of the song depicts the bride's fears, uncertainty, and anxiety about her impending marriage. Her resolutions to each of the questions she poses indicates a woman's ability to cope with crises when they arise. In short, a woman's decisive nature is brought out here.

The bride's roles of catering, cooking and ironing as the word umubaasi means one who irons (clothes) are brought out in Song 25. The song reveals the fact that marriage is a promotion for the man, who, before his marriage, carries out certain roles society has assigned to women but abandons them for his wife after marriage. This is evident in "Today he will come from the bachelor's hut/He has got a cateress and "Today he will leave the kitchen/ He has got a cook". What this reveals is that certain roles are shared in this society but due to the feeling that marriage promotes a man, he abandons those roles for the woman. This in effect subjects the woman to her subordinate and servile roles in society.

In the first verse of Song 27, the singers predict luxury for the bride in her marital home. In the repetition of their response "In a vono" which symbolises luxury, the singers are ironically emphasising the fact that the bride will not find luxury in the
bridegroom's home because he will not afford it. The song also socialises the bride into her role of child care in the words "Emma make the baby feel cozy/ In the vono". Vono is a trademark name for spring beds which were fashionable in the 1960s and early 1970s. The emphasis placed in "In the vono" is ironical as the bridegroom will not be able to afford the kind of luxury that will enable the bride to carry out her role of child care easily and effectively.

The metaphor "Emma is a flower" in Song 37 which was sang by the bride's singers on the wedding day is an overstatement emphasising the women's resentment of society's view of a woman as a beauty object. This is because beauty, just like a flower, is vulnerable and must be taken care of or else it perishes. The implicit ambiguity of the second verse that says Emma is advanced reveals the fact that the female roles are so many that some of them are not even defined.

Song 38 is opposed to the Maragoli tradition that scorned at a woman's eating of delicacies and having good drinks on her wedding day. This tradition affected even the bride's maids. According to Esther Bwonya, a bride would be served with delicacies such as meat and chicken to go with her ugali and at the same time she was also served with bitter local vegetables such as mito and zisaga; yet she was expected to eat the vegetables and barely touch the delicacies. This would go on throughout the period she was considered a bride (Personal Interview). This clearly indicates gender discrimination in diet for while the bride strove to keep to the feminine gender expectations by starving herself, the bridegroom enjoyed himself by eating the delicacies. Through the words, "when you see Emma open a soda" and "when you see Emma open a madiaba, the Sheng word for a 500 millilitre bottle of soda, the women are protesting against society's frowning at the girls' eating of food and drinking soda on the wedding day.

The fifth verse of the song tells us "when you see the girls open a soda" as a sign of
welcome and happiness. In other words, the bridal party is requesting their hosts to
give them a warm welcome by serving them with soft drinks without gender
discrimination. Moreover, Mwenesi maintains that "These are girls from the city" is the
singer's reference to their village as a city (Personal Interview) which signifies
modernity. The implication is that the patterns of life in the city necessitate the sharing
of domestic roles by both spouses. This is why they are requesting to be served with
soda.

The marriage song is therefore a platform for women to air their resentment of some of
the traditional roles that portray them as compromising as revealed in "Just endear you
bride just endear" and "The endearing that was of old" (Song 9). And soon after
marriage, a woman is tested on her roles such as grinding red sorghum, fetching water
from the stream and digging. Coupled with this is her biological role of giving birth to
children (Song 11) and also taking care of her children (Song 27) as her role dictates
this. Therefore, due to the complex nature of life, women use irony to show their
rejection of some of the roles assigned to them while at the same time highlighting the
disparities in the distribution of gender roles and raising their complaints about their
dislike of some of the roles assigned to them.

2.2 A commentary on Masculine Gender Roles

The roles assigned to the masculine gender in the Maragoli community are based on
patriarchy. In other words, the roles of each gender are stipulated by men who are the
formulators of the culture that women must assist in perpetuating. As such, the
masculine gender roles portray the man's masculinity and ego which the women satirise
in the marriage song.

The singers of Song 6 satirise the bridegroom's role of being the family's bread winner.
His selfishness is figuratively stated in "Bahati has bewitched me/With water of tea/ In a
tiny cup" which indicates that the bride will not only be subjected to a very poor diet, but she will not eat to her fill in her marital home. As such, the singers, impersonating the bride, are satirising the bridegroom's economic ability.

Song 24, which is a very common Maragoli marriage song, satirises the bridegroom's economic ability. Through the use of ambiguity in the first, fourth, and sixth verses of the song, the singers are able to doubly ridicule the bridegroom's economic status. To begin with, the singers impersonate the bride and her sisters to show how the bridegroom borrowed his pre-wedding and wedding outfits from their father and grandfather-in-law. Among the Maragoli, a son-in-law is expected to respect his parents-in-law. However, the bridegroom's failure to abide by his cultural norm is revealed in his folly of borrowing his pre-wedding and wedding outfits from his father-in-law and grand-father-in-law. This intensifies the poverty in his home that renders him dependent on his father-in-law and grandfather-in-law. Consequently, his economic inability renders him an unsuitable husband for their sister.

On the other hand, the singers may be seen to be impersonating the bridegroom's sisters and telling us that he borrowed his pre-wedding and wedding outfits from his father and grandfather. As maintained by Indangasi "this underscores his "pretensions" to maturity and economic independence" (150, b). What this means is that since the bridegroom is dependent on both his father and grandfather, he is not fit to marry the bride.

The bridegroom's economic empowerment is satirised in Song 25 in which the bride requests him to buy himself a suit in the fourth verse and thereafter, to buy her gifts. For instance, she asks the bridegroom to buy her a Peugeot in the sixth verse and a Benways bus in the twelfth verse. Benways is a fast moving bus bearing this name that plies between Kakamega and Nairobi. Furthermore, the bride requests him to buy her a veil and a suit in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses respectively. She also asks him to give her a lot of money since he is rich. From the requests that the bride makes to the
bridegroom, the singers depict his inability to cope with the economic burden imposed on him by society. This is effectively done through the use of hyperbole in which the bride requests him to buy her a Peugeot, a Pajero and a bus; yet he is incapable of buying them. The effectiveness of this song lies in the bridegroom's inability to cope with the economic burden that society has imposed on him; particularly so in modern times when traditional patterns of life are rapidly being abandoned. Hence the women are questioning society's insistence on economically empowering men alone in modern times.

The singers in Song 26 which was sung in the bride's home on the eve of the pre-wedding ceremony satirise the bridegroom's search for a wife. Notably, a man in the Maragoli community relied on a mediator to look for a suitable wife for him. But nowadays a man looks for a wife by himself. The song whose setting is the present time shows the places the bridegroom went to in search of a wife before he found the bride. Using their geographical knowledge of the area, the singers tell us that on leaving his home in Kisatiru, the bridegroom reaches "the junction" of the Kisumu-Kakamega Road and Chavakali-Kapsabet Road from where he proceeds to Mbale where he is unsuccessful. He then branches off from the Kisumu-Kakamega Road at Mbale and takes the feeder road leading to Kegoye. He reaches Vumale but does not find a wife and so he goes straight on up to Kegoye. It is in Kegoye that he meets the bride. His meeting with the bride evokes immense feelings of joy in him as revealed in "He was happy he was happy/ And he was happy".

The singers' manipulation of the geographical setting of the song makes it cinematic thereby making us travel along with the bridegroom and share his frustrations of failure to get a wife. We are able to visualise the bridegroom dating women at the "junction", Chavakali, Mbale and Vumale where women prove difficult to get and he like most men, "with their ego and pride", is not going to accept rejection ("Parents" Jan 1997). And so he like most men does not waste his time chasing women ("Parents") in those
areas but moves "elsewhere to greener and yielding pastures" (Parents). Thus, by naming the places the bridegroom went to before he eventually got the bride shows his desperate state. This desperation is intensified by the augmentative gwa so that we are able to perceive a big-bodied man going from village to village in search of a wife. Apparently, the singers were closely watching his desperate search for a wife which they now publicise during the pre-wedding ceremony for by so doing, they are satirising the male ego.

The traditional roles that men have assigned themselves of "disciplining" their wives by slapping, kicking and punching them is rejected in Song 28. The singers are emphatic in their negation of wife beating throughout the song. Portraying their negation of "wife beating", the singers flew into fury by wearing angry faces and stamped their feet on the ground in this performance. This shows that "wife-beating" is a negative male role.

The bridegroom's role of taking care of the bride is emphasised in the second and sixth verses of the song. The singers' happy facial expressions during their performance of these verses emphatically shows that the bridegroom's taking care of the bride is one of his major roles. As a result, it is through performance that we were able to get the women's dislike of wife-beating and their acceptance of a husband's care for his wife.

Connected with the bridegroom's role of taking care of his wife is his sexual role in Kegoye singers' version of Song 11 that tells him "Weed mother's maize for them to increase the yield" and "Weed mother's fruits for them to increase the yield". These verses, while anticipating the imminent sexual act, are also predictive of the future when the couple is expected to have children to continue their families' progeny. Hence, the community's attitude towards children in marriage is elucidated in these verses.

The man's roles which are based on society's empowerment of the masculine gender are therefore satirised by the women. The women also satirise society's empowerment
of the man as head of household and therefore the bread winner; yet he "has bewitched (the bride) (my brackets)/ with water of tea/ in a tiny cup" (Song 6). What is explicit here is the fact that he is unable to live up to his gender expectations. Besides, the singers renounce wife-beating as a demonstration of a man's masculinity.
A lasting marriage is founded on the output of each gender in the relationship. However, a woman's eagerness to demonstrate her roles in her marital home as a way of sustaining the marriage is usually marred by encounters contrary to her expectations. Her encounters in marriage are clarified in the paradoxical songs that prepare her for the complexities of the marriage relationship. Paradox, according to Michael Meyer, is a statement that initially appears to be self-contradictory but that on closer inspection turns out to make sense .... Paradox is useful in poetry because it arrests a reader's attention by its seemingly stubborn refusal to make sense, and once the reader has penetrated the paradox, it is difficult to resist a perception so well earned. Good paradoxes are knotty pleasures (96).

In other words, a good paradox is one which is clearly self-contradictory, yet underneath it lies a lot of sense. Its importance in poetry is the fact that despite its failure to make sense on the surface level, it makes a lot of sense once its deeper meaning is deciphered.

And according to Scott, "a paradox provokes the reader to consider the point afresh" (209). In short, a reader is required to unravel the meaning inherent in a paradox. Besides, Holman tells us that paradox is "a statement which, while seemingly contradictory or absurd may actually be well founded or true. Paradox is a rhetorical device used to attract attention, to secure emphasis" (377).

Paradox is exemplified in Song 17 which was sung by female singers in the bridegroom's home on the wedding day when the bride and her party arrived. The song is set in the traditional past when match-makers played an important role in marriage,
and they were honoured in society. It is therefore ironical that the match-maker who has worked so hard to ensure that the marriage takes place is being accused by the bridegroom of getting him a weak wife. Although the singer is imagining that the bridegroom is displeased with the bride due to her inability to demonstrate her role of grinding millet on a traditional grinding stone, the bridegroom is so pleased that he has been brought a wife. The contradiction is that a man who has played no role in securing a wife for himself should not have the audacity to complain about her. But he has to complain about her because he is going to live with her for the rest of his life. The truth is that the wife will be dependent on him during illness, when she will be expectant, and even after child birth when she will be weak.

Song 15 whose historical setting is closer to the foregoing song highlights the bride's complaints about her impending marriage. The song was set in the colonial era during the reign of Chief Odanga in North Maragoli. Mwvali tells us that prior to Odanga's reign, Shivachi from Idahko ruled the Basari, Bakizungu and Bakirima, all of whom belong to Maragoli clans, up to about 1920 when Odanga from Sabatia in Maragoli was installed chief of the then North Maragoli (Personal Interview). Therefore, the song which was set during Odanga's reign states that the bride is getting married to a man from Odanga's chieftaincy. The revelation in "Today I shall sleep in the camp/ In the camp at Odanga's" as maintained by Mugisa indicates that the bride will sleep in discomfort (Personal Interview); this brings out her fears about her imminent marriage.

Considering that at Odanga's camp as in any other chief's camp in Kenya there is a cell for suspected criminals, the bride is in effect expressing her belief that she is going into a suspect's confinement. The contradiction of the bride's view about marriage is that she knows that marriage entails her loss of freedom and the beginning of her confinement; yet she gets married in conformity with the society's marriage stipulations. The truth is that she has to forfeit her liberty in order to find it in marriage.
The song also brings out gender disparities because Wodanga was a place where men identified with the rulers who wielded power. Women on the other hand, were brought up to shun places of power. In view of this, it is ironical that the bride is getting married to someone from a place she does not like. The reality is that due to society's marriage regulations that require a woman to leave her home and join the bridegroom's family, the bridegroom's home is the place she is going to make her home, and even dominate.

Lunyerere which was part of Odanga's chieftaincy is alluded to in the third verse. According to Mugisa, young unmarried women and girls went to dance shoulder-shaking at Lunyerere as part of their recreational activities in traditional society. The singers, who are impersonating the bride, are explicit in their assertion that the bride is regretting why she had gone to dance at Lunyerere where she was spotted and identified as a suitable wife (Personal Interview, b). The contradiction here is that the bride is complaining about traditional society's marriage rules that excluded the woman from the choice of a husband. However, shoulder-shaking at Lunyerere was one of the ways in which marriageable women advertised themselves to the men. The truth is that the bride is so happy that her participation in shoulder-shaking at Lunyerere has earned her a husband to whom she is now getting married.

Song 4 is another song whose setting is closer to that of Song 15, albeit its recurrence in modern Maragoli weddings. The song highlights the bride's anxiety about her impending marriage in "Old women give me tether/Give me a tether to tie the intestines in my stomach". Among the Maragoli, women tied rope-like belts around their waists in moments of hunger and stress. The song is thus a contradiction of the happy and festive moods of the wedding ceremony since it establishes a sad mood. In other words, when a woman is supposed to be very happy and excited, that is the time she is mournful; that is the time she is asking for a belt to tie round her waist to reduce her anxiety. The truth is that it is every woman's desire to get married, yet this is her saddest moment because she is leaving people she has lived well with to join others with whom she might not live well.
Just like Song 4, Song 1 is one of the texts in our collection that was set in traditional society. As a matter of fact, the song was composed and performed during the Second World War. According to Hanah Egala, the singing of this song and the rhythmic hitting of the body of the lorry were done simultaneously. In those days, the bridegroom would be asked if he would provide a lorry to transport the bride and her party on the wedding day (Personal Interview). But Magomere tells us that instances where the bridegroom provided a lorry were rare because in most cases, the bridal party often went on foot with the best-maid covering the bride with an umbrella in order to conceal the latter's face (Personal Interview). This explains why the lorry transporting the bride and bride's maids assumes an important role. The repetition of the word "lorry" elevates it to a prominent status. This elevation lends colour and pomp to the marriage. Moreover, the hitting of the body of the lorry implies that the bride has been elevated to the level of a dignitary by travelling by lorry.

By telling us that "The lorry has set the ball rolling for the child", the singers are alluding to the wedding of one of the girls from the bride's village. The implication as believed by Susana Avwasi is that the bride's father, on witnessing the pompous wedding of a girl from the village who was transported by lorry, hastened up his daughter's marriage arrangements so that he too could boast about his daughter's marriage to a soldier whose wedding was pompous (Personal Interview).

The gender disparity in the recruitment of soldiers is evident in this song where only men were recruited to the war. Hence whereas the war was associated with men who were recruited to the army to prove their military prowess, women were brought up to keep off the war. The contradiction is that the woman is getting married to someone associated with war which she does not like. Kimiywi tells us that in reality, marriage for the woman is a war since it is a problematic contract (Telephone Interview, b). The paradox is that by getting married, a woman gets the security and social acceptance that she has been longing for, but she is beaten.

In Aireni Kayiya's version of this song, the singer tells us at the end of each verse,
"The lorry took me to the military camp". The soldiers who were recruited in the Second World War were confined in a military camp where they underwent vigorous military training. Women were excluded from the military camp which was associated with the men's skills in war. In contrast, the woman who has been brought up to avoid male domains, is getting married to a soldier in a military camp. In reality, marriage is a loss of liberty for the bride.

Among the Maragoli, avana ("children") and umwana ("child") are very endearing terms -- terms which the bride and bride's maids are very proud of during the former's wedding. This is why the singers are telling us, "The lorry is carrying the children" and "The lorry is carrying mother's child." However, it is contradictory that a child among other children is getting married. The truth is that in order for the bride to settle in marriage, she must have child-like simplicity.

In Song 2 we are told that although the bridegroom, his parents and relatives are proud, he has a bald. The singers also tell us that the bridegroom's parents and all those who nurtured and educated him are arrogant. They emphasise the bridegroom's despicable appearance in their repetition of "He has a bald", which is why they are rejecting him because the bald makes him ugly. The contradiction is that while the singers are rejecting the bridegroom because he has a bald, that bald, which is part of his totality, is what has attracted the bride to him. The truth is that the bald symbolises the bridegroom's wealth which the singers are yearning for.

When the singers from the bride's home were going back home after attending the wedding ceremony in the bridegroom's home, they sang Song 3 according to Dorothy Agufana (Personal Interview). The singer asks the answer she will give the bride's mother, her paternal aunt and/ or her husband, and her father when they ask her where she has left the bride. The song assumes a traditional Maragoli marriage ceremony in which the bride's parents and other close relatives did not go to the bridegroom's home.
on the wedding day. The repetition of the rhetorical question "Where have you left the child," apart from stressing the fact that the bride is formally married, shows that marriage does not sever the strong kinship bonds.

Through different voices, each of the bride's relatives asks the singer where she has left their child. To begin with, the first voice in the song is that of the bride's sister, close relative or friend who sings the different voices of the song. Next is the bride's mother; then the bride's paternal aunt or uncle because senge means one's father's sister, and/or her husband, and lastly, the bride's father. The answers the singer gives are as follows: "sadness/sadness" to the bride's mother in the first verse; "Sadness/senge sadness" to the bride's paternal relationship in the second verse, and "Sadness/Father sadness" in the last verse. The contradiction in this song is revealed in the constant repetition of the word "sadness" which evokes feelings of unhappiness on this festive and happy occasion. This reveals the singers' imagination that the bride's relatives are unhappy with her marriage. The truth is that the bride's relatives including with her mother, are very happy due to the respect their daughter has earned them by wedding.

Song 5 is another song that establishes a strong kinship bond between the bride and her mother in the words "one flesh" in each verse. The singer states that this kinship bond will be interfered with by the bride's marriage to a community that practices witchcraft. Thus, to tell the bride that she is getting married to a family notorious for these anti-social practices is to evoke feelings of fear and uncertainty in her. According to Dorothy Agufana, she held moments of internal dialogue within herself wondering whether to call off the wedding or not (Personal Interview). This reveals the strong psychological impact the song has on the bride. In other words, the song is a psychological preparation for the bride who, on finding any anti-social practice in her marital home is supposed to reflect on the songs and see them as having prepared her for such situations. The contradiction is that the bride knows that the people among whom she is getting married are bad; yet she is joining them. The truth is that what the bride is
rejecting in marriage is the idea of going to the unknown.

Another song that abhors anti-social practices in the bridegroom's home is Song 33. The song explicitly asserts that the persona had earlier on carried out secret investigations into the bridegroom's family and found the following anti-social practices: sorcery, witchcraft, murder, and adultery and she had already cautioned the bride. However, the bride's apparent characteristic dramatic stubbornness to listen to this piece of advice emanates from the malice surrounding marriage in this community. This contention is supported by Desi Javeha who tells us that there are some people with "black stomachs", that is, malicious people in the Maragoli community who will use all types of methods to stop the bride's marriage into a particular family because she is likely to be prosperous and happy; yet this is what the malicious people do not want (Personal Interview). The contradiction is that the bride is getting married to the bridegroom in spite of her awareness that the bridegroom's family is bad. The truth lies in the fact that society demands that a woman should leave her home and join the bridegroom's family where she will make a home for herself and even dominate.

The reference to the anti-social practice of witchcraft in the metaphor:"Bahati has bewitched me/ With water of tea/ In a tiny cup" in Song 6, underscores the bridegroom's selfishness. His selfishness coupled with his inability to live up to his gender expectations of being the family's bread winner disqualify him from marrying the bride. In spite of this awareness, the bride is getting married to him. The reality is that although a woman gets married to demonstrate her catering skills, she cannot demonstrate them when she gets to her marital home because there is no food for her to cook.

Song 12 explains the bridegroom's strange eating habits revealed in "Chahonyo then kills lice/And crunches them that badu". The word badu is ideophonic while namenena is onomatopoeic. His enjoyment of a meal of lice which he crunches between his teeth signifies his poverty and filth. The singers are therefore questioning his economic
status, thereby revealing the miserable life the bride will lead. The contradiction is that the bride knows that the bridegroom has weird eating habits; yet she is getting married to him. The truth is that her cooking will not be the way to her husband's heart.

The subjection of the bride to a poor diet is seen in Song 14 which tells us "And the leaves of beans /.../ And the leaves of beans our child will be eating/ And the leaves of beans are partially boiled". This being the first verse of the song which is repeated in two other places in such a short song evokes feelings of sorrow in the bride. The verse satirises the bridegroom's economic status -- that he is too poor to afford any other vegetable -- let alone meat, the food for brides. Bearing in mind the fact that leaves of beans symbolise poverty, the singers are telling the bride not to get married to such a poor man. The paradox here lies in the fact that the singers are imagining that the bride's parents are unhappy with their daughter's marriage to the bridegroom while in reality they are very happy because marriage for their daughter gives her social acceptance that proves their effective demonstration of their roles that have culminated in her wedding.

Moreover, the word gagirinya in reference to leaves of beans means "not properly boiled". These words are a preparation for the bride's role as a wife -- a role that is characterised by her eating of improperly boiled leaves of beans, which according to Mwenesi, were cooked for the bride to test her capacity to endure. It was also used to find out if she was able to withstand difficult circumstances. Leaves of beans were cooked for her during her period of "bridehood". After eating the bad vegetables, delicacies such as chicken and meat were cooked for her later on (Personal Interview).

In other words, leaves of beans, which are used to test the bride's ability to withstand difficult circumstances in her marital home, symbolise endurance. The paradox is that while the singers are imagining that the bride's parents are unhappy about their daughter's impending marriage that will subject her to the bridal test, the reality is that they are happy their daughter is getting married because this gives her social acceptance.
The humorous depiction of the bridegroom's theft of one grain of dry roasted maize (*embededia*) in Song 18 aims at showing us that the bridegroom is not perfect; he is petty and despicable. The women are therefore using the marriage ceremony to point out the bridegroom's folly. By accusing him of stealing *embededia* leaves of beans and silver fish, the singers are contrasting the pomp of the marriage ceremony with ordinary village life where children steal even pop corn. The contradiction in the song is that in spite of the singers' assertion that the bridegroom is poor, the bride is getting married to him. The truth is that a woman gets married in order to demonstrate her cooking skill but when she gets there, there is hardly any food for her to cook.

Through the singers' chorus that says "I should have revealed it about him today," the women dramatically set up a court of law in which they accuse the bridegroom of his shameful behaviour. Their accusation of the bridegroom arises from society's expectations of a woman to put up with her husband's shortcomings without any complaint. Thus, whereas the singers are imagining the bridegroom to be petty, despicable and poor due to his theft and ill conduct, both the bridegroom and the bride are in love, and the bride does not know that he is faulty. The truth is that the bridegroom's faults reveal his adventurous nature and this is what has attracted the bride to him.

In connection with the foregoing song, Song 19 ridicules the bridegroom's greed. He is said to have eaten a duck's leg. This portrays his carnivorous nature which hinders him from realising that a duck's leg is webbed and scaly. He is therefore crude because he has failed to conform to society's eating habits. The contradiction is that although the singers imagine that the bridegroom lacks etiquette, his good behaviour is what has attracted the bride to him. The truth is that the bridegroom's adventurous nature which is characterised by his experimentation with what is prohibited depicts the male ego which has attracted the bride to him.

Song 20 which was set during the bridegroom's courting of the bride uses the
The singers tell us in the second verse "He licked his lips", and "He giggled/.../ on seeing our Emma approaching" to reveal the bridegroom's failure to conceal his lust for the bride. This is contrary to the Maragoli society's rules that prohibit one's open display of sexual desires. Paradoxically, the singers are using the bridegroom's lust to stop the marriage, but the bride is getting married to him because she loves him. The truth is that it is the man's masculinity and potency revealed in his lust that have attracted the woman to him.

Song 21 is another song that reveals the bridegroom's lust for the bride. The song, which was sung on the eve of the pre-wedding ceremony in the bride's home not only reveals the bridegroom's lust for the bride, but his disrespect for his mother-in-law. Among the Maragoli, a son-in-law is not expected to show his lust or portray unbecoming behaviour in the presence of his in-laws. His lust is well illustrated in the use of the following similes: "He preyed like a hawk;" "He preyed like a lion," and "He preyed like a cow." Apart from revealing how desperate the bridegroom was to win the bride when he was courting her, the similes in the augmentative forms gwa reveal his lust for her that is shown in the repetition of "He preyed" which has sexual connotations. The contrast is that whereas the singers are depicting the bridegroom's lust as a way of stopping the bride from getting married to him, they themselves are admiring him. In reality, the bridegroom's lust portrays his masculinity which the singers are longing for.
From the fourth verse to the seventh, the singers use exaggeration to accuse the bridegroom of not giving the bride ample time to dress up, complete her education, buy a veil, and shoes. This is contrary to the preparations for weddings in this community where even on the wedding day the bride refuses to leave her parents' house when the bridegroom comes for her until after his satisfactory payment of a fine. This highlights the concern of the marriage song which, rather than dwell on the actual wedding focuses on the life of the couple after cohesion. The contradiction is that it is the singers who are imagining that the bridegroom is impatient with the bride; yet it is his patience with her that they admire. In reality, once married, the bridegroom will not allow the bride to be smartly dressed for fear that other men will make passes at her.

Similarly, the bridegroom's lust for the bride is also seen in Song 22 which was sung in the bride's home on the eve of the pre-wedding ceremony. His lust which is stated in the first verse and repeated in the third verse shows the seriousness of the offence. Paradoxically, the singers are imagining the bridegroom to be showing his lust for the bride openly, and they are therefore preventing her from getting married to him. But she is getting married to him because she loves him in totality. The truth is that the bridegroom's lust reveals his potency and masculinity which appeal to the bride.

We are told in the second verse that the bridegroom is greedy, while the fourth verse up to the end touches on his failure to maintain bodily hygiene until he is reminded to have a bath. Evidently, whereas the singers are imagining the bridegroom to be extremely filthy, the bridegroom himself as Indangasi puts it "is clean shaven and has applied the most expensive perfume" (151, b) which is probably imported. The paradox is that in spite of the singers' contention that the bridegroom is filthy, the bride is getting married to him to carry out her role of ensuring that he is clean. The truth is that through the rhetorical questions in the women's exhortations, the bridegroom is being given the upper hand while the bride is being prepared for her servile role.
The bridegroom's filth is further brought out in Song 23 which tells us that the he has scabies, is shy and has boils on the buttocks. The singers question, his acting shy, his walking style and the way he laughs. Whereas the first verse of the song that is addressed to the bridegroom enquires about his looks, the fifth verse which is addressed to the supposed audience enquires about his looks. These enquiries originate from the fact that in traditional Maragoli society, women were not supposed to concern themselves about their husbands' looks, however ugly. The singers are therefore making use of their poetic licence to tell us that the bridegroom is actually ugly, and not fit to marry the bride. Besides, they reveal that he has feminine tendencies depicted in his shyness and acting shy which are indications that he should not marry the bride. The contradiction is that a woman gets married to a man because she likes his ugliness and feminine tendencies. But the reality is that the man's feminine tendencies reveal his impotence.

Bearing in mind the fact that scabies is a skin disease brought about by filth and a deficiency of Vitamin C, the singers are therefore telling the bridegroom that since he has contracted a skin disease, he is not fit to marry the bride. This is because rather than concentrate on the pre-wedding ceremony in which he is the main focus, he will be busy scratching his buttocks and other parts of his body. And according to Indangasi, "the girls are undressing him and imagining him to be suffering from the most embarrassing pathological condition. Besides, he is about to sit in the back seat of a Peugeot 504, so presumably he will feel most uncomfortable" (151, b). In short, the girls are depicting the bridegroom's negative attributes which are contrasted with the clean clothes and posh car he is about to enter. The irony is that the girls are imagining that the bridegroom has boils on his buttocks and so he should not marry the bride who, on the other hand, is attracted to him due to love. The fact is that sooner or later, the bridegroom will fall ill and wholly depend on his wife's nursing care.

The bridegroom's economic dependence on his father-in-law and grand-father-in-law is highlighted in Song 24. This dependence on his in-laws depicts him as disrespectful...
and foolish. His foolishness is enhanced by the augmentative form *gwa* which vividly depicts a big-bodied man going to borrow his wedding outfit from his in-laws. The singers are therefore imagining that the bridegroom's family is so poor that he has to rely on his in-laws; yet he has come for the pre-wedding ceremony in a very expensive suit and a luxurious car. Thus, while the singers are of the opinion that the bride should not get married to the bridegroom due to his poverty, the bride is getting married to him because she loves him totally. In reality, when faced with marital problems in future, the bridegroom will swallow his pride and contact his in-laws whose counsel will contribute immensely towards sustaining the marriage.

We are told in the other parts of the song that the bridegroom admires himself as he walks; farts as he walks, and urinates as he walks. Consequently, "He is not a man of substance." He is said to be concerned about his appearance, yet men in this society are not expected to preoccupy themselves with their looks. Besides, he has failed to display good manners because farting and urinating in public in this society are regarded as bad manners. The contradiction is that it is the singers who think that the bridegroom is badly behaved, yet he is well behaved. In reality, it is his good behaviour that they admire.

The bridegroom's ugliness is brought out in *Gwene si iguri ugundu* whose rough translation is "The ugly one is not an important big person" which means he is obnoxious. The contradiction is that whereas the singers are stating that the bridegroom is ugly, the bride is getting married to him. The reality is that the bridegroom's ugliness is what makes him more masculine, and this is what has attracted the bride to him.

The bride's resentment of her marital home is brought out in Song 34 in which the singers, acting the role of the bride, tell us, "I never wanted to go to Kisatiru." This reveals her ambivalent attitude towards her imminent marriage which is paradoxical. The contradiction is that although the singers depict the bride's resentment of her marriage to a man from Kisatiru Village, she is actually looking forward to this marriage.
because it will give her social security and liberty. The truth, is that her ambivalent attitude reveals her fear of the unknown in marriage. Ambivalence is also revealed in the fourth verse that tells us "A fool/ A fool took me (there)". In other words, it is because of the foolish bridegroom’s marriage proposal that the bride is getting married to him. The contradiction is that despite the bride’s ambivalent attitude towards the bridegroom, she is very happy about her impending marriage to him. The reality is that what she fears in marriage is the idea of the unknown.

A father’s role of accepting bridewealth from the bridegroom’s family is exemplified in "A calf of vuda/ A calf of vuda took me (there)", and "A kibagadi/ A kibagadi took me (there)". Mwenesi tells us that vuda are parasitic insects on an animal’s fur (Personal Interview) means that the cows the bride’s father was given as bridewealth are ugly. In addition Hanah Egala states that, kibagadi refers to a barren anaemic cow that is emaciated (Personal Interview). In short, the bride is getting married because of her father’s acceptance of such a cow. The irony is that the bridegroom’s family is being accused of taking lean, ugly cows to the bride’s father, but the latter is usually given good animals. The truth is that animals are not worth a woman’s toil and her life in her marital home.

Song 35 comments on the bridegroom’s greed, his physical appearance, severe ailment and economic ability. To begin with, the bridegroom is assumed to be eating too much, so he is reminded to reduce it. The word umunyanyo is the Maragoli colloquial form for iriria, meaning "eating". This verse which is repeated elsewhere in the song implies that if the bridegroom does not reduce his eating, his wife will starve. In short, the singers are telling us that the bridegroom is a glutton. The contrast is that although the singers resent the bridegroom for his gluttonous tendencies, the bride is getting married to him to demonstrate her role of cooking. The reality is that there will be no food for her to cook in the bridegroom’s home.

The bridegroom is asked to buy a flare in the second verse of the song. The flare is a
pair of trousers that is wide at the bottom. It was in fashion in the 1970s and early 1980s. The need for the bridegroom to buy a flare is explained in the third verse that tells us "Evans' feet are crooked..." In other words, he is being asked to buy a flare to cover his crooked legs; this means he is ugly. The irony is that while the song emphasizes the bridegroom's ugliness, this is what makes him more masculine and this is what has attracted the bride to him. In reality, his ugliness is a sign of the male ego which she likes.

In the fifth and seventh verses of the song, the bridegroom is asked to buy a suit and a tie because he is indecently dressed. In modern Maragoli marriages, a son-in-law must be in a suit when he visits his parents-in-law's home. The contradiction is that while the singers use the bridegroom's lack of etiquette to prevent him from marrying the bride, she loves him totally. The truth is that in moments of crises, the bridegroom will visit his parents-in-law in casual clothes.

The description in the fourth verse tells us "Evans' leg has a permanent wound..." This description loses most of its flavour when translated because the word *gwazava zava* is the augmentative form of *kuzava zava* which according to Timothy Unziru, "refers to a wound that emits water, pus and blood. It is a reference to *ingwago yurwangara* which is a wound that will never heal" (Personal Interview). This means that the word *kuzava zava* is onomatopoeic and refers to a permanent wound that looks sweaty all the time while emitting a mixture of pus, water and blood. Since *gorenge* is the augmentative form of *kerenge* ("leg"), the description creates in us a mental picture of a decomposing elephantine leg. The contradiction is that the singers are imagining that the bridegroom is suffering from a severe ailment while the bride knows that he is not, hence their marriage. The truth is that the bridegroom will be so seriously ill at one time or other that he will rely heavily on his wife's nursing care.

The paradox while explaining the role of each gender in the marriage relationship and
the ideals society has set up for its members, reveals the realities each spouse encounters in marriage. To begin with, it is a man's desire to get married to a hardworking woman but he has to put up with her weakness during illness, pregnancy and childbirth. Besides, it is a woman's desire to get married in order to attain social security and acceptance, but she has to lose her freedom. When she gets married, she is beaten. Furthermore, a woman's efforts to demonstrate her catering skills are thwarted by her husband's economic status. Moreover, a man's defiance of social norms which the society disapproves of and his ugliness are proof of his masculinity which the bride likes. Therefore paradox in the marriage song underscores the complexity of the spouses' lives in marriage.
CHAPTER FOUR

DICTION, SEMANTICS AND IMAGERY
IN THE MARRIAGE SONGS.

The women's monopoly of the marriage song is reflected in their compositions which is manifested in their manipulation of certain words for meaning as in *Mae lae lae* in Song 25 to portray a sad mood on an otherwise festive occasion: the pre-wedding ceremony. Similarly, the women's usage of figurative language is revealed in the images evident in the marriage song.

4. 1 Diction

Diction according to Roberts and Jacobs "refers to a writer's selection of words. The selection should be accurate and explicit so that all actions and ideas are right" (267). In other words, diction means that a writer should choose his or her words well and clearly. Michael Meyer also tells us that "a poet, like any other writer has several levels of diction from which to choose. They range from formal to middle to informal" (42). In other words, there are three levels of diction from which a poet may choose. Notably, a Maragoli marriage ceremony is a formal occasion but the marriage song is composed and delivered by the ordinary folks. This means that the marriage song mainly comprises of informal diction.

Although the Maragoli marriage ceremony mainly consists of informal diction, certain small words that are foreign have been generally accepted as part of the community's diction. Nevertheless, some of the foreign words are only used for purposes of the song but are not normally used in ordinary discourse. The foreign words in the songs have their origins in English, Kiswahili, Lunyore, Sheng and Luo.
To begin with, many words in the Maragoli marriage song that have been localised are English words. One such word is tahoro which is the Maragoli corruption of "towel" in the Kegoye singers' version of Song 10. It reveals a mother's role in child care for we are told that she (the mother) bathed the child and put her in a towel. In the same song the word nasari for nursery has been localised. It shows a mother's concern for her daughter's education. The word wani which is the Maragoli corruption of "class one" is now a local word which reveals a mother's role in her daughter's education. This is strengthened by the words e kosi, the Maragoli corruption of "a course". In other words, a mother ensures that her daughter gets a career after her (the former's) education. Therefore, the word "course" for training has now been made indigenous.

The word isuti in Songs 14, 25 and 35 is the Maragoli corruption of "suit". This word has been localised because there were no suits in the traditional Maragoli community. In Song 14, the bridegroom is asked to buy himself a suit on the wedding day. This means that the singers ironically accept society's economic empowerment of men. However, they satirise the economic empowerment of men in Song 25 in which the bride requests the bridegroom to buy her a suit if he is educated. The singers' attachment of suit to formal education indicates the value system. That is, the highly educated people in society belong to the bourgeois class, and they are the ones who should wear suits. The implication is that the bridegroom has failed to realise that his wife belongs to this class and she should dress according to its expectations. And in Song 35, the bridegroom's act of flouting a rule of etiquette is satirised. He is reminded to buy a suit; this indicates that he has visited his parents-in-law in casual clothes.

Tai is the Maragoli corruption of the word "tie", and it has been indigenised since there were no ties in traditional society. The word "tie" in Song 24 underscores the bridegroom's poverty for he is said to have borrowed a tie from his father-in-law to tie on his wedding day. But in Song 35, the bridegroom is reminded to buy a tie to put on as a modern cultural norm when he visits his parents-in-law's home. This satiric
reminder emanates from the singers' awareness that some men in this society defy such rules. The satire therefore serves as a corrective measure for such men.

The introduction of mosquito nets in this community preceded the introduction of wedding veils. Due to the apparent similarity of the net and the veil in terms of the material from which both are made, the Maragoli refer to veils as nets. It is for this reason that the word neti (net) is used for "veil." For instance in Kegoye singers' version of Song 10, the bride's mother's pride is revealed in her clothing of her daughter in a veil. But in Song 14, the bride's family, or bridegroom's family, or the community, or even the audience are asked to buy a veil for the bride to be clothed in. This is seen in the word guri which is the plural for "buy." This in effect shows that the verbs in Lulogoli take on singular and plural forms. Since the word “buy” is used in its plural form indicates that singers are addressing the society’s failure to empower women economically. However, the bride requests the bridegroom to buy her a veil if he loves her in Song 25. Apart from satirising society's economic empowerment of men, the bride's request highlights the influence of Western values on the institution of marriage among the Maragoli so that a man's love for a woman is seen in the gifts he gives her.

The fact that a man finds a woman to cushion him in marriage is revealed in ipilo which means "a pillow" in Song 25. The word ipilo which has now been localised shows the bride's role of acting as a cushion for her husband. In short, a man finds a woman to lean on in marriage.

Another English word which has been made native is the word zinoti which is the Maragoli corruption of "notes". The appropriateness of the word touches on the introduction of money economy and its impact on the community. Evidently, the singers request for notes of money from the bridegroom is a criticism directed at both men and women whose love relationship is founded on the man's wealth. In short, the
ingers are satirising the materialistic kind of love.

The word *elong'u* in Song 24 is the Maragoli corruption of "long" which refers to "a pair of trousers". The fact that the bridegroom is accused of borrowing pairs of trousers from his father-in-law and grandfather-in-law is a criticism directed at men. The bridegroom's disrespect for his in-laws is figuratively depicted in his borrowing of his wedding outfits from them. Hence, using him as the dramatis persona, the singers reach men who break society's rules with the aim of making them reform.

Song 16 has also used English words that have been made native. For example, *ibudi* is the Maragoli corruption of "a boot". The word brings out the bridegroom's alienation from his community. This alienation makes the bride wonder how she will cope with it. This alienation is intensified by the bride's usage of *umukeya* which as maintained by Esther Bwonya, refers to "a soldier in the K.A.R" (Kings African Rifles) army (Personal Interview). The prefix *umu* was added to *Keya* (Kings African Rifles) which is the Maragoli corruption of the acronym K.A.R. As such the word *umukeya* alienates the bridegroom from his community.

Another coinage from *keya* (K.A.R.) in Kayiya's version of Song 1 is *lokeya* which means "military camp". Apart from its alienating effect, the bride views marriage as a military camp where she has to adjust to the rigidity of marriage life that requires her to sacrifice her freedom.

The word *kambi* in Song 15 whose translation is "camp" has been indigenised. In the song, the bride tells us that she will sleep at Odanga's camp. Odanga's camp symbolises power and the rule of law. As such, marriage to the bride evokes the feeling of imprisonment because she has abandoned her freedom. The camp therefore symbolises imprisonment for the bride.

*Chifu* which means "Chief" in Song 17 has been localised. The fact that the chief who
symbolises power and the rule of law is also complaining about the weak wife brought to him by the mediator as Oilio tells us, is a way of letting him "know that men are not extraordinary human beings but ordinary ones" (41). It shows that in spite of his authority over his subjects, the chief has domestic problems with his wife.

The retention of the word "junction" in the original version of Song 26 shows the influence of the English language on Lulogoli. Since Lulogoli is Bantu, one would expect the Kiswahili word makutano to be used but this is not the case. In fact the word "junction" is gaining acceptance as a local word.

In Song 36, the words asembuli for "assembly", pasita for "pastor", and Disi for D.C. the acronym of District Commissioner have been localised. "Assembly" and pastor are used in the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Church; they underscore the role of the church in Maragoli marriage ceremonies. Hence, this song which was sung in the bride's home during the pre-wedding ceremony takes note of church leaders and government administrators present during the ceremony. It acts as a prompter in a play in which various categories of guests take their gifts to the couple in the order in which they are called.

The word siti which means "city" in Song 38 has been accepted as a local word since the Maragoli do not have a word for "city". In the song, the bride's singers refer to themselves as girls from the city. According to Mwenesi, this means that it is their village which they are referring to as a city because it is urbanised (Personal Interview). What this reveals is that "city" symbolises modernity and urbanization. Another instance that highlights modernity is Song 13. In the song, the singer uses the word siaji which has now been localised from the Kiswahili word siagi which means "butter". The word ijemu from the English word "jam" has also been localised. Thus, the singer, impersonating the bride, is telling us that her home is modern. Therefore, siagi and ijemu symbolise modernity.
“Soda” in Song 38 has been made native because the community did not have soft drinks. The singers satirically question the tradition that requires the bride to act shy and to barely eat on her wedding day. They do so by requesting the bride's host not just to give her a bottle of soda but to give her a *madiaba*, the Sheng word for a 500 millilitre bottle of soda. Their request for a large bottle of soda for the bride shows that they are opposed to brides being starved on their wedding days. Another Sheng word is used in Song 25 where the singers tell the bridegroom "give me some notes (of money)/You call yourself wealthy". They use the Sheng word *umudosi* which is the Maragoli corruption of *mudosi*, the Sheng word for a wealthy person. Bearing in mind the fact that Sheng was formed in Kenyan towns where it thrives, it is of interest to us that the word has reached Maragoli villages. Apart from showing the influence of Sheng on Lulogoli, the words *madiaba* and *mudosi* also show how words travel from one part of the country to another.

Songs 14 and 42 use the word *amaua* from the Kiswahili word *maua* whose English translation is "flowers". And in song 37, the singers use the word "riaua" from the Kiswahili word *ua* which is "flower" in English. The use of *amaua* and *riaua* delineate the society's aesthetic sensibility. The ancient word for "flower" in Lulogoli is *kimuri* which is used in the third verse of Song 37. The word *kimuri* is now archaic. According to Indangasi,

> archaic words are those words which are no longer in general use, although they are not obsolete. Poetry in particular tends to promote a certain linguistic conservatism, occasionally showing a preference for archaic words. These words though normally frowned upon, have persisted, and we even come across them in African poetry (75, a).

Aware of the fact that society disapproves of the word *kimuri* due to the fact that it is less appealing than *riaua*, the female singers use it in one verse to show that there are some members of the society who will not appreciate the bride's beauty.
The Maragoli word *ebede* from the Kiswahili word *pete* for "ring" in Song 14 is now indigenous. The word is used to refer to the wedding ring that the bridegroom will put on the bride's finger after the sealing of the couple's marriage in church. The manner in which the singer requests for the bride's ring to be bought is brought out in the word *guri* which is the plural form of "buy". This means that people rather than the bride herself are being asked to buy her a wedding ring. The singers are therefore criticising the society for its failure to empower the woman economically. This is juxtaposed with the bridegroom's economic empowerment in the word *gura* which is the singular for "buy" in reference to the bridegroom who is being told to buy a suit for himself.

Apart from ring, the Kiswahili word *arusi* which means "wedding" in Song 14 is now a local word. The original Lulogoli word for wedding is *keselero* which is normally used by the old people. *Keselero* is also used in reference to the wedding songs that are sung prior to the pre-wedding and wedding days in the bride's home to establish the relevant wedding moods and also to prepare the bride psychologically for her marriage and what life in marriage entails. The singers' preference of the word *arusi* rather than *keselero* is due to their awareness that the latter word would interfere with the rhythm of the song because it is a long word.

Certain foreign words in the marriage song are transient because they are borrowed for the purpose of the song but they are not used in ordinary discourse. For instance, the word *siverera* in Song 3 is the Lunyore word for "sadness". The Lulogoli word for sadness is *vovereri*. This shows that the song originated in Bunyore. Moreover, if *vovereri* were to substitute *siverera*, the singers would be forced to sing in a guttural voice due to the repetition of the consonant "v" in close proximity in the same word. This is aggravated by the dull vowel "o" after the first "v". On the other hand, *siverera* is musical and therefore appealing. Hence the Lunyore word is used here for aesthetic effect.
Another Lunyore word in Song 3 is *wina* for "who" in English. The Maragoli word for "who" is *vwaha* which is musically unpleasant due to the harsh sound produced by the consecutive consonants "v" and "w". Thus the word *wina* is retained in the song for its musical flavour but it is not normally used in ordinary discourse.

The singers use the Lunyore word *mbwena* in songs 22 and 23. The word *mbwena* means "how". The Maragoli word for "how" is *ndi*. If the word *ndi* was used, it would not only interfere with the rhythm of the song but it would also sound harsh because it is not as musical as *mbwena*. This Lunyore word also shows that the song originated in Bunyore. This brings to light the fact that songs are not confined to their areas of composition but rather, they travel to other places as well.

Transient Luo words have been used in Song 7. The words *wuod Osembo ni gwamo gweno* are the Maragoli corruption of the Luo words *wuod Asembo chamo gweno* which means "the son of Asembo is eating chicken". The Maragoli words for this are *muyayi wa Asembo arizanga engoko*. The inclusion of Luo words in this song makes known the fact that that song was composed in Masana, according to Hanah Egala. She tells us that the Maragoli from Masana border the Luo and they speak Dholuo because they know it (Personal Interview). However, Gladys Mwenesi tells us that the rest of the Maragoli such as those from Vihiga sing these words without understanding the meaning. Nevertheless, they sing them due to the joy of the wedding and because they know that the words are relevant to the wedding (Personal Interview). What this brings out is the fact that some transient words that find their way in the Maragoli marriage song are only understood by few people.

Transient Kiswahili words are also used in the marriage song. In Song 19 for example, the singers use the word *pole* which is *sorry* and "sana" for "very". The Lulogoli equivalent for "sorry" is *mwodi* while that for "very" is *muno*. The singers' prefer these Kiswahili words because they are pleasant to the ears which means that they are more
musical than the Maragoli words which if used would appear dull in the song. The Maragoli words are dull owing to the dull consonants "m" and "w" in mwodi "m" in muno and "u" in muno. Therefore, the singers' choice of Kiswahili words arises from their awareness of the fact that the song would lose its musical appeal if Maragoli words were used.

In their reminder to the bridegroom to have a bath, the singers use the Kiswahili word kwanza which means "first" in Song 22. The Lulogoli equivalent for "first is kutanga. In order to maintain the rhythm of the song, the singers choose to use the Kiswahili word kwanza which is a smaller word than the Lulogoli kutanga. What this reveals is the fact that the composers of the marriage song are aware that rhythm is an important component of their compositions.

The singers' selection of the Kiswahili word panguza whose meaning is "reduce in Song 22 is used to remind the bridegroom to check on his eating habits. Rather than use the Lulogoli equivalent of "reduce" which is gehiza, they use the transient word panguza. Their usage of the Kiswahili word is twofold: to maintain the rhythm of the song and because the word is musical. Similarly, in Song 35 the singers use the Kiswahili word apunguza which means "to reduce" instead of the Lulogoli agehizi in their reference to the bridegroom's greed.

In Song 26, the singers, showing their geographical knowledge of Sabatia, walk with the bridegroom from his home in Kisatiru in search of a wife, to the bride's home in Kegoye. And as long as the bridegroom has not reached the bride's home, the singers use the augmentative form gwaduka which means "he reached". However, they use the Kiswahili word mpaka whose meaning is "up to" when the bridegroom reaches the bride's village. It would be inappropriate to substitute mpaka with the Lulogoli Kuduka which means "up to" or even gwaduka, the augmentative form of "he reached". Their choice of the word mpaka prepares us for the climax of the bridegroom's search for a wife whom he finds at Kegoye. This, in a nutshell, depicts the women's artistic
manipulation of words in order to arrive at the climax of their musical tale.

Like the foregoing Kiswahili words, some English words in the songs are also transient. In Song 6 for example, *eloya* is the Lulogoli corruption of "hello there" while *kam sore* is the corruption of "I am sorry". The intricate nature of this song is seen in the manner in which it is rendered. To begin with, the soloist, impersonating the bride, sings the first line and the alternate ones. Then the chorus, comprising many people, sings the second and alternate lines of the songs. This song depicts the singers' clever utility of these English words to bring out contrast. This is because while the bride greets her relatives especially the female singers "Hello there", their response is "I am sorry". The significance of contrast in these lines is that it opens up an avenue for the bride to complain about her mean and improvident husband. Contrast is therefore used to distinguish between reality and fantasy. This is because the bride in "Hello there" introduces us to fantasy by making us believe that all is well in marriage. However, the chorus in "I am sorry" introduces us to the reality which the bride goes ahead to recount. In short, the singers’ application of English words is their subtle way of satirising men who fail to conform to their gender expectations.

The word *sore* in songs 6 and 10 is the Lulogoli corruption of the "sorry". *Mwodi* is the Lulogoli word for "sorry". If the word *mwodi* were to be used in Song 6, it would interfere with the rhythm of the song. This is because in Lulogoli, the word *mwodi* is normally used alone to show who is sorry. Similarly, *mwodi* would interfere with the rhythm of the song if it were to be used in Song 10. In addition the word *sore* is more pleasant musically than the word *mwodi*. As such, *sore* is transient because it is rarely used in ordinary discourse.

*Ala* in Song 11 is another transient word that the singers use for the purpose of the song. This word is the Lulogoli corruption of "hello". According to Hanah Egala, initially, the singers sang *"Nuvudinyu Hara"* meaning "It is difficult/ There" (Personal
Nevertheless, due to the influence of English on Lulogoli, the word *Hara* was substituted with *Alo*, meaning "Hello". The word *hara* intensifies the bride's fears and uncertainty about her approaching marriage. On the other hand, the word "hello" reduces the gloomy mood that the song creates. What is inferred by the singers' choice of the word *alo* is the fact that marriage for a woman has moments of gaiety which should be highlighted, however minimal. Thus, the word "hello" minimises the gloom that awaits a woman in marriage.

The use of taboo words is another level of diction that is evident in the marriage song. In accordance with what Indangasi tells us,

> Taboo words are those which refer to subjects or experiences or parts of the human body which are not to be talked about in public or in polite society. 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 or excitement (79).

In brief, taboo words are those that are mentioned in whispers because they touch on intimate parts of the body thereby arousing our emotions. Despite the fact that such words are not employed in ordinary polite discourse, they are ingredients for the marriage song. The reason for this, as Olilo observes is that

> The Luhya do not bluntly talk about matters concerning individual's (sic) private life. They regard such matters with secrecy and merely mention them in whispers. But during circumcision and marriage ceremonies, the Luhya through song texts, express individual's (sic) private matters bluntly so that they now become public knowledge (37).

In other words, singers exploit their poetic licence during circumcision and marriage ceremonies to use taboo words which are not part of the polite discourse that characterises ordinary day to day life. Apart from the songs, the stylised jokes that are cracked at the expense of either spouse during a marriage ceremony also contain taboo words. This in consequence indicates that the singers' poetic licence allows them to use
taboo words in a marriage ceremony as some of our songs and stylised jokes show.

In Song 18 for instance, the bridegroom is accused of defecating in spear grass. The word *yania*, which is "defecated" is a taboo word. In normal polite discourse, the speaker would say *Yazia m'mburimu mu vembe* which is roughly translated as "He went to the bush in spear grass". In other words, euphemisms are used in ordinary discourse. Euphemisms, as stated by Indangasi "are those words which soften the effect of taboo words" (79). Thus, the foregoing euphemism was coined during the traditional set-up in which people defecated in bushes because there were no toilets. Unlike the traditional set-up, the current euphemism for this would have been *yekonyera mu vembe* whose translation is "he helped himself in spear grass" which is the community's euphemism for 'defecate". The reason for the singers' choice of this taboo word is as maintained by Oliwo an "attempt to affirm social norms by criticizing the individuals who violate moral laws in society" (46). In brief, taboo words are used to satirise members of society who fail to conform to society's norms. In this case, it is morally wrong for one to defecate in spear grass since the grass does not provide one with the required privacy when one is attending to a call of nature such as this. The implication is that one exposes one's nudity by so doing. Besides, spear grass is used for thatching houses and so it should be free from pollution.

Another instance in which the bride is accused of defecating in spear grass is the stylised joke given by Anne Vilembwa which she heard during her brother's wedding in December 1981. She tells us that when the vehicle in which the bride was arrived at her home, one woman from the village, putting her head through the window of the car, looked at the bride and said:

*Joy yania*
*Joy yania mu vembe*
*Yamutoza*
*Yamutoza havwene*

Joy defecated
Joy defecated in spear grass
It pricked her
It pricked her where it matters
(Personal Interview)

This satirical joke, using the bride as the dramatis persona, exposes the fact that some women do not conform to the norms that govern this society. There is little wonder that the satirist's selection of the words "It pricked her where it matters" is a vivid and picturesque appeal to our imagination by implicitly stating that the bride was pricked in the anus. We are thus left gaping in annoyance at the bride's folly.

The fact that women accuse the bridegroom and the bride for defecating in spear grass in the foregoing illustrations shows that women are aware of the fact that both men and women break society's norms and they must be told off as a way of making them reform. We are therefore justified in asserting that women are the custodians of moral laws in this society.

Madako which means "buttocks" in Song 23 is a taboo word because it is not usually mentioned in ordinary discourse. The women's usage of this word arises from their capitalization of their poetic licence during a marriage ceremony to belittle men who, as Oilo tells us, "have traditionally regarded themselves as superior to women" (40). What this means is that men in this community have elevated themselves to the level of demi-gods so that women who are inferior before them cannot criticize them ordinarily. In view of this, women use this opportunity to indicate that men are but human beings made of flesh and blood and who are prone to severe ailments such as boils on their buttocks just like women.

Two taboo words are used in Song 24: gwiyamba, the augmentative form of kwiyamba which is "to fart", and gwinyara which is the augmentative form of kwinyara whose meaning is "to urinate". Both words are not used in polite discourse. Ordinarily, euphemisms are used so that rather than say "farting", one would say kwononya e hewa
whose rough translation is "to spoil the air". Similarly, the word *kwiisava* which means "to wash hands" would be used in place of "urinate". The reason for the singers' usage of these words is due to their awareness that although society prohibits its members from farting and urinating openly, some of its members defy this toilet regulation. For this reason women satirise people who fail to abide by society's regulations by boldly mentioning these taboo words that arouse feelings of annoyance in the audience with a view to correcting them.

The word *vohei* whose meaning is "adultery" in Song 33 is a taboo word. In ordinary polite discourse, the word *vogendi* which roughly means the act of "walking" is used. The women use this word to alert people that despite the fact that society does not condone adultery, some of its members are victims of this crime. Thus, the aim of the word it to arouse feelings of annoyance in us so that those of us who are victims of adultery can reform. Moreover, *Ufunyanga isanga'ada* whose rough translation is "you have a foul stench" in Song 22 is taboo. The purpose of these words is to create in us a mental picture of the bridegroom in his nudity with all parts of his body stinking, including his breath. This picture evokes in us feelings of disgust and dislike for the bridegroom who is our literary persona. Therefore, the women satirise the members of society who do not conform to the rules of bodily hygiene because this makes people amenable.

Another level of diction is seen in the singers' choice of the Maragoli words to achieve certain effects. For instance, the preponderant use of *umwana wa mama* whose translation is "mother's child" in Kayiya's version of Song 1, and in songs 5 and 25 reinforces the closeness of the relationship. The singers' choice of "mother's child instead of "my sister" is due to the fact that "sister" in this society refers to the following categories of relatives: one's biological sister; one's step-sister; the daughter of one's mother's sister; the daughter of one's father's brother and any girl from the clan or extended family of the same age as the girl in question. As such, the singers' choice of
"mother's child" is much more specific because it tells us that the singer is the bride's biological sister and this reinforces the closeness of the relationship.

What we have said so far is that women who are the majority in the composition and performance of the marriage songs, select their words carefully for effect. The selection covers a wide spectrum ranging from English, Kiswahili, Lunyore, Sheng and Dholuo words some of which have been indigenised while others are transient. Moreover, acting as custodians of the society's moral laws, women use taboo words to satirise crime in society as an effective way of evoking in us feelings of disgust and annoyance with those members of the community who commit these crimes. Consequently, we are able to purge ourselves of these negative feelings through our self-assessment and reform.

4.2 Semantics

The women's artistic manipulation of semantics is pertinent in the marriage song. Semantics as maintained by Indangasi,

From the standpoint of stylistics . . . is the level that deals with the meaning of a word, a word-group, an idiom, a proverb, an utterance and ultimately an entire text. Semantics also deals with relationships between units of meaning in a given literary text (85).

This means that within the parameters of stylistics semantics is meaning. In view of this definition, we find that many levels of meaning are salient in the marriage song, especially in the original versions of the songs. One level of meaning is conveyed in the semantic oddities in the songs. In most of our texts for example, the untranslatable word ee or eee means "yes". The Maragoli word for "yes" is yee. The singers' musical inclination is revealed in their removal of the consonant "y" and their retention of the double vowel "e" or their addition of a third vowel "e" to the word. The singers prefer to use this word that has a peculiar meaning for a number of reasons.
The singers' choice of the word *ee* in Song 1 to mean "yes" is due to its pleasant musical sound that would otherwise be marred by the inclusion of the consonant "y" on the word. This pleasant sound clarifies the girls' sense of adventure for they are travelling by lorry which is new and fast. Similarly *ee* and *eee* in Song 38 are used to mean the consent "yes". Here, the singers use words to maintain the rhythm of the song as well as to reinforce what they have just said in the previous verse. The third verse of the song according to Hanah Egala is a reinforcement of the second verse (Personal Interview) in which the singers tell us that they love Emma. This reinforcement intensifies their love for the bride who is being taken away from them through her marriage. We can therefore deduce that the women's usage of *ee* is part of their coded language which one has to learn.

*Yaye* in songs 7 and 14 is another peculiar word that means "yes". This contention is supported by Hanah Egala who tells us that the word *yaye* in Song 14 means yes; it is the women's consent with whatever has been said in the preceding line of the song (Personal Interview). Similarly, Desi Javeha tells us that *Yaye* in Song 7 means "yes" (Personal Interview). Since the word *yaye* is the singers' consent of the preceding words, we are justified in concluding that the word is the women's clever way of stressing their sentiments without actually repeating the lines.

The most interesting bit about Song 7 is the singers' manipulation of semantic oddities to show the bride's soliloquy. This is supported by Desi Javeha who tells us that most of the peculiar words in this song reveal the bride's wish to tell us what is on her mind (Personal Interview). In the first place, Javeha tells us that *Yamalala* is the bride's way of saying *Woi woi, aa ku inze mbeya hai? Rimenya riavukani*, which is roughly translated as *Woi, woi, where am I? Life is different* (Personal Interview). This alludes to her marital home about which she is wondering whether she will lead the kind of life she has been living in her parents' home. This part of the bride's soliloquy is predictive
about her unpleasant life in marriage evident in the ideophones woi woi which convey sadness in this community.

Secondly, *Eee* in this song is the bride's request to be given a chance to talk, according to Javeha (Personal Interview). In other words, the bride is requesting for an opportunity to address people, including the singers. This request stems from traditional society's prohibition of women from addressing gatherings. Hence through this coded language, the bride is able to put her request across without being jeered at.

Thirdly, *Woiyie* as Esther Andivo tells us means *Ku mbore ndi* which is roughly translated as "So what shall I say?" (Personal Interview). These words are a flashback to the bride's acceptance of marriage to the bridegroom in accordance with traditional society's regulations that required a woman to accept a marriage proposal to a man she had not met. This flashback assumes the fact that the bride is undergoing a traditional marriage. This is supported by Hannah Egala who tells us in our discussion on 4th April, 1996 that a girl's reply, "so what shall I say?" to a marriage proposal to a man she had not met in traditional society meant consent (Personal Interview). This peculiar word is therefore loaded with meaning because it is a flashback to the bride's marriage arrangement that has culminated to her inevitable wedding.

Fourthly, *wolololo* as Desi Javeha tells us, is the bride's way of saying, *Kari inze mbeye ku yaga mba. Vambiraa hai?* whose rough translation is " I am not even interested in this. Where are they taking me?" (Personal Interview). The word "they" here refers to society whose rule is that a woman must leave her home and join the man's home in marriage. Thus, the bride's complaint assumes that this is a traditional Maragoli marriage arrangement in which the woman had no say. This is therefore the woman's soliloquy of her resentment of traditional marriages that excluded women in the choice of husbands.

Fifthly, *pa* means difficult according to Hannah Egala who tells us that the bride, using the word *pa*, is telling her mother that marriage is difficult (Personal Interview). This
serves as an aside because the bride who is a literary persona, is now addressing her mother who is part of the audience. In its broader perspective, the word "mother" in the Maragoli community also refers to: a sister to the bride's mother, a wife to the bride's paternal uncle, and a woman married to the clan of her mother's age. This aside which arises from the bride's awareness that her mother underwent such a difficult experience during her marriage is also addressed to her female relatives above and women of her mother's age as a way of sharing her problem with them and being psychologically purged in the process.

Finally, oreedi yoo according to Javeha is the bride's way of addressing one of her female friends who is one of the girls singing for her in this manner: Vuyu. Aaku mu kanzimbiraa, mbeye hai inze?" which is roughly translated as "So and so. Now that you are singing for me, where am I myself?" (Personal Interview). This means that in spite of her uncertainty about her imminent marriage, the bride is seeking re-assurance from her friend. In fact, a woman seeks assistance from her fellow woman when confronted with a crisis. We can, in a nutshell, conclude from what we have said in this song that women use coded language to complain about marriage regulations that are oppressive to them.

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Intensification is another important level of meaning in the marriage song. This is a common stylistic feature in most Bantu languages and Lulogoli is one of them. Intensification refers to the consecutive repetition of a word for aesthetic effect and also to lay more prominence on what is being talked about. For example, in the first verse of Song 20 we are told gwehenza henza whose direct translation is "the big-bodied man looked looked at himself". The intensification of the word "looked" is a very distinct revelation of the bridegroom's uncertainty about his looks that might make the bride reject him. Thus the beauty of the words gwehenza henza is contained in the bridegroom's action of repeatedly looking at himself.

The second verse of Song 20 also intensifies the words "licked his lips" as seen in the
Lulogoli *gwemena mena* which is directly translated as "the big-bodied man licked licked his lips". These words are used to heighten the bridegroom's loss of confidence in himself so that the singers see him fumbling for something to do as he is afraid of welcoming the bride unto himself on the wedding day. Therefore, the singers' intensification of the bridegroom's action of licking his lips reveals that although other activities were taking place, his action was most distinct.

In the third verse of the song, the singers' degree of derision of the bridegroom who is giggling repeatedly is seen in *gwaseka seka* whose direct translation is "the big-bodied man giggled giggled". This means that the bridegroom is a spectacle to behold because he is giggling repeatedly and this is so distinctly noticeable that the singers deride him. He is being derided for his failure to welcome the bride unto himself during the consummation of their marriage. The singers are thus using this intensification to predict what will happen to the bridegroom on their marriage bed.

Another instance of intensification is seen in the first three verses of Song 26 which elucidates the bridegroom's search for a wife in the words *Gwa genda gwa genda* which is directly translated as "The big-bodied man walked walked". The intensification is well brought out in the augmentative form *gwa* as well as in the repetition of "walk". This makes the bridegroom's search for a wife so conspicuous that the audience or listeners are able to perceive it. They are also able to visualise the bridegroom's immense feelings of joy when he at long last finds a wife at Kegoye in the last verse of the song. This is clarified in the singers' use of *Gwa yanza gwa yanza* whose literal translation is "The big-bodied man was happy was happy".

Intensification is also used in Song 32 is more pronounced in the original version of the song where the words *Ma mandende okodenda* in the first verse literally means "Then I shall treat her tenderly in a tender manner". This intensification creates in us a mental picture of the bride being treated with a lot of affection in a very special way. To the
contrary, the singer tells us in the second verse *Ma nanduyage ukuduyaga* which is literally translated as "Then I shall hit him in a hitting manner" to show the extent of the expected damage that the singer intends to cause on the bridegroom. In brief, the damage will be so great that the bridegroom will be reduced to a kind of mince meat as a result of continued hitting.

From the three illustrative songs above, we are right in asserting that intensification heightens not only the meaning of a word but also the action or state being described thereby enabling the audience to feel it with the persona.

Having seen the importance of intensification in the marriage song, we shall also look at the singers' and satirists' use of sexual connotations in the song and stylised jokes. Connotation as Moody tells us "indicates the references and associations which a word has collected in the course of use in addition to its denotation" (203). What this means is that a word may acquire meaning through other usages apart from its literal one. In brief, connotation conveys meaning.

Notably, the singers use sexual connotations in the songs and jokes because the marriage ceremony gives them the license to do so. Considering that these genres are composed and performed by ordinary peasant folks who, as Indangasi states in "Teaching Oral Literature in Conditions of Theoretical Pluralism",

> have no romantic illusions. For them, the bride leaves her home, her parents and her friends and joins the groom's home where she will perform some very demanding tasks. Besides, the hosts . . . have told their brother to "sharpen his knife" . . . , a clear reference to their impending sexual encounter (152-3).

In brief, there is no romance for the peasant folks who view marriage in terms of the spouses' conformity to their gender as well as sex roles. This explains their usage of sexual connotations.

To begin with, the lines *Semberera amatunda ga mama gadase kwama*, meaning
"Weed mother's fruits for them to increase the yield" and *Semberera amaduma* *ga mama gadase kwama*, "Weed mother's maize for them to increase the yield" in Song 11 are used connotatively. According to Javeha, the bridegroom is being told to take care of the bride's sexual desire through sexual intercourse that will result in her being pregnant and giving birth to children (Personal Interview). This is reinforced by the words "weed", "fruits" and "maize" which in Javeha's observation are a reference to the bride's sexuality which the bridegroom should tend so that the bride can give birth and continue with the family's lineage (Personal Interview). In brief, it is through the bridegroom's fulfillment of his sex role that the bride will bear children to perpetuate their progeny. This connotation explains the importance of children in marriage in this society.

In addition, the singers' question to the bridegroom "How are you staring Evans" in Song 22 indicates as Indangasi tells us, "the singing girls imagine . . . that they have seen lust in the groom's eyes" (Teaching 151). This means that the word "stare" has achieved a connotative meaning. Bearing in mind the fact that this song is sung during the pre-wedding ceremony the singers are implying that it is morally wrong for the bridegroom to show his sexual desires for the bride in her own home. This, in a nutshell, shows that women, using connotative words act as watchdogs of society's moral laws.

Stylised jokes are also connotative. One such joke is by Charles Olienyi who tells us that on his wedding day, the satirists, peeping through the window at meal time told his wife, *Rero, rero urarora. Wakeroraa* (Personal Interview). This joke is roughly translated as "Today, today you will see. You have been proud". The joke is based on the assumption that the bride is a virgin and that her inevitable sexual encounter will be an unpleasant experience for her and her pride will go with it because she will have nothing to guard after she has been deflowered.

To sum up, our observation in these illustrations is the fact that women use sexual
notations as a psychological preparation for the couple's imminent consummation of their marriage which in itself indicates their sex roles.

Contraction of words is another level of meaning that we cannot overlook. In some songs, women shorten certain words which do not mean anything on the surface level. However, on closer scrutiny, these words are found to be abbreviated forms of longer meaningful words. One such example is found in Song 25 where the singers start the song with the contractions *Mae lae lae*. This in Hannah Egala's observation is the shortened form of *Mama ndarira ndarira* meaning "Mother I am crying I am crying" (Personal Interview, b). The singers use this contraction to reduce the strong psychological impact the actual meanings of the words would have on the bride whom they are impersonating. They use this contraction to reduce the effects of the gloomy atmosphere that is dominant in the song. It is through this contraction that the bride is able to accept her impending marriage.

Moreover, *Dengerere dengere* in Song 33 is also a contraction. This, according to Gladys Mwenesi means, *Yidungelizi yidungelizi* (Personal Interview, b), which is roughly translated as "Stand on your own, stand on your own". And Hannah Egala adds that what this means is that the bride is being told to face marital problems alone (Personal Interview). Besides, Desi Javeha's contribution is that the words counsel the bride to stand on her own and not to listen to what people say (Personal Interview). She goes on to say that this stems from the fact that there are people with "black stomachs" in the Maragoli community who will stop the bride from getting married to such and such a family because she is likely to be prosperous and happy; yet this is what the malicious people do not want (Personal Interview). This contention arises from *okosema* which literally means "to abuse" but within the context of marriage, it refers to "malicious rumours and lies about someone about to wed". One who does this is known as *umusemi* (plural *avasemi*). Therefore, the soloist impersonating the *umusemi* tarnishes the reputation of the bridegroom's family with the aim of making the bride
mind about getting married to the bridegroom. The repetition of *Dengerere dengere* sung by the chorus is an emphatic reminder to the bride to make up her mind about her inevitable marriage wisely, irrespective of what people say. It also lessens the sad mood in the song. As such, this contraction is a way of telling the bride that the final decision about her impending marriage should come from her.

What these illustrations reveal about the women's usage of contractions in marriage songs is that their musicality ameliorates the sad moods in these songs. This musicality is portrayed in the use of vowels in close proximity -- the vowels "a" and "e" in Song 25 and "e" in Song 33. Hence contractions are used to relieve tension and highlight the aesthetic value of the songs.

Ambiguity is another level of meaning that the women employ in the marriage song. *Indangasi (a)* tells us that

> In literary works we often come across words whose meaning is indeterminate or ambiguous. A writer might use a word with two or more meanings. What is more, the experience he describes might make the multiple interpretations equally tenable. This is usually referred to as *punning* or *word-play* .... Word-play in poetry is often a source of pleasure for the reader. It opens up several possibilities of interpretation, and part of the fun lies in figuring out just how many possibilities there are (99 - 100).

In other words, ambiguity which is word-play refers to a word with more than one meaning -- meanings that are open to avenues for further interpretations. It is important in poetry because of the many possible interpretations one can make. Thus, singers of the marriage song, being a form of oral poetry, use ambiguity to achieve certain effects as the songs below show.

The Maragoli word *lori* has been used ambiguously in Song 1. To begin with, *lori* means "lorry" and refers to the adventurous nature of the bride's wedding that is characterised by her travelling by lorry which is a novelty. In addition, the word *lori*
means "heifer". Among the Maragoli, a heifer is one of the cows given as dowry before the bride joins the bridegroom's family; a view supported by Samson Madera who, quoting his late grandmother, says that "amongst the cows for dowry, there must be at least a heifer" (Personal Interview). It is in view of this cultural practice that the women subtly state that the bride is getting married due to her father's acceptance of a heifer as bridewealth. Besides, lori also means a man's hairstyle in which the hair above his ear on the left hand side of his head is separated by a prominent line from the forehead; the parting hairstyle. This being a foreign hairstyle, it alienates the bridegroom from his society -- an indication that the bride will have a difficult time in his home. In all these cases of ambiguity, the bride is going to the "war" or "military camp" in Kayiya's version of Song 1. In brief, the gaiety of the wedding day is short-lived because the bride has to adjust to the rigidity of married life.

Lexical ambiguity is used in Song 10 where the singer tells us "Sore umwana wa m'ma sore" ("Sorry child of m'ma sorry"). The ambiguity is seen in the word m'ma which is an endearing term meaning "mother" or "grandmother". It is more endearing to say m'ma than to say "mother" or "grandmother" because the term reveals a close relationship. In view of the singers' sympathy with the bride due to the roles awaiting her in marriage, we can see this as their effective clarification of the transfer of feminine gender roles from grandmother to mother to daughter. Thus, the ambiguity depicts the continuity of women's roles.

Another illustration of lexical ambiguity is revealed in the word umudendi in Song 10 where the singers tell us Sore umudendi wa m'ma sore ("Sorry the darling of m'ma sorry"). The word umudendi has two meanings: "nurse" or "minder" and "darling". In the first place, the bride is depicted in her home as nursing her mother, and or grandmother. This indicates that when a girl is of age, she is expected to take care of the older women in the family. Secondly, the bride is her mother's and possibly grandmother's darling because she has earned their respect and honour due to her
imminent wedding. As such, the word has been used not only to indicate female roles, but also to reveal older women's immense love for a young woman about to wed; this indicates solidarity.

The constant repetition of the word *munda* meaning "stomach" in the same song (Song 10) is also ambiguous. On the one hand, *munda* ("stomach") refers to the bridegroom's bulging stomach which indicates the bride's role of catering. On the other hand, *munda* refers to the birth pangs that the bride's mother had when delivering her now grown up daughter who is going to repeat her mother's sex role and experience labour pains. Therefore, the ambiguity in the word "stomach" portrays a woman's social and sex roles.

The word *gagirinya* in Song 14 is ambiguous. To begin with, the word means "partially boiled". This being the case, the song is a foreshadowing of the bridal test which includes the bride's eating of partially boiled leaves of beans with her ugali to test her endurance. This is therefore a kind of rite of passage for the bride which in the singers' view will be a difficult moment for her. On the other hand, *gagirinya* means "stained" and this means that the bride will be fed on unattractive leaves of beans that have changed colour, seemingly due to too many insects on the vegetables. A stained vegetable could therefore refer to its unpleasant and unpalatable nature. This coming from the bridegroom's home displays their simplicity. Moreover, this song has another illustration of ambiguity in the word *mwanitu*.

Firstly, *mwanitu* means "our child". The singers are thus impersonating the bride's parents to sympathise with their daughter's imminent bridal test in marriage that will be a difficult time for her. Secondly, *mwanitu* also means "our sibling". This is an indication that the singers impersonate the bride's sisters and brothers to express their sympathy for their sister who is going to encounter difficulties in her marriage. This therefore demonstrates the fact that both gender should be concerned about the plight of
woman in marriage in this society.

Ambiguity is also evident in Song 23 in the word *majichi* which means "boils" and "terraces". The singers, using the omniscient point of view, dress down the smart bridegroom and expose his morbid condition that is covered up by the expensive suit he has put on. This enables us able to perceive the bridegroom's buttocks that are covered with boils and the pain he is feeling. On the other hand, we perceive him as having terraces-like dents on his buttocks that are apparently caused by boils. All the same, whichever interpretation we adopt adds up to the fact that the choice of *majichi* evokes laughter and entertainment which is proper for the occasion for it depicts a humorous mood. This is supported by Olilo who tells us "the humorous mood that is exhibited during the singing of the Luhya ritual ceremony song texts is actually in the form of cathartic amusement shared by all participating in the ritual ceremony" (59). This eases the tension that the songs have had on the bride.

In Song 25, ambiguity is evident in the word *umurindi* which has two meanings: one who caters and one who watches over. In the song we are told *Rero naturi isimba/Onyoye umurindi* whose translation is "Today he will come from the bachelor's hut/He has got a cateress". The bachelor's hut among the Maragoli was and is shared by several unmarried young men belonging to the same family or age-group. However, once a man got married, he graduated from the bachelor's hut and lived in his own hut with his wife. It is this kind of scenario that the singers are enacting. What we observe on the one hand is that a man only graduates from the bachelor's hut when he gets married because his wife becomes his cateress and waits on him by catering for all his needs. On the other hand, a married woman becomes her husband's watchwoman by taking care of his property. The ambiguity of *umurindi* therefore spells out the woman's role of catering for her husband and watching over his property.

In the same song (Song 25) the word *umudosi* which is the Maragoli corruption of the Sheng word *mdosi* has been ambiguously used. Apart from "wealthy person", the
word also means "boss". Taking the bridegroom as their literary persona, the singers use this word to satirise the society's stereotyped view of men as being wealthy as well as bosses.

So far, we have seen the explication of semantics as an important aspect in our literary discussion. In the first instance, the women's choice of semantic oddities in the songs arises from their awareness of maintaining the musical flavour of the songs and at the same time easing tension especially for the bride whom the songs affect most. In addition, the women's employment of intensification is due to the linguistic peculiarities of Lulogoli that permit its usage. Hence aware of the fact that the intensifier *muno* ("very") does not increase the intended level of state and action, the women use intensification for aesthetic effect. Furthermore, women use sexual connotations as a psychological preparation for the couple's consummation of their marriage. Besides, word contractions is a form of coded language that the women use to complain about society's marriage laws that are oppressive to them. However, men are expected to learn this language because as Unziru tells us, *Vimbaa ni vagaduriza amang'ana* (Personal Interview). This is translated as, "They shortened words as they sang" when he tells us that *Andere uyoma* (Song 15) is the contraction of *Andere'oyomba* which means "Andere is of no consequence". Finally, the women's selection of ambiguous words in the songs convey the beauty of the language.

4.3 Imagery

A composer's careful selection of images in the song may make a permanent impression on us. Imagery in Roberts' and Jacobs' definition refers to words that trigger your *imagination* to recall and recombine images -- memories or mental pictures of sights, sounds, tastes, smells and sensations of touch and motions. The process is active, and even vigorous, for when particular words or descriptions produce images, you are applying your own experience with life and language to the poems you are reading. In effect, you
are recreating the work in your own way through the controlled stimulation produced by the poet's words. Imagery in short is a channel to your active imagination, and along this channel, poets like all writers bring their work directly into your consciousness (600).

In other words, imagery appeals to our five senses. Besides, the images that particular words produce and the language used in the poems we read are applicable to our own experiences. We shall also add here that the stylised jokes found in Maragoli marriage ceremonies also use images in a similar manner.

Although most of the texts are full of imagery, we shall only look at a cross-section of them for illustrative purposes, starting with Song 1. The singers tell us in this song that "The lorry took me to the war". Images of sight are evident in 'lorry' and 'war'. Due to the fact that the song was composed during the Second World War, "lorry" indicates novelty. It is also fast and adventurous for the bride and the bride's maids. This image evokes the feelings of excitement and cheerfulness which are characteristic of a Maragoli marriage ceremony. However, "war" is an image of sight that depicts a sense of fear and insecurity due to the horrors of fighting, bloodshed and killing. The image, as Javeha tells us, authenticates the difficulties a woman encounters in marriage (Personal Interview). These contrasting images are used together to demonstrate the fact that the momentary gaiety and joy of the wedding day are simply a calm before the storm: the serious challenges a woman encounters in marriage.

The following lines are also loaded with images: "The lorry is carrying a European" and "The lorry is carrying a Goan" in Kayiya's version of the song (Song 1) which portray the image of sight. A European and a Goan are very light-skinned foreigners in a Maragoli rural setting, and this means that they are strangers who are viewed with a lot of suspicion. This means that they are not easily accepted. The images show that although the bride is of a very fair complexion -- a rarity among the Maragoli and therefore a sign of beauty, she is still not accepted in her marital home as she is regarded
as a foreigner, an intruder. As such, the images of "European" and "Goan" substantiate
the hostility the bride encounters in her marital home.

Images of sight are also pointed out in the similes "You were black like soot/Now you
are shining like gold" in Song 10. The visual image of soot is strengthened by the
colour black which covers up something and is also unattractive. At the mention of
soot, we are able to visualize black cumulative filth on a wall or ceiling or any object
that conceals the original colour or interferes with it. Thus, the singer's comparison of
the bridegroom's complexion to soot evokes in us feelings of dislike for him due to his
filth. Nevertheless, the singer also tells us that the bridegroom is now shining like gold.
"Gold" is an image of sight which manifests a high price, a treasure and something full
of value. Hence, the singer's use of two contrasting images: "soot" and "gold" reveal
society's attitudes regarding marriage. Thus, whereas the society treats unmarried men
with contempt, it highly respects a married man.

Other images in the song are expressed in "I had kept in the cupboard/ The things" and
"I had kept in the safe/ The things". The visual images of "cupboard" and "safe" bring
to our minds the places where we securely keep the things that we treasure or attach
great values to. These images validate the bride's careful act of consciously keeping and
guarding her chastity until her wedding day. The images depict society's attitude
towards virginity. They reveal the fact that a woman who is found to be a virgin on her
marriage bed is respected. Moreover images of sight are evident in "slim . . . waist" that
vividly portrays a miserable underfed person, or a person who, due to too much
anxiety, cannot put on weight. Yet "rounded . . . waist" exhibits a contented well-fed
person who has put on a lot of weight. These contrasting images portray the society's
attitude towards marriage. Thus, while an unmarried man lives in misery and anxiety, a
married man has feelings of confidence and contentment due to the bride's role of
waiting on him so that he develops a "pot-belly". Therefore, we can briefly say that
Song 10 uses images of sight to contrast a bachelor's life and a married man's. The
images also reveal the high value the society attaches to virginity.

Imagery in Song 11 is shown in the lines "And the red sorghum/ Alas the grinding stone on which mother's child will be grinding". Images of sight and taste are evident in "red sorghum". The sense of taste is tacit in the grinding that will lead to the cooking of ugali and eating it. The grinding depicts an image of motion for as Roberts and Jacobs tell us, "images of general motion are kinetic . . ; the term kinesthetic is applied to human or animal movement. Imagery of motion is closely related to visual images for motion is most often seen" (605). As such, having seen the grinding and inferred cooking take place, we expect to eat the ugali. All the same, red sorghum has a flat taste and therefore unappetizing. But the point the singer is making is that the bride's role is that of grinding red sorghum for the family's food in her marital home. However, this is a difficult and unpleasant role because the singer refers to the enormous grinding stone on which the bride will grind.

Song 21 uses images that appeal to our sense of sight. The singers use the simile "He preyed like a hawk" which compares the bridegroom's activity of constantly visiting the bride's home to that of a hawk hovering somewhere in search of its prey. "Hawk" therefore appeals to our sense of sight, and what we know about it is that it is a carnivorous bird that eats small animals and birds by attacking them with its claws. It can also snatch a piece of meat from a person's hand. The fact that the word ogove is the augmentative form of irriive (hawk), the image manifests the bridegroom's infatuation and sensual feelings for the bride so that he made constant visits to her home without any shame.

The singers also tell us "He preyed like a lion", a simile in which the image "lion" evokes our sense of sight. The sight of a lion signals feelings of fear in us because it is a carnivorous animal that is fearless and merciless. We also sense destruction at the sight of a lion due to the manner in which it catches and devours its prey. Thus to
compare the bridegroom to a lion which is wild is to exhibit his sensuous feelings of wild excitement at the sight of the bride which indicates his infatuation. This is illustrated in "preyed" which is an image of motion that portrays his numerous visits to the bride's home. The image also shows his failure to conceal his lust for the bride.

However, the bridegroom's infatuation in the images of "hawk" and "lion" soon fades away and is replaced by true love that makes him tame as presented in "He preyed like a cow" to evince our sense of sight. The image depicts a tame and friendly animal that is provident, for it gives us milk. This in effect sheds light on the bridegroom's feelings of tranquillity as he seeks the bride's hand in marriage. In spite of his calm state the singers still reprimand him for openly manifesting his sexual desires for the bride. In short, what the singers have told us in this song is that society does not only detest an open show of infatuation, but it also resents lack of self-control in sexual matters.

Apart from images requesting men to exercise self-control in sexual matters, Song 34 uses images of sight to disapprove of the animals that the bride's father received as bridewealth. To begin with the singer tell us, "A calf of uvuda took me . . .". The word uvuda as Mwenesi tells us refers to very tiny parasitic insects like lice that infest livestock and other animals by removing their fur and leaving their smooth red skin exposed (Personal Interview, b). Such an animal is usually very ugly to look at. What makes the calf appear very ugly is the singer's use of uvuda which is the diminutive form of iziinda (lice). That is, it is more despicable for an animal to be infested by uvuda than by iziinda.

The singers go on to tell us "A kibagadi took me . . .". The word kibagadi according to Hannah Egala refers to an anaemic emaciated cow that is barren (Personal Interview, b). This means that the cow is worthless. The image kibagadi like uvuda evokes our sense of sight. These images portray our feelings of dislike and disgust at the sight of such animals. In effect, these images depict the disparity between a woman's life and toil in
her marital home and bridewealth.

Images of sight and smell are expressed in Song 37 in which we are told "Emma is a flower". The image "flower" appeals to our sense of sight for when a flower is in full bloom, it beautifully stands out distinctly among other plants. We also know that a flower in bloom is vulnerable and must be handled with care or else it perishes. A flower evokes our sense of smell because its sweet scent attracts us to it just as it does the bees and other insects. The image of "flower" therefore refers to the bride's maturity and beauty. Hence the purpose of this image is to advise the bridegroom to take care of his beautiful wife or else her beauty will soon fade away. Furthermore, he is being told that if he does not take care of his wife, other men will, as her beauty will attract them.

Like the songs, stylised jokes also contain images. Elizabeth Mugisa's joke *Justo narori Reba ma yemena si ogove* (Personal Interview, b) whose rough translation is "When Justo sees Reba, he licks his lips like a hawk". The word "hawk" appeals to our sense of sight. The image of motion is revealed in "licks his lips" so that we are able to perceive a 'hawk' licking its lips and salivating in anticipation of a delicious meal. Owing to the satirist's usage of the augmentative form *ogove* (hawk), the image exposes the bridegroom's uncontrolled lust for the bride. This joke therefore verifies the fact that society does not condone excessive show of sexual desires.

The dominant image in these songs is derived from the animal world and is visual. This being love poetry, the singers depict the bridegroom's yearning in their use of the image of motion "preyed" and his infatuation with a hawk and a lion. But when the storm dies, his true love is compared to a cow. The image of cow also brings out value so that the woman does not see any comparison in terms of value of a woman and a cow. Another category of images deals with inanimate objects like "gold", "cupboard" and "safe", all of which are visual images. This category of imagery is used to show society's attitudes with regard to marriage. For instance, a married man is highly
treasured. Another set of imagery is derived from plants such as "red sorghum" and "flower" which evoke our senses of sight, taste, motion and smell. They highlight a woman's role of preparing food for the family and a man's role of taking care of his wife. Finally, the image of the colour black, intensified by the image of soot is a visual image. This image shows society's contemptuous attitude towards unmarried men.
There are two phases to the marriage ceremony: the pre-wedding and the wedding ceremonies, and in both of them, women take the leading role. This is seen in their compositions in which they as singers adopt theatrical personae as they address the bride and bridegroom whom they use as their literary personae to show what goes on in society.

Prior to the pre-wedding ceremony, women sing marriage songs in the bride's home and this singing goes on even on the pre-wedding day itself. The songs psychologically prepare the bride for her departure from home where she is surrounded by relatives she knows and loves to the bridegroom's home that is strange to her. The bride will encounter a group of relatives by marriage and adjustment to the idea of calling her mother-in-law mama (mother) and father-in-law baba (father) as Song 11 states in conformity with social expectations will not be easy for her. Besides, these relatives by marriage are not likely to accept her fully for they will regard her as a foreigner whom they will receive with a lot of hostility. For example, Kayiya's version of Song 1 states "The lorry is carrying a European" and "The lorry is carrying a Goan" to show that although the images of "European" and "Goan" signify fair complexion and therefore beauty, the bride will be received with hostility and suspicion in her marital home. Thus, the women have successfully used images in their songs to depict the manner in which the bride will be received in her marital home. This in effect proves our first hypothesis.

The women's manipulation of imagery in their songs depict gender roles. In Song 10 for instance, we are implicitly told that the bride works so hard at her role of catering for her husband so that he undergoes a transformation that earns him respect. This is illustrated in "you were black like soot/ Now you are shining like gold". The images of "soot" and "gold" vividly portray a contrast in the bridegroom before and after his
marriage. "soot" is a visual image of something filthy and worthless while "gold" is a visual image of something of very high value that is treasured. These images reveal the society's attitude towards marriage. That is, a bachelor is despised as a worthless man while a married man is highly valued and respected. This validates our first hypothesis.

Looking at the women's compositions, we notice that their careful selection of words serves a purpose. Their preference of foreign words to Maragoli words is illustrated in Song 3 where the singers use *wina*, the Lunyore word meaning "who" instead of *vwaha* the Lulogoli equivalent. Their choice of *wina* is due to the fact that it is euphoric as opposed to *vwaha* which sounds harsh to the ears. This careful choice of words has an aesthetic appeal and this proves our first hypothesis.

Song 22 is another one that was sung in the bride's home on the eve of the pre-wedding ceremony and on the pre-wedding day itself. The singers satirise the bridegroom's bodily hygiene when they tell him that he is emitting a foul stench. According to Chahilu, "the marriage ceremony consists of satire with a very heavy dose of humour. The sarcasm is overlooked by the humour" (Personal Interview). The women's satiric compositions emanate from their awareness of the fact that "every man born into a society", as Swinimer tells us, "finds himself allocated a role and self-image which he feels he must honour to maintain his position and self-respect within that society" (27, a). This means that society has assigned superior status to men. The satire is aimed at showing that there are certain men who fail to maintain their self-respect and image in the society as a way of questioning this masculine gender ascription. This is evident in Song 25 in which the women use overstatement to show the bridegroom's inability to live up to the masculine gender roles. This consequently validates our second hypothesis.

We also see that women display society's gender roles in their songs as a platform for their refusal of female roles that assign them servile and subordinate status. Their subtle
resentment of feminine gender attributes is revealed in Song 9 in which they use irony to reject the woman's roles and attributes of acting shy, smiling, waiting on her husband, marching gently and dancing. The repetition and slow rhythm of the song indicates that these attributes and roles are monotonous and boring; so the women dislike them. This in effect proves our second hypothesis.

The women's compositions also reflect social expectations of a man. Swinimer highlights this by telling us that "the first expectation African society (sic) has of a man is that he should be the sole head of his family and provider of its material needs. This was all very well in the traditional past . . ." (28, b). Song 24 illustrates this by satirising the bridegroom's failure to live up to his gender expectation of economic stability. The singers depict him as borrowing his pre-wedding and wedding outfits from his father-in-law and grandfather-in-law. This way, the women are satirising society's economic empowerment to the man as head of his household even when he is not able to live up to his gender expectations in a changing society. Consequently, this is a proof of our second hypothesis.

In Song 23, the singers use the connotation "stare" to indicate lust. They tell us that they have seen lust in the bridegroom's eyes which is a contravention of social norms. For as Chahilu tells us,

In the African society, a father-in-law is prohibited from sitting on the same chair with his daughter-in-law or son-in-law. This emphasizes the respect that must exist among in-laws. Hence, the singers satirize the bridegroom for his failure to observe a cultural norm (Personal Interview).

Therefore, the connotation "stare" exhibits the bridegroom's display of his lust for the bride on the pre-wedding day (in her home) which indicates disrespect for his in-laws. Since the singers use the bridegroom as their literary persona, this is proof of our third hypothesis.
Since society has it that a woman should leave her home of familiar environment and people she knows and loves, to join the bridegroom's family that she is unfamiliar with, the women's compositions underscore a woman's uncertainty about what she should expect in marriage. This is well exhibited in the paradox that the marriage song tackles. In Song 33 for example, the persona states that she had earlier on cautioned the bride about the anti-social practices and immoral behaviour of the bridegroom's family but she is getting married to the bridegroom. The contradiction is that whereas the persona is preventing the bride from getting married to the bridegroom, the bride is getting married to him because she loves him dearly but what she fears is the idea of the unknown in marriage. The truth is that society stipulates that a woman should leave her home and join the bridegroom's home where she is expected to make her home and even dominate. This therefore meets our third hypothesis.

These revelations indicate that the marriage song raises gender issues because the marriage ceremony brings the two genders together, thus enabling the women to talk about each gender in their compositions. They subtly use the mainstream culture and language to articulate their resentment of being marginalised and indicate that even men are human like them and subject to criticism. They also use the bride and bridegroom as their literary personae to highlight the gender disparities in the Maragoli community.

Finally, we were not able to analyse all the songs that we collected because some of them were outside our study scope. For instance, women from Viyalo and Halombove villages sang a song dealing with hospitality, but we could not analyse it since it was not gender specific nor did it fall within the actual performance. Another song of theirs dealt with nostalgia but that one too, fell outside our scope. Thus, there is need for further research in the Maragoli marriage songs with the aim of tapping the immense wealth of literary merit that they contain.
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APPENDIX I
QUESTIONNAIRE

LULOGOLI

1.1 KU VAKARI

RIETA
HA UTURAA
MIHIGA
RU KARI
MIYINZI

HA WADUKA MU MASOMO

1.1.1 Rieta riryo ni vwaha?
1.1.2 Uturaa hai?
1.1.3 Oveye ne mihiga janga?
1.1.4 Mu madiku ginyu watsia mwisoma, na niva watsia, waduka mu kanga?
1.1.5 Okoraa miyinzi ki?
1.1.6.1 Watsia rukari rinangwa, na mukemenyi harara?
1.1.6.2 Wimbirwa ku tsinyimbu tsie keselero rwa watsia rukari?
1.1.6.3.1 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsiene yizio niva unyara kuzizuriza.
1.1.6.3.2 Yivara niva wayanzizwa ne tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio noho niva si tsiakuyanziza.
1.1.7.1.1 Tsinyimbu tsio kuhihiza keseler o tsie mbwa ku hango hinyu ridiku rie keselero ni rikiri kuduka?
1.1.7.2.1 Wimba ku tsinyimbu tsio kuhihiza keselero lwa vahihizaa keselero chicho?
1.1.7.2 Rihihiza rie keselero chicho riavugura amadiku ganga ku nangwa noselerwa?

1.1.7.2.3 Yivara ku niva avimbi vimbaa vuri diku rwe rihihiza rie keselero chicho rikorekanga na ovore isa ye tsinyimbu tsiene yizio ziatangaa.

1.1.7.2.4 Yivara ku koye ivindu vya genyekanga yivi kuri umwiha okore urwa ekeselero chicho chahihizangwa.

1.1.8.1.1 Iriria rie keselero riari hango hinyu ni ukiri koselerwa na umwikura wovo ni yadza mu ririe riene yirio?

1.1.8.1.1.2 Umwikura wovo vadza na vwaha?

1.1.8.1.1.3 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsiembwa mu riria rio winyu niva unyara kuzizuriza.

1.1.8.1.1.4 Vanga vwaha vimba tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio, avakana anaho avayayi anoho vosi.

1.1.8.2.1 Irichaya riosi riakorwa ku uwinyu rwo mwikura wovo yadza, na ni vanga vwaha vachaywa?

1.1.8.2.2 Tivura ku irichaya rio mwikura wovo harara na vandu va yari navo vachaywa.

1.1.8.2.3 Wahula ndi rwo mwikura wovo yachaywa yengo winyu?

1.1.9.1 Urwa umwikura wovo yadza kukuvgugura yengo wingr ridiku rie keselero, tsinyimbu tsiembwa?

1.1.9.2 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio niva unyara kuzizuriza.

1.1.9.3.1 Wagonga rwo mwikura wovo yadza kukuvgugura ridiku rie keselero anoho wari ne tsisoni?

1.1.9.3.2 Yivara chajira nogonga anoho nuva ne tsisoni ridiku riene yirio.

1.1.9.4.1 Avimbi kutura yengo winyu vatsia nivi mu keselero ridiku rie keselero?

1.1.9.4.2 Avimbi kutura yengo winyu vimba wanga umwikura wovo riduku rie keselero?

1.1.9.4.3 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsia vimba niva unyara kuzizuriza.

1.1.9.5.1 Avimbi kutura wanga umwikura wovo vimba tsinyimbu tsie keselero yengo wavo ridiku rie keselero chenyu?
1.1.9.2 Urwa avimbi kutura wenyu na vanga umwikura wovo vaagana, vasindana ku mu tsinyimbu?

1.1.9.3 Ichajira ni vava ne risindana mu riemba riavo i ki?

1.1.10.1 Irichaya riatanga wanga umusadza wovo isa yi chukuria anoho riatanga kare? Ivara ku koye.

1.1.10.2 Tivura ku richaya riene yirio niva unyara kwizuriza.

1.1.10.3 Irichaya riene yirio riakusaliza ku mu inzira yosi, na niva riakusaliza, riakusaliza chigira ki?

1.1.11.1 Wayimba ku mu viselero e Vologoli ing’inga yindi?

1.1.11.2 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsia wimba niva unyara kuzizuriza.

1.1.11.2.1 Niva watsia ku mu viselero yivi, avimbi nivo varara vere avachayanga?

1.1.11.2.2 Mu madiku gandi, okokengelera mu madirisia nu kuchaya isa yi chukuria ni miima midamanu. Yivara chigiraa ekekorwa kuri yiki ni keroreka kuri ikindu kitaveye ikidamanu mu ridiku rie keselero.

1.1.11.3.1 Wachaya ku mu keselero? Wachaya sa ki mu keselero chene yicho?

1.1.11.3.2 Hana ku vichayo vya wachaya ni vivuni vyajira nuchaya.

1.2 KU VASAZA

RIETA
HA UTURAA
MIHIGA
INYUMBA
MIYINZI
HA WADUKA MU MASOMO

1.2.1.1 Rieta riryo ni vwaha?

1.2.1.2 Uturaa hai?
1.2.1.3 Oveye ni mihiga janga?
1.2.1.4 Wareta mhiga ki, na mukemenyi harara
1.2.1.5 Okoraa miyinzi ki?
1.2.1.6 Mu madiku ginyu watsia mwisoma, na niva watsia, waduka mu kanga?
1.2.2.1 Wimbirwa ku tsinyimbu tsie keselero rwa waretaa umukari? Niva wimbirwa, yimba ku tsiunyara kwizuriza.
1.2.2.2 Wayanzizwa ne tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio? Yivara ikivuni.
1.2.2.3 Tsinyimbu tsio kuhihiza ekeselero tsimbwa ku hango hinyu ridiku rie keselero ni rikiri kuduka? Niva tsyimbwa, avimbi vari avayayi, avakana anoho avakana na vayayi?
1.2.2.4.1 Avandu vikura vagugilwa kwimba tsinyimba tsie keselero?
1.2.2.4.2 Uganagana ni chigira ki nivavugilwa anoho nivatavugilwa kwimba tsinyimbu tsie keselero?
1.2.3 Yivara ku ichekorekaa hango hinyu ridiku rie keselero ni rikiri kuduka.
1.2.4.1 Watsia ku uwanga umwiha wovo mu riria rie keselero ridiku rie keselero ni rikiri kuduka?
1.2.4.2.1 Tsinyimbu tsie keselero tsimbwa wangu umwiha ridiku yirio, na ni vanga vwaha vimba tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio?
1.2.4.2 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsiunyara kwizuriza.
1.2.5.1 Wachywa ku rwa watsia mu riria rie keselero wanga umwiha?
1.2.5.2 Vandiki vakuchaya na vakuchaya mu zisa ki?
1.2.5.3.1 Tivura ku richaya riene yirio.
1.2.5.3.2 Vora niva wayanza irichaya riene yirio anoho dave. Hana ivivuni.
1.2.6.1.1 Urwa umwiha yadza uwinyu ridiku rie keselero, tsinyimbu tsiembwa?
1.2.6.1.2 Vanga vwaha vimba tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio?
1.2.6.1.3 Yimba ku tsinyimbu tsiene yitsio niva unyara kwizuriza.
1.2.6.1.4 Urwa avimbi kutura wenyu na avanga umwiha wovo vaagana vasindana ku mu tsinyimbu?
1.2.6.1.5 Ichajira ni vava ni risindana mu riemba riavo i ki?
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

1.1. FOR WOMEN

1.1.1 What is your name?

1.1.2 Where do you come from?

1.1.3 How old are you?

1.1.4 Did you go to school during your days and if so, what class did you reach?

1.1.5 What is your occupation?

1.1.6.1 When did you get married and what is your marital status?

1.1.6.2 Were wedding songs sang for you when you got married?

1.1.6.3.1 Sing some of those songs if you can remember them.

1.1.6.3.2 Explain whether or not those songs pleased you.

1.1.7.1.1 Were songs *kuhihiza keselero* sung in your home before the wedding day?

1.1.7.1.2 Did the singers comprise of boys and girls or who exactly were they?

1.1.7.2.1 Did you participate in the singing of songs *kuhihiza keselero* when such songs were sung prior to your wedding?
1.1.7.2.2 How long did songs *kuhihiza keselero* take before you were wedded?

1.1.7.2.3 Explain if the singers sang on a daily basis during *kuhihiza keselero* and state the time those songs started.

1.1.7.2.4 Explain what you as the bride was expected to do during *kuhihiza keselero*.

1.1.8.1.1.1 Was there a wedding feast, prior to the wedding day, in your home in which the bridegroom was invited?

1.1.8.1.1.2 Who accompanied him?

1.1.8.1.1.3 Sing some of the songs that were sung at your home during the wedding feast if you can remember them.

1.1.8.1.1.4 Who sang those songs, boys or girls or both of them?

1.1.8.2.1 Did any satire take place in your home when the bridegroom came, and who were being satirised?

1.1.8.2.2 State the satire that was directed against the bridegroom and his companions.

1.1.8.2.3 What were your feelings when the bridegroom was satirised in your home?

1.1.9.1 Were wedding songs sung in your home when the bridegroom came for you on the wedding day?

1.1.9.2 Sing some of those songs if you can remember them.

1.1.9.3.1 Did you act shy when the bridegroom came for you on the wedding day or were you genuinely shy?

1.1.9.3.2 Explain why you acted shy or why you were genuinely shy on that day.

1.1.9.4.1 Did singers from your home accompany you to the wedding on the wedding day?

1.1.9.4.2 Did the singers from your home sing in the bridegroom's home on the wedding day?

1.1.9.4.3 Sing some of the songs they sang if you can remember them.
Did singers from the bridegroom's home sing wedding songs at his home on the wedding day?

When the singers from your home and those from the bridegroom's home met, was their singing partisan?

Why was their singing partisan?

Did satire begin in your husband's home during meal times or did it start much earlier on. Explain.

State some of the satire if you can remember.

Did that satire hurt you in any way, and if so, why?

Have you ever sang during Maragoli weddings?

Sing some of the songs that you sang if you still remember them.

If you have attended such weddings, are the singers the same ones who crack satirical jokes?

Ordinarily, peeping through the windows and cracking satirical jokes during meals times is regarded as bad manners. Explain why such an act is not regarded as bad manners on a wedding day.

Have you ever cracked satirical jokes at a wedding? At what time did you crack the jokes?

Give examples of the satirical jokes that you cracked and the reasons why you cracked them.

FOR MEN

NAME
PLACE
AGE
MARITAL STATUS
1.2.1.1 What is your name?
1.2.1.2 Where do you come from?
1.2.1.3 How old are you?
1.2.1.4 When did you get married, and are you still together?
1.2.1.5 What is your occupation?
1.2.1.6 Did you go to school during your days and if so, what class did you reach?
1.2.2.1 Were wedding songs sung for you when you got married?
1.2.2.2 Did the songs please you? Explain why.
1.2.2.3 Were songs kuhihiza keselero ever sung in your home prior to the wedding day? If they were sung, were the singers boys, girls or both boys and girls?
1.2.2.4.1 Are men allowed to sing wedding songs?
1.2.2.4.2 What do you think is the reason why they are allowed or not allowed to sing wedding songs?
1.2.3 Explain what took place in your home before the wedding day commenced.
1.2.4.1 Did you attend the pre-wedding feast in the bride's home?
1.2.4.2.1 Were wedding songs sung in the bride's home on that day and who sang those songs?
1.2.4.2.2 Sing the songs that you can remember.
1.2.5.1 Were you satirised when you attended the pre-wedding feast at the bride's home?
1.2.5.2 Who satirised you and at what times did they satirise you?
1.2.5.3.1 State that satire.
Give reasons whether or not you liked the satire.

Were songs sung at your home when the bride came there on the wedding day?

Who sang those songs?

Sing some of those songs if you can remember them.

When the singers from your home and those from the bride’s home met, was their singing partisan?

Why was their singing partisan?

Was there any satire in your home on the wedding day?

Who were the satirists? Did they start their satire at meal times or did they start it much earlier on? Explain.

What did you feel when the bride was satirised in your home on the wedding day?

Ordinarily, peeping through the windows and cracking satirical jokes at meal times is regarded as bad manners. Explain why such an act is not regarded as bad manners on a wedding day.
APPENDIX 2

THE SONGS

SONG 1 BY

NAME : Susana Vugutsa Avwasi

PLACE : Gavalagi Village, Lusiola

Sub - Location, Mungoma Location,

Vihiga

DATE OF BIRTH : 1918

MARITAL STATUS : Married

OCCUPATION : Retired potter; peasant farmer

LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class One

INTERVIEW DATE : 22nd April, 1996

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori yagemera umwana
E lori yambira mu vurwani

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori yagemera umwana
E lori yambira mu vurwani

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori yagemera umwana
E lori yambira mu vurwani
The lorry has set the ball rolling for the child
The lorry took me to the war

Lorry ee lorry
The lorry
The lorry has set the ball rolling for the child
The lorry took me to the war

AIRENI ARIVIZA KAYIYA'S VERSION OF SONG 1

INTERVIEW DATE : 3rd April, 1996

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori iginji avana
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori iginji umwiha
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ee lori
E lori
Lori ikaginji umwana wa mama
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ee lori
Ee lori
Lori ikaginji aviha
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ikaginji umwana
E lori
Lori ikaginji Musungu
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ikatura i Viyalo
E lori
Lori ikaginji umwiha
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori oo lori
E lori
Lori eee lori
E lori yambira mu lokeya

Lori ikaginji Musungu
E lori
The lorry is carrying the children
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry is carrying the bride
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry is carrying mother's child
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry
The lorry
The lorry is carrying the brides
The lorry took me to the military camp
The lorry is carrying the child
The lorry
The lorry is carrying the European
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry is from Viyalo
The lorry
The lorry is carrying the bride
The lorry took me to the military camp

Lorry ooo lorry
The lorry
Lorry eee lorry
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry is carrying the European
The lorry
The lorry is carrying the European
The lorry took me to the military camp

The lorry is carrying the Goan
The lorry
The lorry is carrying the Goan
The lorry took me to the military camp

Lorry ooo lorry
The lorry
Lorry eee lorry
The lorry took me to the military camp

SONG 2 BY

NAME : Aireni Ariviza kaiya
PLACE : Viyalo Village, Viyalo Sub-location
         Chavakali Location, Sabatia
DATE OF BIRTH : 1932
MARITAL STATUS : Married
OCCUPATION : Farmer
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class B
INTERVIEW DATE : 3rd April, 1996

Mwayerora
Avandu i Viyalo mwayerora
Okori ugwandanda x 2

Watsana
Watsana wayerora
Okori ugwandanda

Mwayerora
Avandu i Viyalo mwayerora x 2
Okori ugwandanda

Mwayerora
Umwana wa mama wayerora
You are proud

People of Viyalo you are proud

He has a bald x 2
He himself
He himself is proud
You have a bald

You are proud
Mother's child is proud
He has a bald \times 2

Hanah's child
Hanah's child is proud
He has a bald

You are proud
He himself is proud
He has a bald

You are proud
The owners of the child you are proud
You have a bald \times 2

You are proud
About educating (him) you are proud
He has a bald

Ooo
Ooo ooo
He has a bald
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SONG 3 BY:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAME      :</td>
<td>Dorothy Oresia Agufana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE     :</td>
<td>Ikumba Village, Ikumba Sub-location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>Central Maragoli Location, Vihiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE OF BIRTH :</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARITAL STATUS :</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATION :</td>
<td>Dressmaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL OF EDUCATION :</td>
<td>Form Four (KCE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW DATE :</td>
<td>16th April, 1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aa mama nandevé
Orechi hai umwana x 2

Siverera
Mama siverera
Aa mama nandevé
Orechi hai umwana

Aa senge nandevé
Orechi hai umwana x 2
Siverera
Senge siverera
Aa senge nandeve
Orechi hai umwana

Aa baba nandeve
Orechi hai umwana x 2

Siverera
Baba siverera
Aa baba nandeve
Orechi hai umwana

Aa mother will ask me
Where have you left the child x 2

Sadness
Mother sadness
Aa mother will ask me
Where have you left the child

Aa senge will ask me
Where have you left the child x 2

Sadness
senge sadness
Aa senge will ask me
Where have you left the child

Aa father will ask me

Where have you left the child \times 2

Sadness

Father sadness

Aa father will ask me

Where have you left the child \times 2

KEGOYE SINGERS’ VERSION OF SONG 3

DATE : 30th April, 1996

Aa mama nandeve

Orechi hai umwana \times 2

Mwanange

Siverera

Mwanange

Siverera

Madiku gafweye

Nakogende ni wina

Aa koza nandeve

Orechi hai umwana \times 2

Mwanange

Siverera
Mwanange
Siverera
Madiku gafweye
Nakogende na wina

Aa mama nandeve
Orechi hai umwana x 2

Mwanange
Siverera
Mwanange
Siverera
Madiku gafweye
Nakogende na wina

Aa senge nandeve
Orechi hai umwana x 2

Mwanange
Siverera
Mwanange
Siverera
Madiku gafweye
Nakogende na wina

Aa guga nandeve
Orechi hai umwana x 2

Mwanange
Siverera
Mwanange
Siverera
Madiku gafweye
Nakogende na wina

Avatende navandeve
Orechi hai umwana  x 2

Mwanange
Siverera
Mwanange
Siverera
Madiku gafweye
Nakogende na wina

Aa mother will ask me
Where have you left the child  x 2

My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk

Aa koza will ask me
Where have you left the child  x 2
My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk

Aa mother ask me
where have you left the child  x 2

My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk

Aasenge will ask me
Where have you left the child  x 2

My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk
My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk

The neighbours will ask me
Where have you left the child x 2

My child
Sadness
My child
Sadness
The days are gone
With whom shall I walk

SONG 4 BY DOROTHY AGUFUNA ORESIA
INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Vakere mbee mbohere
Mbee
Vakere mbe mbohere
Mbe umugoye mbohere amara munda x 2
Bahati rigenda ria mutama
Eee
Bahati rigenda ria mutama
Rero yavugura ria vakere x 2

Vakere mbee mbohere
Mbee
Vakere mbee mbohere
Mbe umugoye mbohere amara munda x 2

Old women give me to tether
Give me
Old women give me to tether
Give me a tether to tie the intestines in my stomach x 2

Bahati is unable to walk
Eee
Bahati is unable to walk
Now he has taken that walking style of old women x 2

Old women give me to tether
Give me
Old women give me to tether
Give me a tether to tie the intestines in my stomach x 2

SONG 5 BY DOROTHY ORESIA AGUFUNA

INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996
Sorry mother's child
Eee
Sorry mother's child
One flesh
Sorry eee
Sorry mother's child
Is getting married to wizards

Sorry mother's child
Eee
Sorry beloved one of mother
One flesh
Sorry eee
Sorry mother's child
Is getting married to sorcerers

SONG 6 BY DOROTHY AGUFUNA
INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Eloya loya
Kam sore
Eloya loya
Kam sore
Eloya loya loya loya loya loya
Kam sore

Bahati ondojire
Kam sore
Bahati ondojire
Na mazi gi chai
Kekombe kidigido
Kam sore

Eloya loya
Kam sore
Eloya loya
Kam sore
Eloya loya loya loya loya loya
Kam sore

Hello, there, hello there
I am sorry
Hello there hello there
I am sorry
Hello there hello there there there there
I am sorry

Bahati has bewitched me
I am sorry
Bahati has bewitched me
With water of tea
In tiny cup
I am sorry

Hello there hello there
I am sorry
Hello there hello there
I am sorry
Hello there hello there there there there
I am sorry

SONG 7 BY
NAME : Gladys Mwenesi
PLACE : Idohi Village, Ikumba Sub-location
        Central Maragoli Location, Vihiga
DATE OF BIRTH : 1944
MARITAL STATUS : Married
OCCUPATION : Peasant Farmer
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : KAPE
INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Umwene ndavora yamanya uvurindi
Yamalala
Umwene ndavora yamanya ovogohi
Yamalala
Umwene ndavora yamanya ovodendi
Yamalala
Eee! Yamalala
Ooh! Yamalala
Woijie ni wolololo mama ni pa
Wuod Osembo ni gwamo gweno
Uuu ! Yaye oredi yoo
Yamalala

Umwene ndavora yamanya uvurindi
Yamalala
Umwene ndavora yamanya okogohi
Yamalala
Eee! Yamalala
Ooh! Yamalala
Woijie ni wololo mama ni pa
Wuod Osembo ni gwano gweno
Uuu ! Yaye oredi yoo
Yamalala

Mukana umurahi yamanya ovodendi
Yamalala
I myself will say she knows catering

I myself will say she knows endearment

I myself say she knows tender treatment

Eee! Yamalala
Ooh! Yamalala

Woiyie it is wololo mother it is pa
Son of Asembo is eating chicken
Uuu! Yaye oredi yoo

Yamalala

I myself will say she knows catering
Yamalala

I myself will say she knows how to endear
Yamalala

Eee! Yamalala

Ooh! Yamalala

Woiyie it is wolololo mother it is pa
Son of Asembo is eating chicken
Uuu! Yaye oredi yoo

Yamalala

A good girl knows tender treatment
Yamalala

A beatiful girl knows tender treatment
Yamalala

She the humble one knows catering
Yamalala

Eeeh! Yamalala

Ooh! Yamalala

Woiyie it is wolololo mother it is pa
Son of Asembo is eating chicken
Uuu! Yaye oredi yoo

Yamalala
I myself will say she knows tender treatment
Yamalala
I myself will say she knows how to tender
Yamalala
Eee! Yamalala
Ooh! yamalala
Woiyie it is wolololo mother it is pa
Son of Asembo is eating chicken
Uuu! yaye oredi yoo
Yamalala

SONG 8 BY GLADYS MWENESI
INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Vakere uweneyo
Eee vikiri kwiga okodeka
Vakere uweneyo
Eee vakiri kwiga okodeka
Vuruga uvuchima
Igaranga
Zimbunda zinzere
Igaranga
Vadeka ichai
Igaranga
Amazi amere
Igaranga
Varuga uvuchima
Igaranga
Zimbunda zinzere
Igaranga

Vakere uweneyo
Eee vakiri kwiga uvurindi
Vakere uweneyo
Eee vakiri kwiga uvurindi
Vadeka ichai
Igaranga
Amazi amere
Igaranga
Varuga uvuchima
Igaranga
Zimbunda zinzere
Igaranga
Vadeka ichai
Igaranga
Amazi amere
Igaranga x 2

Women in that place
Eee they have not learnt how to cook
Women in that place
Eee they have not learnt how to cook

They cook ugali
Igaranga
Mere lumps
Igaranga
They make tea
Igaranga
Plain water
Igaranga
They cook ugali
Igaranga
Mere lumps
Igaranga

Women in that place
Eee they have not learnt catering
Women in that place
Eee they have not learnt catering
They make tea
Igaranga
Plain water
Igaranga
They cook ugali
Igaranga
Mere lumps
Igaranga
They make tea
Igaranga
Plain water
Igaranga x 2
SONG 9 BY GLADYS MWENESI

INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

A gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
A rinda vutsa yivi umwiha rinda vutsa
Eee
Rinda vutsa yivi umwiha rinda vutsa
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi a Rosi gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi a Rosi gonga vutsa

Okogonga kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Okogonga kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Irimweya riarange ria kare
Eee
Irimwenya riarange ria kare
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi mukana gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi mukana gonga vutsa
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
Arinda vutsa yivi umwiha rinda vutsa
Eee
Rinda vutsa yivi umwiha rinda vutsa
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi a Rosi gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi a Rosi gonga vutsa
Eee

Okogonga kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Okogonga kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Irimwenya riarange ria kare
Eee
Irimwenya riarange ria kare
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi mukana gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi mukana gonga vutsa
Eee
A gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
Gonga vutsa yivi umwiha gonga vutsa
Eee
A mwenya vutsa yivi mukana mwenya vutsa
Eee
Mwenya vutsa yivi mukana mwenya vutsa
Eee

Ukumwenya kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukumwenya kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukurinda kwarange kwa kare
Eee

A sieva vutsa yivi umwiha sieva vutsa
Eee
Sieva vutsa yivi umwiha sieva vutsa

Ukusieva kwarange kwa kare
Eee
Ukusieva kwarange kwa kare
Eee

A tienva yivi umwiha tienva yivi vutsa
Eee

Tienya vutsa yivi umwiha tienva yivi vutsa
Eee

Ukutienya kwarange kwa kare
Eee

Ukutienya kwarange kwa kare
Eee

A goha vutsa yivi umwiha goha vutsa
Eee

Goha vutsa yivi umwiha goha vutsa
Eee

Okogoha kwarange kwa kare
Eee

Okogoha kwarange kwa kare
Eee

Just act shy you bride just act shy
Eee

Just act shy you bride just act shy
Eee

Just wait on you bride just wait on
Eee
Just wait on you bride just wait on
Eee
Just act shy you Rose just act shy
Eee
Just act shy you Rose just act shy
Eee

The acting shy that was of old
Eee
The acting shy that was of old
Eee
The smiling that was of old
Eee
The smiling that was of old
Eee

Just act shy you girl just act shy
Eee
Just act shy you girl just act shy
Eee
Just act shy you bride just act shy
Eee
Just act shy you bride just act shy
Eee
Just smile you girl just smile
Eee
Just smile you girl just smile
Eee
The smiling that was of old
Eee
The smiling that was of old
Eee
The waiting on that was of old
Eee
The waiting on that was of old
Eee

Just dance you bride just dance
Eee
Just dance you bride just dance
Eee
The dancing that was old
Eee
The dancing that was old
Eee

Just march gently you bride just march gently
Eee
Just march gently you bride just march gently
Eee

The gentle march that was of old
Eee
The gentle march that was old
Eee

Just endear you bride just endear
Just endear you bride just endear

The endearing that was of old

The endearing that was of old

SONG 10 BY GLADYS MWENESI

INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Sore umwana wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore umudendi wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore umwana wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore umurahi wa m'ma sore a munda

Sore
Wari wamwama si umunyari
Rero wakanga si umugasa x 2

Sore umudendi wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore umwana wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore umugosi wa m'ima sore
A munda

Sore
Wari w'aha munda
Rero okomeye munda
Wari wamwama si umunyari
Rero wakanga si umugasa

Ndari ndavika mu kabati
Ivindu
Ndari ndarinda vurahi go
Ivindu
Ndari ndavika mu sefu
Ivindu
Ndari ndarinda vurahi go
Ivindu

Sore
Wari w'aha munda
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Sore umwana wa m'ima sore
A munda
Sore umwana wa m'ima sore
A munda
Sore umudendi wa m'ima sore
A munda
Sore

Wari wamwama si umunyari
Rero wakanga si umugasa x 2

Sorry child of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry child of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry the good one of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry
You were black like soot
Now you are shining like gold x 2

Sorry the darling of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry the child of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry the humble one of m'ma sorry
A stomach

Sorry you were slim in the waist
Now you are rounded in the waist
You were black like soot
Now you are shining like gold

I had kept in the cupboard
The things
I had taken very good care (of them)
The things
I had kept in the safe
The things
I had taken very good care (of them)
The things

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Now you are rounded in the waist x 2

Sorry child of m'ma sorry
A stomach
Sorry child of *m'ma* sorry
A stomach
Sorry the darling of *m'ma*
A stomach
Sorry the child of *m'ma* sorry
A stomach

Sorry
You were black like soot
Now you are shining like gold x 2

**KEGOYE SINGERS' VERSION OF SONG 10**

**VENUE** : Kisatiru

**PLACE** : Kisatiru
Sore umwana wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore Emma witu sore
A munda

Sore
Wari wang'aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Emma ndarinda vurahi
A munda
Sore ndarinda vurahi go
A munda

Sore
Wari wanga'ha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

A Emma ndarinda umwana go
A munda
A inze ndarinda vurahi
A munda
A Emma ndarinda vurahi
A munda
A inze ndasinga vurahi
A munda
Mwana ndavika mu nasari
A munda
Mwana yasoma vurahi go
A munda

Sore
Wari wang’aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Umwana ndasinga vurahi go
A munda
Mwana ndavika mu napi
A munda

Sore
Wari wang’aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

A Emma ndasinga vurahi
A munda
Umwana ndavika mu tahoro
A munda
Umwana ndahira mu nasari
A munda
Umwana ndahira mu wani
A munda
Umwana yasoma vurahi
A munda
Umwana yadasa ovoger
A munda
Umwana yanyora ekosi
A munda
Karunu ma m'mbichi e neti
A munda

Sore
Wari wang'aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Sore mwana wa m'ma sore
A munda
Sore Emma witu sore
A munda
Sore mukana witu sore
A munda

Sore
Wari wang'aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Mwana ndasinga vurahi
A munda
Umwana ndavika ma tahoro
A munda

Umwana ndahira mu wani
A munda

Umwana ndahira mu wani go
A munda

Umwana yasoma vurahi
A munda

Umwana yanyora e kosi
A munda

Umwana ndavaka vurahi
A munda

Umwana ndarinda vurahi go
A munda

Marero m'mbichi eneti
A munda

Evanzi
Wari wang'aha munda
Rero okomeye munda
Sore
Wari wang'aha munda
Rero okomeye munda

Sore mwana wa m'ma sore
A munda

Sore mwana wa m'ma sore
A munda sore
Sore mukana witu sore
A munda
Umwana ndarinda vurahi
A munda
Mwana ndasinga vurahi
A munda
Umwana ndavaka amaguta
A munda
Umwana ndahira mu wani
A munda
Umwana yasoma vurahi
A munda
Umwana yasoma vurahi go
A munda
Umwana yadasa ovogeri
A munda
Mwana yadasa ovogeri go
A munda
Umwana m'mbichi e neti
A munda

Sore
Wari wang'aha munda
Evanzi
Rero okomeye munda x 2

Sorry child of m'na sorry
A stomach
Sorry our Emma sorry
A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist x 2

I took good care of Emma
A stomach
Sorry I really took good care (of her)
A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist x 2

I really took care of the child Emma
A stomach
I myself took good care (of her)
A stomach
I took good care of Emma
A stomach
I myself bathed her well
A stomach
I put the child in nursery (school)
A stomach
The child learnt very well
A stomach
Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist x 2

I bathed the child very well
A stomach
I put the child in a napkin
A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist x 2

I bathed Emma well
A stomach
I put the child in a towel
A stomach
I took the child to nursery (school)
A stomach
I took the child to (class) one
A stomach
The child learnt well
A stomach
The child increased in intelligence
A stomach
The child obtained a course
Today I have clothed her in veil

A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist \( x \ 2 \)

Sorry child of \( m'ma \) sorry

A stomach

Sorry our Emma sorry

A stomach

Sorry our daughter sorry

A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist \( x \ 2 \)

I bathed the child well

A stomach

I put the child in a towel

A stomach

I took the child to (class) one

A stomach

I really took the child to (class) one
A stomach
The child learnt well
A stomach
The child obtained a course
A stomach
I matched the child well
A stomach
I really took good care of the child
A stomach
And now I have clothed her in veil
A stomach

Evans
You were slim in the waist
Now you are rounded in the waist
Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Now you are rounded in the waist

Sorry child of m'ma sorry
A stomach
Sorry child of m'ma sorry
A stomach
Sorry our daughter sorry
A stomach
I took good care of the child
A stomach
I bathed the child well
A stomach 
I smeared the child's body with oil
A stomach

I took the child to (class) one
A stomach
The child learnt well
A stomach
The child really learnt well
A stomach
The child increased in intelligence
A stomach
The child really increased in intelligence
A stomach
The child obtained a course
A stomach
I have clothed the child in veil
A stomach

Sorry
You were slim in the waist
Evans
Now you are rounded in the waist  x 2

SONG 11 BY
NAME : Esther Kemoli
PLACE : Vohovole Village, Bugina Sub-location,
West Busali Location, Sabatia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>: 1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARITAL STATUS</td>
<td>: Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>: Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</td>
<td>: Class A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW DATE</td>
<td>: 23rd April, 1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nuvudinyu
Alo
Nuvudinyu kuranga undi mama wovo
Alo

Nuvudinyu
Alo
Nuvudinyu kuranga undi baba wovo
Alo

Nugusudi
Alo
Magu urugina rwumwana wa mama nasiezange
Alo

Nugusiongo
Alo
Magu uguisiongo gwumwana wa mama nagingange
Alo

Nuvudinyu
Alo
It is difficult

Hello
It is difficult to call somebody else your mother
Hello

It is difficult
Hello
It is difficult to call somebody else your father
Hello

And the red sorgum
Hello
Alas the stone on which mother's child will be grinding
Hello
And the water pot
Hello
Alas the water pot that mother's child will be carrying
Hello

It is difficult
Hello
It is difficult to call other people your sisters
Hello

It is difficult
Hello
It is difficult to call someone else your brother
Hello

It is difficult
Hello
It is difficult to walk elsewhere like (you do) your home
Hello

KEGOYE SINGERS' VERSION OF SONG 11

DATE : 30th April, 1996

Nuvudinyu
Alo
Nuvudinyu kutura ahinyu kutsia ahandi
Alo x 2

Semberera
Alo
Semberera amaduma ga mama gadase kwama
Alo

Nikisudi
Alo
Nikisudi chumwana wa mama nasiezange
Alo x 2

Semberera
Alo
Semberera amatunda ga mama gadase kwama
Alo x 2

Nikiguti
Alo
Nikiguti chumwana wa mama narimange
Alo

Semberera
Alo
Semberera amatunda ga mama gadase kwama
Alo

Nogetere
Alo
Nogetere gwumwana wa mama narirange
Alo
It is difficult
It is difficult to leave your home for another

Weed
Weed mother's maize for them to increase the yield

And the red sorghum
And the red sorghum that mother's child will be grinding

Weed
Weed mother's fruits for them to increase the yield

And the field
And the field that mother's child will be digging
Weed
Hello
Weed mother's fruits for them to increase the yield
Hello
And the native spinach
Hello
And the native spinach that mother's child will be eating
Hello
Weed
Hello
Weed mother's fruits for them to increase the yield
Hello x 2

SONNG 12 BY

NAME : Berita Lulia Onzer
PLACE : Wondeyo Village, Mukiingi Sub-location, Edzava Location, Sabatia
DATE OF BIRTH : 1915
MARITAL STATUS : Married
OCCUPATION : Farmer
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class Two
INTERVIEW DATE : 30th April, 1996

Chahonyo ma yita izinda
Namenena u badu
Ma yita izinda
Namenena u badu
Chahonyo Chahonya
Ma yita izinda
Namenena u badu x 2

Chahonyo then kills lice
And crunches them that badu
Then he kills lice
And crunches them that badu
Chahonyo Chahonyo
Then he kills lice
And crunches them that badu x 2

SONG 13 BY BERITA L. ONZERE
INTERVIEW DATE : 30th April, 1996

Yambola rinda nzakiri
Yambola rinda nzariki
Ndanyora gari amavuyu

Witu si kuriranga amavuyu
Witu si kuriranga amavuyu
Kurizanga isiaji

Siaji nifweye
Siaji nifweye
Kurizanga ijemu
She told me wait for her to cook ugali
She told me to wait for her to cook ugali
I found they were eggs

We do not eat eggs at our home
We do not eat eggs at our home
We eat butter

When butter is finished
When butter is finished
We eat jam

SONG 14 BY

NAME : Catherine Eboso
PLACE : Viyallo Village, Viyallo Sub-Location,
        Chavakali Location, Sabatia
MARITAL STATUS : Single
DATE OF BIRTH : 1978
OCCUPATION : Pupil
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : K.C.P.E.
INTERVIEW DATE : 3rd April, 1996

Namagaraba
Yaye
Namagaraba gu mwanitu narirange
yaye namagaraba gagirinya
Guri e lori
Yaye
Guri e lori kogende guri e lori
Yaye guri e lori kogende

Gura isuti
Yaye
Gura isuti umwene gura isuti
Yaye gura isuti kogende

Guri amaua
Yaye
Guri amaua kusiahe guri amaua
Yaye guri amaua kusiahe

Namagaraba
Yaye
Namagaraba gu mwanitu narirange
Yaye namagaraba gagirinya

Guri e lori
Yaye
Guri e lori kogende guri e lori
Yaye guri elori kogende

Guri e neti
Yaye
Guri e neti kufware guri e neti
Yaye guri e neti kufware x 2
Guri e bede
Yaye
Guri e bede kufware guri e bede
Yaye guri e bede kufware

Namagaraba
Yaye
Namagaraba gu mwanitu narirange
Yaye namagaraba gagirinya

And the leaves of beans
Yaye
And the leaves of beans our child will be eating
Yaye and leaves are partly boiled

Buy a lorry
Yaye
Buy a lorry for us to travel buy a lorry
Yaye buy a lorry for us to travel

Buy a suit
Yaye
Buy a suit yourself buy a suit
Yaye buy a suit for us to walk

Buy flowers
Yaye
Buy flowers for us to adorn (her) buy flowers
Yaye buy flowers for us to adorn (her)

And the leaves of beans
Yaye And the leaves of beans our child will be eating
Yaye and the leaves of beans are partly boiled

Buy a lorry
Yaye
Buy a lorry for us to travel buy a lorry
Yaye buy a lorry for us to travel

Buy a veil
Yaye
Buy a veil for us to dress her buy a veil
Yaye buy a veil for us to dress her

Buy a ring
Yaye
Buy a ring for us to put it on her
Buy a ring
Yaye buy a ring for us to put it on her

And the leaves of beans
Yaye
And the leaves of beans our child will be eating
Yaye and the leaves are partly boiled

SONG 15 BY
NAME : Elizabeth Ngozi Mugisa
PLACE : Lusambwa Village, Ikumba Sub-location, Central Maragoli Location, Vihiga
DATE OF BIRTH : 1918
MARITAL STATUS : Widow
OCCUPATION : Retired Church leader; peasant farmer
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class Three
INTERVIEW DATE : 15th April, 1996

Andere yee
Andere yee
Andere uyoma x 2

Rero nangone mu kambi
Mu kambi Wodanga
Rero nangone mu kambi x 2

Chandari inzia
Mukambi Wodanga
Chandari inzia x 2

Andere yee
Andere yee
Andere uyoma x 2

Rero nangone mu kambi
Mu kambi Wodanga
Rero nangone mu Kambi x 2
Chandari inzia
Mu kambi Wodanga
Chandari inzia x 2

Andere yee
Andere yee
Andere uyoma x 2

Today I shall sleep in the camp
At Odanga's camp
Today I shall sleep in the camp x 2

Whatever I was going for
At Odanga's camp
Whatever I going for x 2

Andere yee
Andere yee
Andere uyoma x 2

Today I shall sleep in the camp
At Odanga's camp
Today I shall sleep in the camp x 2

Whatever I was going for
At Odanga's camp
Whatever I was going for x 2
NAME : Hanah Kavetsa Egala

PLACE : Halombove Village, Viyalo Sub-location, Chavakali Location, Sabatia

DATE OF BIRTH : 1928

MARITAL STATUS : Married

OCCUPATION : Farmer

LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class Three

INTERVIEW DATE : 3rd April, 1996

Nangorendi
Aee
Nangorendi ibudi yu mukeya
Awendende
Mwene manyi
Aee
Mwene manyi kuri mandi denda
Awendende
Mwene manyi
Aee
Mwene manyi kuri mandi denda
Awendende

Nangorendi
Aee
Nangorendi umwana wumukenya
Awendende
Mwene manyi
Mweney manyi kuri wa ndi denda
Awendende
Mweney manyi
Aee
Mweney manyi kuri wa ndi denda
Awendende

Nandende ndi
Aee
Nandende ndi ibudi yumukeya
Awendende
Mweney manyi
Aee
Mweney manyi kuri wa ndi ginga
Awendende
Mweney manyi
Aee
Mweney manyi kuri wa ndi ginga
Awendende

What shall I do
Aee
What shall I do with the boot of a keya
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall treat (it) tenderly
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall treat (it) tenderly
Awendende

What shall I do
Aee
What shall I do with the child of a keya
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall treat (him) tenderly
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall treat (him) tenderly
Awendende

How shall treat tenderly
Aee
How shall I treat the boot of a keya tenderly
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall carry (it)
Awendende
I myself know
Aee
I myself know how I shall carry (it)
Awendende

ELIZABETH MUGISA'S VERSION OF SONG 16

INTERVIEW DATE : 16th April, 1996

Nangorendi
Eee
Nangorendi ibudi yumukeya
Awendende
Mwene manyi
Eee
Mwene manyi kuri wa ndi ginga
Awendende

Nangingi ndi
Aee
Nangingi ndi ibudi yumukeya
Awendende
Mwene manyi
Aee
Mwene manyi kuri wa ndi ginga
Awendende

What shall I do
Eee
What shall I do with the boot of a keya
Awendende
I myself know
Eee
I myself know how I shall carry (it)
Awendende

How shall I carry
Ace
How shall I carry the boot of a keya
Awendende
I myself know
Ace
I myself know how I shall carry (it)
Awendende

SONG 17 BY
NAME : Susana Muyoma Kehodo
PLACE : Keveye Village, Solongo Sub-Location, West Maragoli, Sabatia
DATE OF BIRTH : 1914
MARITAL STATUS : Widow
LEVEL OF EDUCATION : Class Two
OCCUPATION : Traditional midwife; herbalist; peasant farmer
INTERVIEW DATE : 3rd May, 1996

Mmm Gongodo ovoye
Yandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina
Mmm Mudasia ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina
Kandi ovoye
Eee Mudasia ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina

Mmm Chifu ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina
Kandi ovoye
Eee Chifu ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina

Mmm Gongodo ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina
Kandi ovoye
Eee Gongodo ovoye
Wandetera ikivigiyanga ku rugina

Mmm Gongodo has said
She brought me weakling on the grinding stone
Again he has said
Eee Gongodo has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone

Mmm Mudasia has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone
Again he has said
Eee Mudasia has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone

Mmm Chief has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone
Again he has said
Eee Chief has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone

Mmm Gongodo has said
You brought me a weakling on the grinding stone
Again he has said
Eee Gongodo has said
You brought me to weakling on the grinding stone

SONG 18 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS
VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April and 1st May, 1996

Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva embededia
Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva embededia x 2

Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu
Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi Karunu x 2

Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva amagaraba
Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva amagaraba x 2

Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu
Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu x 2

Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva uvwuni
Evanzi yiva
Evanzi yiva uvwuni x 2

Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu
Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu x 2

Evanzi yania
Evanzi yania muvembe
Evanzi yania
Evanzi yania muvembe x 2
Ndari m'mburi
Ndari m'mburi karunu
Ndari m'mburi kanunu

Evans stole
Evans stole e embededia
Evans stole
Evans stole e embededia x 2

I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today
I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today x 2

Evans stole
Evans stole leaves of beans
Evans stole
Evans stole leaves of beans x 2

I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today
I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today x 2

Evans stole
Evans stole silver fish
Evans stole
Evans stole silver fish x 2
Evans defecated
Evans defecated in spear grass
Evans defecated
Evans defecated in spear grass  x 2

I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today
I should have revealed it about him
I should have revealed it about him today  x 2

SONG 19 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS
VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996

Evanzi yaria ekerenge
Evanzi yaria ekerenge
Evanzi yaria ekerenge che ribada  x 4

Pole Pole Evanzi
Pole Pole Evanzi
Pole pole Evanzi pole sana  x 2

Evans ate the leg
Evans ate the leg
Evans ate the leg
Evans ate the leg of the duck  x 4
Sorry sorry Evans
Sorry sorry Evans
Sorry sorry Evans I am very sorry x 2

SONG 20 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS IN KEGOYE
VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April, 199

Gwehenza henza
Gwehenza henza
Evani gwehenza henza
Yigwo gwehenza henza
Gorori a Emma witu imbiri x 2

Gwemana mena
Gwemena mena
Evani gwemana mena
Yigwo gwemena mena
Gorori a Emma witu imbiri x 2

Gwaseka seka
Gwaseka seka
Evani gwaseka seka
Yigwo gwaseka seka imberi
Gorori a Emma witu imbiri x 2

He looked and looked at himself
He looked and looked at himself
Evans looked and looked at himself
He himself looked and looked at himself
On seeing our Emma approaching x 2

He licked and licked his lips
He licked and licked his lips
Evans licked and licked his lips
He himself licked and licked his lips
On seeing our Emma approaching x 2

He giggled and giggled
He giggled and giggled
Evans giggled and giggled
He himself giggled and giggled
On seeing our Emma approaching x 2

SONG 21 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Gwahoya
Gwahoya
Evanzi gwahoya
Gwahoya si ogove x 2

Gwahoya
Gwahoya
Evanzi gwahoya
Gwahoya si simba x 2

Gwahoya
Gwahoya
Evanzi gwahoya
Gwahoya si eng'ombe x 2

Si warinda
Si warinda
Emma wa mama
Arivika inguvu x 2

Si warinda
Si warinda
Emma wa mama
Aramara amasomo x 2

Si warinda
Si warinda
Emma wa mama
Aragura ikirato x 2

He preyed
He preyed
Evans preyed
He preyed like a hawk x 2
He preyed
He preyed
Evans preyed
He preyed like a lion x 2

He preyed
He preyed
Evans preyed
He preyed like a cow x 2

Could'nt you have waited
Could'nt you have waited
For Emma of mother
To complete her education x 2

Could'nt you have waited
Could'nt you have waited
For Emma of mother
To buy a veil x 2

Could'nt you have waited
Could'nt you have waited
For Emma of mother
To buy a shoe x 2

SONG 22 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Evanzi ohenzanga mbwena
Arumba
Evanzi ohenzanga mbwena
Arumba rumba
Evanzi punguza umunyanyo
Arumba
Evanzi punguza umunyanyo
Arumba rumba
Evanzi ohenzanga mbwena
Arumba
Evanzi ohenzanga mbwena
Arumba rumba
Evanzi ufunyanga mbwena
Arumba
Evanzi ufunyanga mbwena
Arumba rumba
Evanzi ufunyanga isang'ada
Arumba
Evanzi ufunyanga isang'ada
Arumba rumba
Evanzi tsia wisingi kwanza
Arumba
Evanzi tsia wisigi kwanza
Arumba rumba

How are you staring Evans
Arumba
How are you staring Evans
Arumba rumba

Evans reduce your eating
Arumba
Evans reduce your eating
Arumba rumba

How are you staring Evans
Arumba
How are you staring Evans
Arumba Arumba

What are you stinking Evans
Arumba
What are you stinking Evans
Arumba Arumba

Evans you have a foul stench
Arumba
Evans you have a foul stench
Arumba rumba
Evans go and have a bath first
Arumba
Evans go and have a bath bath first
Arumba rumba

SONG 23 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Evanzi ufwananga mbwena
Eee
Evanzi ufwananga mbwena
Wolololo

Evanzi anziga yamumara
Eee
Evanzi anziga yamumara
Wolololo

Evanzi tsisoni tsiamumara
Eeh
Evanzi tsisoni tsiamumara
Wolololo

Evanzi amajichi ku madako
Eee
What are you looking like Evans
What are you looking like Evans

Wolololo

Evans is covered with scabies

Eee

Evans is covered with scabies

Wolololo

Evans is very shy

Eee

Evans is very shy

Wolololo

Evans has boils on his buttocks

Eee

Evans has boils on his buttocks

Wolololo

What is Evans looking like

Eee

What is Evans looking like

Wolololo

How is Evans acting shy

Eee

How is Evans acting shy

Wolololo
How is Evans eating
Eee
How is Evans eating
Wolololo

How is Evans walking
Eee
How is Evans walking
Wolololo

How is Evans laughing
Eee
How is Evans laughing
Wolololo

**SONG 24 BY**

**KEGOYE SINGERS**

**VENUE** : Kegoye

**DATE** : 30th April 1996

Gwasava baba elong’u
Guziri mu arusi
Gwasava baba elong’u  x 4

Gwene si guri ugundu
Gogendaa gwegora
Gwene si guri ugundu  x 2
He borrowed father's trousers
To go to the wedding
He is not a man of substance
He admires himself as he walks
He is not a man of substance
He looks at himself as he walks
He is not a man of substance  x 2

He borrowed grandfather's trousers
To go to the wedding
He borrowed grandfather's trousers  x 2

He is not a man of substance
He farts as he walks
He is not a man of substance  x 2

He borrowed father's tie
To go to the wedding
He borrowed father's tie  x 2

He is not a man of substance
He urinates as he walks
He is not a man of substance  x 2

SONG 25 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Mae lae lae
Umwana wa mama
Mae lae lae  x 4
Rero naturi isiimba
Onyoye umurindi
Rero naturi isiimba x 2

Rero naturi m'mbwasi
Unyoye umudechi
Rero naturi m'mbwasi x 2

Rero nuguri isuti
Onyoye umubaasi
Rero nuguri isuti x 2

Mae lae lae
Umwana wa mama
Mae lae lae x 2

Ka nguli ku pajero
Niva ni wanyaza
Ka nguli ku pajero x 2

Ka nguli ku ipujo
Niva ni wanyanja
Ka nguli ku ipujo x 2

Moroma ku Rufrenchi
Niva ni wasoma
Moroma ku Rufrenchi x 2

Kambe ku zinoti
Wiranganga *umudosi*
Kambe ku zinoti  x 2

Rero nagone go
Onyoye ipilo
Rero nagone go  x 2

Mae lae lae
A Emma wa mama
Mae lae lae  x 2

Moroma ku Rusungu
Niva ni wasoma
Moroma ku Rusungu  x 2

Ka nguli ku *Benways*
Niva ni wasoma
Ka nguli ku *Benways*  x 2

Ka nguli ku e neti
Niva ni wanyanza
Ka nguli ku e neti  x 2

Ka nguli ku isuti
Niva ni wasoma
Ka nguli ku isuti  x 2

Mae lae lae
Umwana wa mamaa
Mae lae lae x 2

Mae lae lae
Mother's child
Mae lae lae x 4

Today he will come from the bachelor's hut
He has got a cateress
Today he will come from bachelor's hut x 2

Today he will leave the kitchen
He has got a cook
Today he will leave the kitchen x 2

Today he will buy a suit
He has got a launderer
Today he will buy a suit x 2

Mae lae lae
Mother' child
Mae lae lae x 2

Then buy me a pajero
If you love me
Then buy me a pajero x 2

Then buy me a peugeot
If you love me
Then buy me a peugeot x 2

Speak some French
If you are educated
Speak some French x 2

Give me some notes (of money)
You call yourself wealthy
Give me some notes (of money) x 2

Today he will really sleep
He has got a pillow
Today he will really sleep x 2

Mae lae lae
Emma of mother
Mae lae x 2

Speak some English
If you are educated
Speak some English x 2

Then buy me a Benways
If you are educated
Then buy me Benways x 2

Then buy me veil
If you love me
Then buy me a veil \times 2

Then buy me a suit

If you are educated
Then buy me a suit \times 2

Mae lae lae

Mother's child
Mae lae lae \times 2

**SONG 26 BY**

**KEGOYE SINGERS**

**VENUE** : Kegoye

**DATE** : 30th April 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Gwangenda gwa genda

Si gwanyora

Gwa genda gwa genda

Si gwanyora

Gwaduka mu "junction"

Si gwanyora

Gwa genda gwa genda

Si gwanyora

Gwaduka Chavakali

Si gwanyora

Gwa genda gwa genda
Si gwanyora
Gwaduka Mbale
Si gwanyora
Gwa genda gwa genda
Si gwanyora
Gwa genda gwa genda
Si gwanyora
Gwaduka Vumale
Si gwanyora
Gwa genda gwa genda
Si gwanyora

Mpaka Kegoye
Ma gwanyora
Mpaka Kegoye
Ma gwanyora
Gwa yanza gwa yanza
Ma gwa yanza
Gwa yanza gwa yanza
Ma gwa yanza

He walked and he walked
He did not find
He walked and he walked
He did not find

He reached the junction
He did not find
He walked and he walked
He did not find
He reached Chavakali
He did not find

He walked and he walked
He did not find
He reached Vumale
He did not find
He walked and he walked
He did not find

Upto Kegoye
And he found
Upto Kegoye
And he found
He was happy he was happy
And he was happy
He was happy he was happy
And he was happy

SONG 27 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996 and 1st May 1996

A Emma nagonange
Mu vono
A Emma nagonange
Ae nagonange mu vono

A Emma sunda umwana
Mu vono
A Emma sunda umwana
Ae sunda umwana mu vono

Verse 1 repeated

Verse 2 repeated

Verse 1 repeated

Verse 2 repeated

Emma will be sleeping
In a vono
Emma will be sleeping
Ae she will be sleeping in a vono

Emma make the baby feel cosy
In the vono
Emma make the baby feel cosy
Ae make the baby feel cosy in the vono

Verse 1 repeated

Verse 2 repeated
Verse 1 repeated

Verse 2 repeated

SONG 28 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April 1996

A Emma nguyio
A Emma nguyio
A Emma nguyio nguyio nguyio nguyio x 2

Umurindi vurahi
Umurindi vurahi
Umurindi vurahi vurahi vurahi vurahi x 2

Rokovi dave
Rokovi dave
Rokovi dave dave dave dave dave x 2

Eteke dave
Eteke dave
Eteke dave dave dave dave dave x 2

Ingundi dave
Ingundi dave
Ingundi dave dave dave dave x 2

Umurindi vurahi
Umurindi vurahi
Umurindi vurahi vurahi vurahi vurahi x 2

There comes Emma
There comes Emma
There comes Emma there there there there x 2

Care for her well
Care for her wall
Care for her well well well well x 2

Not a slap
Not a slap
Not a slap not not not not x 2

Not a kick
Not a kick
Not a kick not not not not x 2

Not a punch
Not a punch
Not a punch not not not not x 2

Care for her well
Care for her well
Care for her well well well well x 2
SONG 29 BY
Kegoye Singers and congregation

VENUE : Kigunga P.A.G. Church, Kegoye
DATE : 1st May 1996

Kurendenda
Kurendenda Emma witu kurendenda
Kurendenda Emma witu
Kurendenda yoo x 2

Magu uvuyanzi
Magu uvuyanzi wanga Emma magu uvuyanzi
Magu uvuyanzi wanga Emma
Magu uvuyanzi yoo x 2

Magu uvuyanzi
Magu uvuyanzi mu Kigunga magu uvuyanzi
Magu uvuyanzi mu Kigunga
Magu uvuyanzi yoo x 2

Kurendenda
Kurendenda Emma witu kurendenda
Kurendenda Emma witu
Kurendenda yoo x 2

We shall treat tenderly
We shall treat our Emma tenderly we shall treat tenderly
We shall treat our Emma tenderly
We shall treat tenderly yoo x 2

Alas the joy
Alas the joy at Emma's (home) alas the joy
Alas the joy at Emma's (home)
Alas the joy yoo x 2

Alas the joy
Alas the joy in Kigunga alas the joy
Alas the joy in Kigunga
Alas the joy yoo x 2

We shall treat tenderly
We shall treat our Emma tenderly we shall treat tenderly
We shall treat our Emma tenderly
We shall treat tenderly yoo x 2

SONG 30 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS AND CONGREGATION

VENUE : Kigunga P.A.G. Church, Kegoye
DATE : 1st May 1996

Nuvuyanzí
Nuvuyanzí umwana witu nuvuyanzí
Nuvuyanzí umwana witu
Nuvuyanzí oo x 2
Nimirembe
Nimirembe umwana witu ore imirembe
Nimirembe
Nimirembe umwana witu
Nimirembe oo x 2

It is joy
It is joy our child it is joy
It is joy
It is joy our child
It is joy oo x 2

It is peace
It is peace our child take peace
It is peace
It is peace our child
It is peace oo x 2

SONG 31 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS AND CONGREGATION

VENUE : Kigunga P.A.G. Church, Kegoye
DATE : 1st May 1996

Mundu uchayanga Emma witu
Arakasambwe ni sitima
Mundu uchanyanga Emma witu
Arakasambwe ni sitima x 8

The person who despises our Emma
Will be electrocuted
The person who despises our Emma
Will be electrocuted x 8

SONG 32 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 1st May, 1996

Ma nambuguri a Emma
Ma nandende okodenda
Ma nambuguri a Emma
Ma nandende okodenda x 2

Ma nambuguri Evanzi
Ma nanduyage ukuduyaga
Ma nambuguri Evanzi
Ma nanduyage ukaduyaga x 2

Ma nambuguri a Emma
Ma nasiahe ukusiaha
Ma nambuguri a Emma
Ma nasiahe ukusiaha x 2

Ma nambuguri Ambasa
Ma nangohe okogoha
Ma nambuguri Ambasa
Ma nangohe okogoha x 2

Then I shall take Emma
And treat her very tenderly
Then I shall take Emma
And treat her very tenderly x 2

Then I shall take Evans
And hit him very severely
Then I shall take Evans
And hit him very severely x 2

Then I shall take Emma
And really adorn her
Then I shall take Emma
And really adorn her x 2

Then I shall take Ambasa
And really endear her
Then I shall take Ambasa
And really endear her x 2

SONG 33 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April, 1996 and 1st May, 1996
Beloved one I cautioned you

Sorcery in that home

Witchcraft in that home
Dengerere dengere
Murder in that home
Dengerere dengere
Adultery in that home
Dengerere dengere

SONG 34 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye

DATE : 30th April, 1996 and 1st May 1996

Sindari ndenya
Sindari ndeya Kisatiru
Sidari ndenya
Sindari ndenya Kisatiru  x 2

Kemori chuvuda
Kemori chuvuda chambira
Kemori chuvuda
Kemori chuvuda chambira  x 2

Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru
Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru  x 2

Uguyingu
Uguyingu gwambira
Uguyingu
Uguyigu gwambira x 2

Kibagadi
Kibagadi chambira
Kibagadi
Kibagadi chambira x 2

Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru
Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru x 2

I never wanted
I never wanted to go to Kisatiru
I never wanted
I never wanted to go to Kisatiru x 2

A calf of *vuda*
A calf of *vuda* took me (there)
A calf of *vuda*
A calf of *vuda* took me (there) x 2
Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru
Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru x 2

A fool
A fool took me (there)
A fool
A fool took me (there) x 2

A kibagadi
A kibagadi took me (there)
A kibagadi
A kibagadi took me (there) x 2

Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru
Ae ae
Ae ae Kisatiru x 2

SONG 35 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kegoye
DATE : 30th April, 1996 and 1st May, 1996

Voreri Evani apunguze umunyanyo
Voreri Evani apunguze umunyanyo

Gorenge gwa Evani gwa zava zava ae
Gorenge gwa Evani gwa zava zava ae

Voreri Evani aguri isuti
Voreri Evani aguri isuti
Tell Evans to reduce his eating
Tell Evans to reduce his eating
Evans' leg has a permanent wound
Evans' leg has a permanent wound
Tell Evans to buy a suit
Tell Evans to buy a suit
Tell Evans to reduce his eating
Tell Evans to reduce his eating
Tell Evans to buy a tie
Tell Evans to buy a tie

SONG 36 BY
LIDUGUYIU FRIENDS CHURCH AND CONGREGATION
VENUE : Kigunga P.A.G. Church, Kegoye
DATE : 1st April, 1996

Vivuri veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
vivuri veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Amwavo weve
Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa
Amwavo weve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Mwivuri weve
Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa
Mwivuri weve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuha vihanwa
Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Vamwavo veve
Venyaa kumuha vihanwa
Vamwavo veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Pasita weve
Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa
Pasita weve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Asembuli yeye
Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa
Asembuli yeye
Yenyaa kumuyaziza x 2

Vamama veve
Venyaa kumuha vihanwa
Vamama veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Vasenge veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Vasenge veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Varina veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Varina veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Ridara ririe
Rirenyaa kumuha kihanwa
Ridara ririe
Rienyaa kumuyanziza x 2
A Disi weve
Yenyaa kumuha kihanwa
A Disi weve
Yenyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Aviko veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Varina veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Varina veve
Venyaa kumuyanziza x 2

Vivuri veve
Venyaa kumuha kihanwa
Vivuri veve
Venyaa kumuyaziza x 2

Her parents
Want to give her a gift
Her parents
Want to please her x 2

Her sister
Wants to give her a gift
Her sister
Wants to please her x 2
Her parent
Wants to give her a gift
Her parent
Wants to please her x 2

Her relatives
Want to give her gifts
Her relatives
Want to please her x 2

Her sisters
Want to give her gifts
Her sisters
Want to please her x 2

Her pastor
Wants to give her a gift
Her pastor
Wants to please her x 2

Her Assembly
Wants to give her a gift
Her Assembly
Wants to please her x 2

Her mothers
Want to give her gifts
Her mothers
Want to please her x 2

Her relatives
Want to give her a gift
Her relatives
Want to please her x 2

Her vasenge
Want to give her a gift
Her vasenge
Want to please her x 2

Her friends
Want to give her a gift
Her friends
Want to please her x 2

Her village
Wants to give her a gift
Her village
Wants to please her x 2

Her DC
Wants to give her a gift
Her DC
Wants to please her x 2

Her relatives
Want to give her a gift
Her relatives
Want to please her x 2

Her friends
Want to give her a gift
Her friends
Want to please her x 2

Her parents
Want to give her a gift
Her parents
Want to please her x 2

**SONG 37 BY**
**KEGOYE SINGERS**
**VENUE** : Kegoye
**DATE** : 1st May 1996

Emma ni riaua
Emma ni riaua
Emma ni riaua x 2

Emma yatsia iguru
Emma yatsia iguru
Emma yatsia iguru x 2

Emma ni kimuri
Emma ni kimuri
Emma ni kimuri  x 2

Emma ni riaua
Emma ni riaua
Emma ni riaua  x 2

Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower  x 2

Emma is advanced
Emma is advanced
Emma is advanced  x 2

Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower  x 2

Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower
Emma is a flower  x 2

SONG 38 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE  :  Kisatiru

DATE  :  4th May 1996
When you see Emma open a soda

We ourselves love Emma
We ourselves love Emma

Ee eee eee eee
Ee eee eee eee x 2

These are girls from Kigunga
These are girls from Kigunga

When you see the girls open a soda
When you see the girls open a soda

When you see Emma open a madiaba
When you see Emma open a madiaba

Ee eee eee eee
Ee eee eee eee x 2

These are girls from the city
These are girls from the city

SONG 39 BY
KEGOYE SINGERS

VENUE : Kisatiru

DATE : 4th May 1996

Vodong'ana vodong'ana
A Emma vodong'ana si iriguruguru
Vodongana
A Emma vodong'ana si iriguruguru x 2

A gonga vutsa a gonga vutsa
A Emma a gonga vutsa oveye hango
A gonga vutsa
A Emma a gonga vutsa oveye hango x 2

Turn round turn round
Emma just turn round like a turkey
Turn round
Emma just turn round like a turkey x 2

Just act shy just act shy
Emma just act shy you are at home
Just act shy
Emma just act shy you are at home x 2

SONG 40 BY
KISATIRU SINGERS

VENUE : Kisatiru
DATE : 4th May 1996

Vivuri mbavo
Ee mbavo
Vivuri mbavo
Mbavo vazanga vaginji amaua

Mwivuri nguyo
Ee nguyio
Mwivuri nguyio
Nguyio yazanga aginji amaua

Mbavo
Ee mbavo
Vivuri mbavo
Mbavo vazanga vaginji amaua x 2

Mbavo
Ee mbavo
Avene mbavo
Mbavo vazanga vaginji amaua x 2

Ee mbavo
Ee mbavo
Aviko mbavo
Mbavo vazanga vaginji amaua x 2

The parents are coming
Ee there they come
The parents are coming
There they come carrying flowers

The parent is coming
Ee there she comes
The parent is coming
There she comes carrying flowers
There they come
Ee there they come
The parents are coming
There they come carrying flowers x 2

There they come
Ee there they come
The owners (of the child) are coming
There they come carrying flowers x 2

Ee there they come
Ee there they come
The relatives are coming
There they come carrying flowers x 2

SONG 41 BY
KISATIRU SINGERS
VENUE : Kisatiru
DATE : 4th May 1996

Mwana wa mberi vayayi
Mwana wa mberi
Vayayi
Mwana wa mberi ni chekoyero

Reti amaguta ga mwagura
Mwana wa mberi
Kuvake umwana
Mwana wa mberi ni chekoyero

Mwana wa mberi vayayi
Mwana wa mberi
Vayayi
Mwana wa mberi ni chekoyero x 3

Mwana wa mberi Evanzi
Mwana wa mberi
Evanzi
Mwana wa mberi ni chekoyero

The first child really
The first child
Really
The first child is *chekoyero*

Bring the perfume that you bought
The first child
We may anoint the child
The first child is *chekoyero*

The first child really
The first child
Really
The first child is *chekoyero* x 3

The first child Evans
The first child
Evans
The first child is *chekoyero*

**SONG 42 BY**

**KISATIRU SINGERS**

**VENUE** : Kisatiru Friends Church, Kisatiru

**DATE** : 4th May 1996

Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe Evanzi witu amaua
Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe Evanzi witu amaua amere x 2
Na amaua
Na amaua ga kwadora kunzira
Na amaua
Na amaua ga kwadora kunzira x 2
Na amaua
Na amaua Evanzi witu amaua
Na amaua
Na amaua Evanzi wetu amaua x 2
Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe umwana witu amaua
Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe umwana witu amaua amere x 2
Na amaua
Na amaua ga kwadora Kigunga
Na amaua
Na amaua ga kwadora Kigunga x 2
Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe Evanzi witu amaua
Nakusiahe
Nakusiahe Evanzi witu amaua x 2
Na amaua
Na amaua ga kwayora Kigunga
Na amaua
We shall adorn
We shall adorn our Evans with flowers
We shall adorn
We shall adorn our Evans with plain flowers

With the flowers
With the flowers we picked on the road
With the flowers
With the flowers we picked on the road

He is flowers
He is flowers our Evans he is flowers
He is flowers
He is flowers our Evans he is flowers

We shall adorn
We shall adorn our child with flowers
We shall adorn
We shall adorn our child with plain flowers x 2

With the flowers
With the flowers we picked in Kigunga
With the flowers
With the flowers we picked in Kigunga x 2

We shall adorn
We shall adorn our Evans with flowers
We shall adorn
We shall adorn our Evans with flowers x 2

With the flowers
With the flowers we got in Kigunga
With the flowers
With the flowers we got in Kigunga x 2

We shall adorn
We shall adorn mother Esinasi with flowers
We shall adorn
We shall adorn mother Esinasi with plain flowers x 2

With the flowers
With the flowers we picked on the road
With the flowers
With the flowers we picked on the road x 2
APPENDIX 3

A copy of Jamin Mwavali's unpublished handout.

THE SYSTEM OF THE MARAGOLI WEDDING CEREMONY:

Although the Maragoli people of the olden days did not know how to read and write, they had a systematised mode which they had adopted in carrying out wedding matters right from the beginning to the end, just as it is being done nowadays. The boys and girls were not allowed to marry at an early age, because of fear that, they may not be able to support, and care for their children by being unable to provide for their livelihood, and as such, the age limit allowed for marriage during those days was between 25 to 30 years of age, during which period the boys and girls were energetic and mature enough to carry out manual work.

In the case of the boys, the old men of the clan concerned had organised a series of tests which boys were to perform efficiently before their parents arranged to look for suitable girls for their boys’ marriage.

TESTS FOR THE BOYS AND GIRLS:

The tests which the boys were to undertake before they were considered to marry were as follows:-

1. To mow a thick bushy garden.
2. To pull enough grass for thatching a house.
3. To make enough mud for putting on a house (Kusienya lidohi):
4. Above all, the boy or boys’ manners should be exemplary.
5. The boy or boys must be habitual hard workers or industrious.

After the above conditions were complied with, the parents of the boy or boys arranged and contacted some of their relatives to look for a suitable girl or girls, who would also, as in the case of boys, fulfil the following requirements:-

1. To be hard working in doing manual work, with special reference to digging, and tilling the land. The Maragoli people of long ago used to assign the work of digging the land entirely to the women, and the men were assigned to mowing gardens, as I have said earlier on.
2. The girl or girls were expected to grind grain on a grinding stone into fine flour enough for the family’s meal.
3. To fetch water from the river using a reasonably big water-pot.
4. Above all, the girl or girls should be hardworking, and prove mature before their parents allowed them to be married; so that, they will be able to look after their future family members adequately.

When any of the boy’s relatives had found a good and suitable girl for the boy to marry, the relative used to report the matter back to the parents of the boy, whereby the relative, who should be a woman, was required to give full details on the girl, and the background history of the girl’s family. The details required in respect of the girl were as follows:-

1. The girl should be of good manners.
2. The girl should be polite.

3. The girl should be hardworking.

4. The girl should be trusted, and reliable, and one who does not move to neighbours houses for the sake of creating misunderstanding amongst the neighbours.

5. The girl should not be a mother of an illegitimate child, (Kidwaadi); Those girls who had had illegitimate children were prohibited by customary law from organizing and making weddings. They were only being married to men whose wives had died, or by someone who wanted to become a polygamist or to be married to a boy whose intelligence was rather low.

The following information in respect of the girl’s family was also required by the boy’s parents:

1. The girl’s family member or members should not be thieves.

2. The girl’s family members should not have dangerous diseases such as:

(a) Tuberculosis and any other chest diseases.
(b) Epilepsy
(c) Leprosy
(d) Madness, craziness and insanity,
(e) Witchcraft,
(f) The family should not be consisted of murderers.
THE MEDIATOR OF MARRIAGE (MUTEELVI):

The mediator (Muteevi) was a woman who was respected and trusted in the clan, and had a very high esteem amongst the residents of the village. The parents of the boy, after having checked all the information with the relative who had proposed the girl for their son to marry, and if they were not satisfied due to certain shortcomings in the course of their scrutiny, they used not to accept the proposed girl to be married of to their son. Alternatively, if the parents of the boy accepted the investigation which had been carried out by their informer, it was now during the time the parents used to send the mediator in the company of the relative who had proposed the girl, to visit the parents of the girl to formally introduce the matter.

As I have explained in a nutshell before this, the mediator was trusted and respected to keep secrets. When the two, the mediator and the relative reached the girl’s home, they used to interview the girl’s mother in connection with the boy who had sent them for discussing his marriage to her daughter. The mediator (muteevi) used to introduce the subject by saying that they had gone to the parents of the girl for the purpose of requesting them to agree and later arrange for the marriage of their daughter to the boy who had sent them. In reply, the mother of the girl would pretend to refute the request by denying that the girl she had was mature enough and fit to be married, and that she was still very young. This was the natural way of the Maragoli parents in handling the marriage affairs of their daughters. The mother of the girl would say in disguise that, the baby she had was not yet at the maturity age to become a cook (wife). At this juncture, the mediator (muteevi) would intervene and finally press and endorse the matter, after which the parents of the girl accepted.

It is to be noted that for all the discussion which had taken place up to the time of the mediator (muteevi) having visited the parents of the girl, the girl had not yet been contacted and informed over the matter, so that she may give her consent. After the parents of the girl had given their consent, the next step used to be that, the relative of the boy who had proposed the girl used to be sent to the girl and give her information regarding the boy who was planning to marry her.

When the girl had agreed, the parents of the girl used to call the elders and old women of their clan concerned, and formally informed them about the proposed marriage of their daughter. When all the clan members had endorsed the matter, the parents of the girl used to invite officially the mediator (muteevi) to come back to their home for more detailed discussions, and to thoroughly scrutinise and to finalise whether, or not, there were any relationships between the two families which could stop the marriage.

According to Maragoli traditions and customary laws, it was during this final day when the mediator (muteevi) used to be prepared a meal which included the dried meat which had been prepared by the girl’s parents, and kept or stored for someone who would come to request for the marriage of their daughter. It was a Maragoli custom that parents who had a girl of marriage age, had to prepare dry meat, and preserved it for the occasion as a token of respect. In addition to the dry meat, the mediator (muteevi) was also served with food prepared from millet as well as beans roasted and then ground and cooked in water (muduya).

Traditionally, the roasted and ground beans (muduya) was one of the main foods on the menu during the Maragoli marriages, and other important ceremonial gatherings. Immediately after the agreement had been reached by both parties, the parents of the girl used to approach the mediator (muteevi) and give her the suitable day for going to the boy’s parents to discuss dowry. The people who went to discuss dowry included both men and a few women. The dowry in those days used to be, 2 cows, 2 goats, and 5 to 6 hoes (mahaya). The dowry was not as expensive as it is nowadays. Those who came from the girl’s side were served with food prepared from millet, meat and chickens plus...
roasted and ground beans. (*muduya*): During those days the chickens for such an occasion were not being slaughtered, but were just being strangled by a cord, in compliance with the then existing tradition. It was an act of ostracising during those olden days to cut chickens into pieces when being cooked, or boiled, but they used to be cooked whole as per tradition. The chickens and meat were salted by using native salt made from the ashes of the water plant called, *Lise*. The present salt had not yet been introduced. Those people from the girl’s home who went to discuss and settle dowry affairs did not collect anything from the boy’s home, but returned to the girl’s parents and reported the outcome of their discussion, and thereafter arranged for a suitable day when the people from the boy’s home sent the dowry agreed upon.

The people from the boy’s home who used to send the dowry agreed upon to the girl’s parents consisted of men, women and a young boy who used to be the herdsboy, whose responsibility it was to carry the cows’ ropes, and as they arrived at the girl’s home, the young herdsboy used to be given a small chicken. All the ropes were handed over to the girl’s father at the arrival. It was also the tradition and custom of the Maragoli people that, the cows for the dowry used to be driven using the stick from *Lwuvu* tree. This was a tree which the Maragoli people had respected and included it in their sacrifices. The sticks from *Lwuvu* tree used to be left on with the leaves, and they were also handed over to the father of the girl on the arrival, at the same time the ropes were handed in. The father of the girl used to take the sticks and hung them on the upper door post of his house. The men who sent the dowry were served with chickens and food made from millet as, I had said earlier on, and the women were served with meat and food made from millet as well. The men also used to be given beer made from millet.

The duration allowed for the wedding to take place from the time the dowry had been paid lasted from six months to one year.

During all this period until the day of the wedding, the girl used to take extra precaution and care of herself not to be seduced by any boy. The girl used to take care of herself not to commit adultery or to prostitute with any boy. She used to be faithful and kept the promise strictly until the day of her wedding with the boy who had paid dowry. In case the girl broke the promise and committed fornication with any other boy, and if the information reached the parents of the boy, the parents of the girl were compelled under the tradition to return all the dowry which had been paid for their daughter.

When the promised period for the wedding was approaching, the boy’s family members used to send the mediator (*muteevi*) to convey their message in connection with the wedding to the girl’s family members. The girl’s parents used to arrange a party for their daughter’s friends and relatives. The boy, his parents and relatives used not to attend the girl’s party. The boy was being represented at the party by the mediator (*muteevi*) alone. The main purpose for the girl’s party was mainly for her to bid farewell to her friends and relatives. Immediately after the girl’s party, an arrangement used to be made by the old men for the wedding, and the mediator (*muteevi*) used to be sent to convey the information to the boy’s people, so as to be ready for the occasion.

THE TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS DURING THE WEDDING:

When the promised day for the girl to go to the boy’s home reached, the girl’s friends used to come and assemble at her home and slept in the girl’s home for one day. During the following morning, which was the actual day for the wedding, the elders who were priests in the clan, who were also gentle and with high reputation in the clan, used to come in the home to pray and offer various sacrifices before they had left for the home of the boy. The old men used to take a cow’s skin and spread it in the yard facing exactly straight in the main door of the parents’ house. The old men used to call upon the girl who was wedding to come and stand upon the cow’s skin which they had already laid down for her to be anointed with fat and simsim. The bride used to be
given a young well behaved girl who was also still a virgin to be her best maiden, and
to anoint her with the fat and simsim. The maiden used to be physically examined by
the respected and trusted oldwomen to ascertain her virginity before she was selected to
undertake the responsibility of anointing the bride. The bride used to be anointed with
fat and simsim the whole body, together with her best maiden.

When she was being anointed with the fat and simsim she used to remain only with a
cord of banana fibres known as, “Kevoya”, on her waist. The priests used to take an
axe and put it on the skin on which the bride was standing. This was an indication that,
throughout her married life she would use the axe for cutting and splitting firewood.
The old men also used to shave the bride’s hair and leave a tuft on her head. After the
anointing ceremony, the girl used to adorn and to put on ornaments of a well decorated
skin called, “Endeeretsi.”. The skin for endeeretsi had been decorated by putting on
beads, cowrie shells as well as the teeth of a large wild hog. The endeeretsi was strictly
given to deserving and specific cases of girls who were proven to be virgins, and
whose behaviour and morals were high and esteemed. After the elders had completed
their work, they gave permission to the bride and her friends to set off for the
bridegroom’s home. When they started the journey from the bride’s home, they used to
put two young uncircumcised boys in front of the line, and the old men who were
escorting the bride were asked to watch carefully to see if the journey was blessed, and
by bad luck, if a snake or chameleon happened to cross in front of their path, this was
considered bad luck, and a very sad occasion, which the Maragoli people used to say
that, “The bird had sang her.” (Enyonyi ya ku mwimba). If such a thing happened,
they used to believe that the bride’s future life was at stake. If such happenings did not
occur, they knew that the bride’s future life will be a good one. When they had walked
about 50 yards from the bride’s home, the mother of the bride used to follow them
quickly from behind, and when she approached them, she used to call her daughter by
name and when the daughter responded to the call, her mother used to tell her that, “as
you go, you should meet with good luck in your new home”. (Kutsia kwaganira
kirago). The meaning of this expression was that, the bride should immediately
conceive and get a child in her new home. Those who accompanied the bride sang
happy, amusing and abusive songs and made shouts of joy, danced, as well as making
peculiar screams of the women (kukuba vigalagala) and rejoiced as they approached the
bridegroom’s home.

When they had arrived at the home of the bridegroom, and in addition to those who
attended the wedding feast, they were served with food made from millet, meat, beans
and bananas. They used to spread banana leaves in the yard of the bridegroom’s
parents, and foodstuffs were put on the leaves for the guests to eat from. Food used to
be served in the open and not in the houses, and any person who came to the home, it
was the tradition that, he or she must at least eat something.

This was an obligation to be adhered to by all those who attended the occasion. In case
of those who did not respect this tradition, they were cursed. At the close of the
celebrations, those who had accompanied the bride including her other friends used to
return home, and the bride used to remain in the home of the bridegroom. The friends
of the bride used to go to the bride’s home where they were required by the tradition to
spend two to three days before they left for their homes. The bride used to enter into the
bridegroom’s parents house, but she used not to sit down until she was paid one hoe,
or a goat. She used to sit down on the sweeping broom made from the leaves of a tree
called, Luvinu, and she used to sit in a small enclosure which they called, Kibitsi. The
trusted and respectable old women in the bridegroom’s clan selected and assigned a
young girl to the bride for her to cherish and to care for the bride as well as serving her
with meals. It was the Maragoli tradition and customary law that, before the bride ate
any kind of food brought to her, she was paid before she ate the food. It was also a
tradition that, when the girl who had been assigned to the bride brought food, she
was
obliged to taste it to ensure that the food was safe. All the things the bride had been paid when eating and sitting were taken to her parents.

When the time of going to bed was approaching, the respected and trusted women from the clan arranged for a suitable home in the house of the bridegroom’s brother. The boys during those days did not build their own huts to sleep in, but they slept in the old men’s houses where they were taught a lot of things pertaining to future life. Alternatively, if the bridegroom did not have a brother to offer him accommodation, he and his bride slept in his grandfather’s house. In the Maragoli tradition, the grandfather is considered as one’s brother. The respected and trusted old women whispered to the girl who was in charge of the bride and told her to send the bride to the house they had selected for accommodation. The bridegroom did not accompany the bride, but remained resting in his parent’s house until when it was time for him to go to sleep, and he too, was directed to the house by the women.

If the girl had taken care of herself and remained faithful to her parents, and she was found to be a virgin on the wedding day, the wife of the owner of the house they had slept in the first night usually used to wake up very early in the morning and go to pass the information of the bride’s virginity to the parents of the bridegroom.

The bride will, as well take her endeeretsi very early in the morning and go to the house of the bridegroom’s parents and take off her endeeretsi and hang it onto the neck of the big and the best cow she manages to get there. This particular cow the bride had put her endeeretsi on its neck was taken to her parents as a reward and token for the extra care they took in caring for their daughter until her successful marriage. The incident of a bride being a virgin carried a lot of prestige and created rejoicing amongst the Maragoli people, and in particular, for the parents and the clan members of the bride. The bride earned a high esteem in the bridegroom’s family and the clan at large. It was the mediator who sent and conveyed the information of the bride’s virginity to her parents. The cow which the bride hang her endeeretsi on its neck was killed immediately it got to the bride’s parents, and its meat was distributed to her relatives. The parents of the bride, including the bride herself, were prohibited by an threat of ostracism from eating the cow’s meat.

The period set for the bride to stay at the bridegroom’s home after the wedding before she went back to her home was one week. During the day the bride went to her home after the wedding, she was accompanied by the young girl who served her at the bridegroom’s home. When she returned from her home, her parents gave her foodstuffs and chickens to bring to her husband. It should be noted that, during the whole procedure of the marriage of the Maragoli people of long ago, there was no direct link up between the boy and the girl whereby they could meet and discuss matters pertaining to their marriage. All their wedding affairs used to be chanelled through their mediator (muteevi). If it was necessary for the boy to see the girl at work, the boy had to arrange privately with some of his relatives who dwelt near her, and the boy went and never appeared to her, but saw her from far, and saw what she was doing, especially during the time she was digging the garden, as well as when she went to the river to fetch water.

**WEDDING SONG:**

This is one of the ancient songs which were sang during weddings:

1. Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleeya!
   Andeere Uyooma.
   Andeere yeeleeya, andeere yeeleeya!
   Andeere Uyooma.

   Cho: Lero nang’oone Mukambi,
Mukambi wa Odanga,  
Lero nang’oone Mukambi.

2. Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Vakana,  
Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Vakana.

Cho:  
Lero nang’oone Mukambi, Mukambi wo Munubi,  
Lero nang’oone Mukambi.

3. Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Lidala,  
Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Lidala.

Cho:  
Lero nang’oone Musiimba, Musiimba ye Vuhaando.  
Lero nang’oone Mussimba.

4. Andeere yeeleeya, andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Viroongo,  
Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Viroongo.

Cho:  
Lero nang’oone Mwidala, Mwidala, Mwidala wa Demesi,  
Lero nang’oone Mwidala.

5. Andeere yeeleya; andeere yeelya!  
Andeere Kituuulu,  
Andeere yeeleeya, Andeere yeeleya!  
Andeere Kituuulu.

Cho:  
Lero nang’oone Kituuulu, Kituuulu Musiimba,  
Lero nang’oone Kituuulu.