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AN ANALYSIS OF THE STYLE AND MEANING OF THE POETRY WITHIN THE TUGEN SORO WEDDING RITUAL.

BY

KEITANY AMBROSE ROTICH

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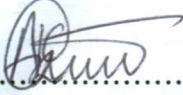
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DECLARATION


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

Signature:  Date: 26/8/2008

Keitany Ambrose Rotich

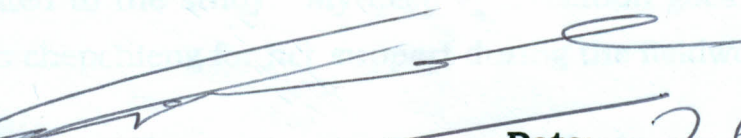
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This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

Signature:  Date: 26/8/2008

Dr. Ezekiel Alembi

Department of Literature.

Signature:  Date: 26-08-08

Dr. Wallace Mbugua

Department of Literature.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents whose one objective in life has been the promotion of my knowledge. To them and to those who cherish memories of their own wedding; or who look forward to one in the future, to those who look forward to know how elsewhere wedding developed or it is celebrated, this project is dedicated.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on and examines the wedding poetry of the Tugen community with a view to uncovering the function of the poetry and how it reflects the social and moral values of its people. It investigates the style, performance and meaning of the oral poetry within the *soro* ritual. Further, it seeks to reveal the significance of the poems to the lives of the Tugen and in particular the importance they attach to its performance. This study was undertaken through both library and field research. In field research, the study used observation, interviews as well as focus group discussion to collect data. Our focus was mainly on style and performance as it brings out and enriches the meaning of the poetry. Similarly, the study seeks to unveil the significant literary qualities of the Tugen wedding poetry especially its stylistic features. The research work is motivated by the fact that although a number of wedding songs have been collected on past researches, it has received little analysis from scholars. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap in social knowledge.

The study is guided by Ethnopoetics theoretical framework. Ethnopoetics examines oral art in reference to the society that creates and performs the art. This theory is relevant to interpreting wedding poetry as it explores the use of poetic imagery and cultural verbal symbols. This theory provides an opportunity for the researcher to have a closer interaction with the community and the study through fieldwork. Such an interaction is vital in analyzing the given poetry.

In the final analysis, the investigation reveals the messages embedded in the wedding poetry and provides an understanding of the Tugen worldviews.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0. Definition of operational terms

Meaning: It is used here to refer to the messages that are derived from the oration of *Soro* (wedding songs). They are not only for entertainment but are used to pass specific messages to the members of the community.

Performance: This refers to the live presentation of oral literature for example story telling, singing and dancing, riddling and so on. In this study, performance focuses on two aspects. The first is the context which includes the venue, *soro* occasion, performers and audience and the second is how the wedding poetry is performed.

Style: The distinctive manner of performance unique to an artist or genre. Also called device or technique.

Soro: *Soro* refers to a Tugen wedding ceremony when a couple is presented after completion of dowry payment. *Soro* also refers to the poetry/songs sang during the ritual usually to advise the bride on how to cope with married life, praise her beauty and caution the groom to take utmost care of the bride.

Purposive sampling: It is a sampling method where the researcher purposely targets a group of people who are knowledgeable and hence an authority in the particular area of study. The targeted group of people are a reliable source of information required for the study.

Wedding songs: A song performed during a wedding ceremony usually to praise, encourage, advise and bid farewell to the newly weds as they begin a new life.

Worldview: It is the representation of ultimate reality in all its aspects visible and invisible. It includes views about the creation of the world, about the kinds of beings that are in it and their taxonomies; on its layout and on its functioning.

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study is based on the observation that oral poetry is highly regarded in African culture. This is evident through the number of studies conducted in this field. Notable ones include Finnegan (1970), Nandwa (1976) Kipury (1983), Chesaina (1991) and a number of Masters and PhD dissertations like Machayo (1986), Alembi (2002), Wainaina (2000), Musungu (2006) and many others from different African communities.

Oral poetry in Africa is the undisputed reservoir of society's values, morals and customs and it is the form through which traditional thought is achieved.

Adrian Roscoe (1997:21) was right when he stated:

If a modern African society wants to understand the essence of itself, appreciate its history and attitudes then the oral heritage provide the only useful source of information. (Roscoe 1997)

In this study, the Tugen wedding poetry is scrutinized to establish the styles employed in its composition and analyze the meaning of the poetry within the wedding context. Our endeavour is to bridge the gap between the mere collection of data and the cardinal component of analysis.

In this respect our research is descriptive and analytical in nature. This is a response to what preceding scholars like Finnegan have raised in this subject.

Finnegan laments that:

The journals are full of such articles as four proverbs and one folk story from the Bongo, two folk tales and riddles from the XYZs and so on with no attempt to relate the specimens to anything more than the barest synopsis of the plot (Finnegan 1970).

Another scholar Jahn Janheinz (1968) in Neo African literature contributed to this debate on oral literature by asserting that, "Oral literature has not been subjected to analysis."

The same sentiments are echoed by Alan Dundes who views the collection of folkloristic data without reference to the folk and their environment as an attempt to dehumanize folklore (Dundes 1980). Dundes (1984) quoted in Wainaina (2000) has also regretted that in spite of the interest that both Africans and Euro-American Africanists have shown in the subject, analytical studies cannot match the amount of materials stored in libraries and archives. This study is a response to such assertions and inadequacies by going a step into analyzing the Tugen wedding poetry.

Other researchers like Nandwa and Bukenya (1983) postulate that literature reflects the society that created it and that the literature is purposeful and is closely associated with the society of origin. They emphasize that literature has a direct association to the society that composes it irrespective of the genre. In this regard we must strive to capture the worldview and culture of the community because performance of a work of art like wedding poetry has something to say about society's beliefs and customs.

Among the Tugen of the Rift Valley Province, Kenya, one of the significant occasions when poetry is performed is in the event of marriage. In this society, marriage is not a one day affair but rather is carried out in stages and each stage has specific poetry. These poems which form the focus of this study are highly regarded. They are performed in the context of the ritual of *soro*.

Through the songs performed during *soro* ritual, the Tugen communicate their views concerning marriage. Marriage is seen as a compulsory part of human existence as it is only through it that procreation is guaranteed. This view is shared by other African communities. Writing about marriage among the Abagussi of South Western Kenya, Matiang'i (1990) observes;

Marriage is compulsory for all. Celibacy is unheard of. When one dies without getting married, it is considered a curse inflicting members of his family.

Wedding is also a happy occasion which carries with it some prestige value as through it one moves a step ahead to a higher rank of elders. The poems performed in *soro* are however not just about marriage and the couple but they also address and communicate important values to the rest of the community. Values such as unity, patience, love, good neighbourliness, and generosity are passed across. These values encourage peaceful and harmonious co-existence in the society.

It is observed that in order to appreciate a work of art fully, it is imperative for one to understand the background of the people who produce it. This is because a work of art is best analyzed within a specific context. Failure to understand the context under which the art is performed may lead to distortion of facts. It is therefore important to first understand the Tugen before studying their creative works. This would avoid glossing over of significant details.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There has been a marked increase in the number of studies on oral poetry. For instance, Alembe (2002) has carried out a study on the Abanyole perceptions of death through oral funeral poetry; Bwonya (2004) has researched on the gender dimensions of songs in Maragoli marriage ceremonies while Musungu (2006) has looked at the meaning of poetry within the Babukusu funeral ritual. This study is aimed at analyzing the poetry within the Tugen Soro wedding ritual which has received little attention. It sets to investigate the meaning of the oral poetry within Soro through a comprehensive analysis of its style, content and meaning. The overall effect of this study is to establish how the poetry performed within Soro of the Tugen contributes towards understanding of wedding among the Tugen community and by extension the readers.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

Key research questions include:

1. What is the meaning of the Tugen wedding poetry?
2. What poetic elements/aspects of style are employed during the composition and transmission of Tugen wedding poetry?
3. What aspects of performance are employed in Tugen wedding poetry and what are their contributions to the meaning of this genre?

1.4. STUDY OBJECTIVES

The study focuses on the following objectives:

1. To analyze the meaning of the wedding poetry to the Tugen community.
2. To carry out a textual analysis of the poems to enable the identification of the stylistic components.
3. To discuss the contribution of aspects of performance in the general understanding of the wedding poetry and in revealing the community's worldview.

1.5. RESEARCH PREMISES

The exploration of the objectives was guided by the following premises:

1. Messages loaded with implicit and explicit meanings are conveyed in the Tugen wedding poetry
2. The style of composition is significant in conveying the message appropriately during performance.
3. The aspects of performance are significant in understanding the meaning of Tugen wedding poetry and in revealing the community's worldview.

1.6. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Quite a number of studies have been carried out in the field of wedding poetry in Africa. Notable ones include Finnegan (1970), Nandwa (1976), Chesaina (1991), Muktar (1993) and Bwonya (2004). Reading these studies closely, one notes the problem of generalizations. Finnegan draws her examples from the Hausa of Nigeria and the Ronga of Mozambique to generalize on the wedding poetry of Africa. Similarly, Chesaina (1991) has collected seven wedding songs from the Keiyo and the Marakwet sub communities of the Kalenjin. In doing so, she overlooks the fact that the various sub-tribes of the Kalenjin linguistic group, the Tugen included, look at marriage differently. Furthermore, the seven poems are too few/inadequate to explain the meaning of such a complicated ritual.

Song and dance were a significant form of artistic expression among the Tugen. Little research has been done on Tugen oral poetry and what has been done involves little literary analysis.

This study is justified because it analyses *soro*, a type of poetry that has never been systematically analyzed. Further, *soro* is fast disappearing because of western influences. Unless research is done soon, the knowledge of *soro* will disappear in a few decades. Much as we appreciate the contribution of these

scholars to knowledge in wedding poetry, there is every need to redress the problem of generalization.

The present study is specific in that it focuses on one genre of the Tugen poetry namely: The wedding poetry performed during *soro*. *Soro* is a Tugen wedding ritual when the couple is presented with gifts and people feast and drink to celebrate the cementing of a marriage after completion of dowry payment. It also refers to the poetry/songs sang during the ritual usually to advise the bride on how to cope with married life, praise her beauty and so on. Other stages of Tugen marriage which do not form the focus of the study include *Kiprili* (the stage of identification and proposal), *Koito* (the stage of engagement) and after *soro*, the stage of *Kerotu* (the welcoming ceremony usually after begetting a child). The poetry performed during *soro* communicates important issues to the community in a language heavily embellished with figures of speech.

In addition, through dramatization these issues are communicated and reinforced. This research wholly recognizes that oral poetry is still by far the widely used means of passing messages in communities. Therefore, it is useful to capture, analyze, record and safe-keep them in a form that can be accessed by many people in the community and even those from outside who may have interest in it for academic purposes.

The study does not only tackle the style and performance but also the meaning of the poetry. This work will benefit literary scholars, sociologists, anthropologist and educators in developing theory of cultural dynamics within an African framework.

Educators use the poems particularly in primary and secondary schools for maintenance of cultural heritage and for examination purposes given that oral literature is a compulsory part of the secondary school syllabus. To the literary scholars, this study provides a frame of exploring further, the similarities and differences in poetic form and content from different cultural communities. The findings of this research are of significance to the hitherto scarcely researched area of wedding poetry.

1.7. SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH.

The study has limited itself to the poetry within the Tugen Soro wedding ritual which has received little attention from scholars. The research was done in Baringo District , Kenya where the majority of the Tugen people are found. In Baringo the study was mainly conducted in Kabartonjo and Kipsaraman divisions. This is because the researcher works around the two areas hence it was easy to establish rapport with artists. This is an important consideration for our study which uses an ethnopoetic theoretical approach as well as a qualitative research paradigm.

The study focused on style and meaning of the Tugen wedding poetry. This kind of scope accorded us an opportunity to have an in-depth study of this verbal art with regard to style and performance and how they aid in passing invaluable messages to the community. We collected twenty – one texts and used them as a basis of and to illustrate the style and meaning . The twenty -one texts were representative, complete and also powerfully presented hence interesting. They were deemed sufficient for the study because of time and resource constraints. In the field, purposive sampling technique was employed to identify fifteen resourceful oral artists. These people were interviewed to get information on the meaning and performance of the wedding poetry. The study would have been made richer by involving a larger population but this was not possible due to time and financial constraints which hampered attempts to reach other poets in distant parts of Tugen land.

1.8. LITERATURE REVIEW.

For many years, scholars have done research on oral literature. It is important that contributions of past scholars be looked into as they offer us an opportunity into the cultural heritage of the communities studied and its bearing to the present study. The literature review looks closely into studies which touch on oral poetry and oral literature in general.

Finnegan (1977), Oral poetry; its nature, significance and social Context is a handy book which inspired our study. The book highlights the general importance of oral poetry. According to Finnegan, oral poetry (wedding songs included) is of common occurrence in human society, literate and non- literate and it is not about to wither away with modernization. All songs are oral poetry though they appear in written form; they achieve their main impact and active circulation through ever renewed oral means. Though the text does not mention Tugen wedding poetry, it gives general characteristic of oral poetry and its performance. It elucidates on the importance of performance if its meaning is to be understood "A piece of oral literature; to reach its full actualization must be performed Oral literature is more flexible and more dependent on social context". The text also discusses styles like repetition, metaphors and aspects of dramatization, which can easily be applied to the oral poetry under study.

Nandwa (1976) studies oral poetry form from the Abaluyia community of Western Kenya. In this study, she discusses the functions of oral poetry from that community. Kipury (1983) in her Oral literature of the Maasai advocates for the preservation of the Maasai oral literature material which according to her research finding is an embodiment of the cultural values of the Maasai.

Gachukia (1978) quoting Kenyatta's Facing Mount Kenya , notes that it is the culture which a person inherits that gives a man his human dignity. It teaches him mental and moral values and make him feel it worthwhile to work and fight for liberty. This book does not capture Tugen wedding poetry but the poetry can be studied with her comments in mind.

Chesaina (1991) is a crucial text which apart from giving information on the Tugen community, it has also accorded a coverage to Tugen oral literature, wedding songs included. The book briefly discusses form and style of Kalenjin songs and has a collection of seven wedding songs which will partly form analyses of style of Tugen wedding poetry.

Lusweti (1986) takes us through a discussion on the functions of oral poetry. The book views oral poetry as serving as a means of social control, a carrier of education, and a means of sustaining culture and so on. The book does not discuss the relevance of Tugen wedding poetry but this information becomes

relevant to study when it comes to analyzing the meaning of the community's wedding poetry.

Bukenya (1994) observes that in oral poetry, the main problem rotates around the use of figurative language that would require a deep knowledge of the people and their culture before one interprets them. These observations are important because the study focuses on the recurrent messages and the style used in oral poetry.

Miruka (2001) has addressed and elucidated the performance and style of the Luo oral poetry. Among the styles discussed include antiphony, Hyperbole and elocution. He also looks briefly at the general social functions of these oral poems. It must be conceded that though he dwells on the oral poetry among the Luo of Kenya, the criteria used in highlighting their social significance and style can help us trace the same among the Tugen community.

Brian (1979) focuses deeply on the Tugen way of life. He discusses the social organization of the Tugen, the climatic condition and vegetation. Though he really does not discuss wedding poetry, this information of the environment is valid given that imagery and images that are of central concern in the study are largely derived from the immediate environment. The study of oral literature after all involves the study of the people and their way of life. This means no

one should attempt the transcription and translation of oral literature material without first undertaking subsistent study of the people.

A dissertation by Matiang'i (1990) looks closely at the poetry and culture of the Abagusii. Matiang'i has discussed dramatization that accompany wedding songs among the Abagusii. He notes that traditional oral poetry is composed with a complex symbolism. The symbols are basically from the understanding of the natural physical environment. He also highlights accompanying paralinguistic features. Though, there is no mention of Tugen wedding poetry, the criteria used can help in analyzing poetry in the present study.

Henning's (1951) gives information on the economic life and terrain of the Kamasia (Tugen) community. Though the book does not discuss the Tugen wedding poetry but its relevance is attained when the songs are analyzed to discern the economic activities of the Tugen thus bringing out the meaning clearly.

Kemoli (1980) observes the satirical nature of wedding poetry "without being critical, there is no way of sustaining normality." This study aspires to capture the philosophy of wedding songs that makes it worth conserving.

1.9. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several approaches are normally used to increase the critic's depth of penetration and scope of reach in works of literature. Some of the approaches include: Psychoanalytic approach (Freud 1931), Structural model (Propp 1960), symbolic approach (Biedelman 1961), Stylistic approach (Leech 1966), Reception theory (Jauss 1971) and Ethnopoetics (Rothernberg 1968). Psychoanalytic approach deals with a work of literature as the expression of the inner psyche or character or personality of the author. The structural model puts emphasis on the structural patterns of a work of art and how they form a complete system. The symbolic approach or semiotics evaluates signs (postures adopted, clothes worn, the music we like) and how they relate to the societal perception of the world. The stylistic approach examines the harmony between content and aesthetic values of a work of art. The focus of the present study is on the meaning and style of performance of the Tugen wedding poetry and the Ethnopoetics approach is the most apt.

The theoretical framework of Ethnopoetics guides this study. The theory of Ethnopoetics is closely associated with scholars like Jerome Rothernberg (1968), Dennis Tedlock (1983), Dell Hymes (1981), and Baumann (1992) among others. It refers to collaborations among poets, anthropologists, linguists and literary scholars during the late 1960's and 1970's. Ethnopoetics has come to

broadly designate writing that reflects heightened awareness of the artfulness of oral and traditional poems and the ways in which diverse verbal arts illuminate world cultures: innovative theorizing and practice of transcription/translation. Ethnopoetics is an interpretive model that seeks the poetic principles according to which non-literate societies create and verbal their verbal art.

Ethnopoetics sheds light on aesthetic and poetic structuring of oral art. Its practitioners treat the relationship between performance and text as a field of experimentation. According to Baumann (1992; 82)

Texts that were taken down in the era of hand written dictation and published as prose are reformatted and retranslated in order to reveal their poetic features as defined by such tonal devices as initial particles, native pattern number, synthetic structure and parallelism.

Ethnopoetics looks away from the modern and experimental, to focus on ancient and autochthonous cultures that are under threat of mass extinction and is the product of outrageous modernism. The emphasis in Ethnopoetics has been on performances in which the speaking, chanting or singing voices gives shape to proverbs, riddles, curses, laments, praises, prayers, public announcements and narratives.

Practitioners of Ethnopoetics treat the relationship between performances and texts as a field of experimentation. Fieldwork plays a key role; where collection and transcription should be undertaken by the researcher. Texts taken down in the era of handwritten dictation and published as prose are reformatted and / or translated in order to reveal their poetic features. In the case of sound recordings, transcriptions and translations serve not only as listening guides but also as scripts or scores for further performances. An Ethnopoetic score not only takes accounts of the words but silences, changes in loudness and tone of voice, the production of sound effects and use of gestures and props. Ethnopoetics remain open to the creative side of performance, valuing features that may be rare or even unique to a particular artist of occasion.

Dell Hymes (1981) captures certain tenets of Ethnopoetics. Among them, he observes that stylistic and grammatical features are studied to trace the formal poetic structure of a text, the underlying rhetoric form in the text. This focus on stylistic enables this studies to take into account the deliberate choices of language in Tugen wedding poetry. Signs and texts are studied in terms of the relationship between a sign and its user.

In Ethnopoetics, translation of a text occupies a central position. An Ethnopoetic translation requires more than mastery of the language. Ethnopoetics emphasizes the necessity of acquiring deep knowledge of the

cultures and performance context of the poetry. The translated work should carry over the qualities of oral performance to the printed page.

Ethnopoetic scholarship involves analysis, transcription and translation of texts gained from living traditional poets/singers/storytellers or it may take up previously collected ethnographic texts and retranslate them to expose their aesthetic and culturally informative dimensions.

In a nutshell, Ethnopoetics explores the use of poetic imagery and cultural verbal symbols as a way to interpret emotions and ideas, the narrators wish to convey artistically their listening community and it analyses the linguistic means by which story teller shift from speaking and "break into performance" (Dell Hymes 1981). Valuing marginalized art – the so-called primitive, pre-literate, tribal or uncivilized - Ethnopoetics anticipates multiculturalism. As an exploration of oral poetry and traditions, it resonates with recent re-emergence of performance poetry.

Relevance of Ethnopoetics to the study of Tugen wedding poetry.

Certain aspects of Ethnopoetics are invaluable when analyzing the Tugen wedding poetry. For instance, Ethnopoetics emphasizes the role of fieldwork. In this study, it is our intention to get to the field and collect a number of Tugen wedding songs that are performed during marriage ceremonies. Secondly, since mastery of language is of great importance in Ethnopoetics, this study puts the tenet into consideration. The language of the community must be understood so that a careful scrutiny of the images can be understood. Since the research was carried out by an adult member of the community in liaison with interviewees well versed in the language, then this point was well addressed.

Lastly, Tedlock postulates that in Ethnopoetics, aspects of performance, importance of transcription and translation, the style and the grammatical features have to be scrutinized. This finds immediate application to the study because one of the major reasons we subject the wedding songs to analyses is to unearth their stylistic devices and the rich images they wield. Careful consideration was given to the words used as they are specifically chosen to convey the correct meaning and create the right impact on the audience.

1.10. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

The study started at the library and proceeded to the field where the primary data was collected. The secondary research carried out in the libraries was useful in that data was required for identifying and building the theory that this study was build on. Secondly, the study required a wide reading of materials on oral poetry in general and the Tugen wedding poetry in particular. The research therefore needed documented material on Tugen historical origins, political and social organization and geographical setting to provide background information to the study. This anthropological work, acquainted to the Tugen worldview. To get the all information needed, a number of libraries were visited. Among them were Moi Library in Kenyatta University, Margaret Thatcher Library at Moi University, The University of Nairobi Library, Literature resource centre (Kenyatta University), The National Libraries in Kabarnet and Eldoret and Bartolimo Secondary School Library. In these libraries, documents perused for various material included books, journals, magazines, articles, research dissertations, theses, monographs etc.

During fieldwork, the study was carried out in three phases:

- a) Collection of songs.
- b) Transcription and translation of the songs.
- c) Identification, description and explication of the aspects of style and messages embedded in the poetry.

Transcription was done by listening to the songs on tape and transcribing them on paper. The texts were then translated freely. We kept in mind that free translation would obscure meaning and make translated work appear meaningless. While translating, we aimed at striking a balance and sought to retain meaning in the English translation while preserving as much the poetic feel of the Tugen. Since the study required an accurate representation of meaning the Tugen original wedding songs were kept close in mind.

Research Design.

The research design that governed this study was descriptive survey. The major purpose of descriptive research is description of the state of affairs as it exists. The researcher reports the findings. Kerlinger (1969) points out that descriptive studies are not only restricted to fact-findings, but may often result in the formulation of important principles of knowledge and solution to significant problems. Descriptive design involves analysis and interpretation of data.

Descriptive survey was applicable in this study because it involved collection of information by interviewing or administering questionnaire to a sample of individuals (Orodho 2003: 116). It can be used when collecting information on social issues like weddings as in the case of this study. The research design was governed by the two main research purposes. The first was to describe the phenomenon of marriage as presented in the poetry performed in *soro* and also through interviews. The second was to interpret and analyze symbols, images,

language and style of performance as a basis of arriving at the meaning of marriage as presented through the poetry of *soro*. Following these research purposes, our research was descriptive and analytical.

The analytic techniques that this study employed include a quick impressionist summary which involved summarizing key findings, explanation, interpretation and conclusion because many of the respondents gave similar answers. The other analytic technique employed was content analysis. It describes the form and content of the written material in this case the Tugen wedding poetry. More specifically, systematic content analysis was employed because it classifies signs according to meaning.

Sampling frame.

The study was carried out in Baringo District, Kenya. A combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed in this study. In purposive sampling, the researcher purposely targets a group of people believed to be reliable to the study. Purposive sampling was used to select Baringo district as the study site since the Tugen people whose poetry is under study live there. In Baringo, Kabartonjo, Kabarnet and Kipsaraman divisions were purposely selected as the study locations because the sample population were easily found there and also the residents was representative enough of the Tugen in Baringo District.

Sample study population.

Inquiries from seven oral artists from the various villages were carried out. Fifteen people were interviewed. The respondents included students, teachers, opinion leaders, old men and women and generally people well conversant with the subject (see appendix E). The sample involved persons from villages found in different parts of the Tugen community. The sample encompassed people of different socio-economic status, sex, education, religion and age. The study analyzed twenty-one poems that were the most common. The choice of fifteen people interviewed aimed at being as diversified as possible since the interviewees hailed from various parts of Baringo. Twenty-one were selected so as to avoid duplication of songs and also because they were representatives of the entire collection. The songs represented those sang entirely by bride's age-mates, those by women and songs sang by a mixed performers. The songs were also complete in composition and covered a wide span of time.

Methods and instruments.

A number of methods and research instruments were used to gather information from the field. Photographs showing performance of the wedding poetry and audio-visual recording formed part of data collection methods. The research instruments include: observation, participation, interviews and focus group discussions, questionnaires and review of documents. The documents reviewed were secured from libraries, individuals and institutions.

Data Analysis

Data from fieldwork were then processed. The information recorded on tape and video was transcribed and translated from Tugen to English. The notes taken during the in-depth field interviews, observation and participation were examined to identify the messages in Tugen wedding songs. The assembling together of all information gathered in fieldwork assisted greatly in analysis and interpretation. To enhance the validity and reliability of the information collected and analyzed, the initial draft of the research report was discussed by a number of persons familiar with the poetry within the *soro* region and community affairs to verify details, words and concepts. Before drawing conclusions, difficulties faced during fieldwork were highlighted. Some of the challenges faced included suspicion and reluctance from potential respondents, lack of transport and accommodation due to financial constraints and lack of adequate interview opportunity because people were busy with their own affairs.

The study is divided into four chapters. Chapter one includes: the background, statement of the problem, justification of the study, assumptions, objectives, scope and limitations, theoretical framework and methodology adopted. Chapter two discusses the style and performance of Tugen wedding poetry; chapter three analyses the meaning of the poetry and chapter four highlights the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: STYLE OF THE WEDDING POETRY

2.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the style employed in Tugen wedding poetry. To achieve this, a critical analysis of the poetic features within the marriage ceremonies is provided. It looks into the use of language as both medium and creative material in poetry. The chapter further deals with the styles utilized in the composition of the Tugen wedding poetry. Features like repetition, figurative language (symbolism, imagery and personification) satire, Humour, Sound effects (Rhyme, alliteration, idiophone, and onomatopoeia), Hyperbole, Diction, Allusion and Antiphony are used. Further, the relationship between these devices in the development of the wedding poetry is discussed.

2.1 Repetition

Repetition has been defined differently by different scholars. Miruka (1994) gives this definition.

Repetition is the recurrence of a mood, idea, sound, word or line in a poem. The most conspicuously repetitive feature of oral poems are the words lines or sets of line coming regularly after each stanza – the refrains. (Miruka 1994: 90)

Ole Sunkuli 1990: 78 defines repetition as the recurrence of a segment, episode, or idea especially in a narrative or poem. Some common uses of repetition and to create suspense, indicate length of time and distance, emphasize and reinforce the theme.

Repetition is widely used in Tugen poetry. The performer employs this style to emphasize particular feelings or ideas that affect the audience of the poetry. In the song, **we wouldn't like (sn.2)** the line "listen our brother in law/sister" is repeated twice to capture the attention of the intended audience because the message in the song is useful in their new life. The message emphasized in this particular song is the need for the young couple to take utmost care of one another in terms of provision of food, living peacefully in their home and avoiding situations that are likely to break family unity.

The word 'listen' is repeated four times in the songs '**It is your wedding (sn.14)**' and '**The much liked wedding (sn. 12)**' because the Tugen wedding played the crucial role of educating the newly weds. The songs are used to pass information, which is important for the development and social stability of the community. The four times use of the line/word 'listen our' enables the audience to pay keen attention to the performers words and in the process receive the vital knowledge. The message emphasized here through repetition is the need of the groom and the bride to continue assisting their parents in

daily chores like repairing of fences and buying necessary items like sugar and foot wear.

Repetition in Tugen wedding poetry comes mostly in the choral form. A chorus repeats a single refrain line throughout the poem by introducing new material while soon after every new line is a refrain line chanted by the chorus. An example of the choral nature of the wedding poetry is evident in the song **'we love our daughter' (sn.19)** where the line 'we love the beloved for the invitation' is repeated eight times. Similarly in the song **'we are proud of the bouquet' (sn.20)** the line 'our Sinende that has been our source of pride' is repeated. The repeated lines are often the parts to be sung by the rest of the singers as the soloist or the leader varies the rest of the song with new phrases. The repetition of the refrain 'we love the beloved for the invitation' express the joyous mood of the performers because of the occasion.

Weddings are always held in high esteem among the Tugen because it is an expression of love among the couple. It is also an opportunity to meet friends and relatives. Wedding is not an occasion of survival but of social prestige. Repetition enables the singers to convey their feelings and thoughts to the bride and groom. In this case for example, the bride is said to have been the source of pride in the community.

The thought brought out through the repetition of the phrase 'our bouquet (sinende) is that of pride. The singers are proud to be associated with the bride. They assert that she has been a source of pride all the days. This has the impact of making the groom feel excited and for acquiring a community's pearl, a precious wife. The singers are filled with happiness because of the occasion and will not hesitate to repeat lines that bring joy. Paddington (1978) notes the happy mood that is associated with weddings. He observes that "a wedding is always an occasion for excitement, accompanied by gaiety, laughter--- one of the most memorable undertakings."

The Tugen in particular are happy with the occasion because they conceive marriage/wedding as a joint project in which men and women work together to produce foodstuff, to maintain their herds and to rear children. Through marriage men and women acquire right in each other and in so doing they also acquire rights to land, livestock and children.

Moore (1986) in studying the culture of the Marakwet, a close sub-ethnic group to the Tugen rightly observes:

It is through marriage, therefore that a man actually acquires land and livestock and at the same time the full property owning status of an individual man which marks his assumption of full adulthood. (Moore1986:5)

The property acquired in marriage are first the promises made during circumcision; one or two goats. Land allocation is guaranteed though this is a preserve of the father. Both men and women are bound by their marriage contracts and since this contract requires a man to supply his wife with land and livestock, his control over these resources is not absolute. That is, the rights of the woman (bride) to access this property is guaranteed. This right brings happiness to the occasion (marriage) that leads to acquisition of property. The word 'Iyoni' (It is approved) is repeated eleven times in the song **who approves this wedding. (sn.16)** In this case, repetition is used to soothe and reassure the couple that no one has grudge or bitter feelings towards their nuptial ties. The assurance is certain because all groups and relations in the society are said to approve the occasion. The young men, old mothers, old men, Aunts and in-laws approve the wedding with joy in their hearts. The bride and groom get a feeling of satisfaction as a result and this further cements their union.

Repetition at times is employed sarcastically to expose weakness unwanted in the society. Each stanza in the songs: **suitors have disappeared (sn.17)** and **our brother (sn.18)** is repeated to castigate girls and boys who due to new tradition delay their marriage. The last line is repeated to emphasize the indirect message that such girls should make up their minds and get married because tradition does not allow women to own houses except through marriage. However, with changes that have crept into the community over time

especially through the money economy, many Tugen women now own houses of their own especially in urban centres. Beside, a number of Tugen women of late have opted to remain single with one or two children living in her own quarters. Rich men have also bequeathed their daughters with houses especially in situations when the woman is married by a poorer man.

The boys are also urged to be coming home early in the evenings and take their supper in time lest they go on exile because it is uncouth for them to wake their mothers and sisters late in the night and ask for supper. Though the songs are short, they are repeated as many times as the dancers/singers wish.

Repetition contributes immensely to the rhythm of the song and also helps the poems develop and clarify meanings of the poem. Rhythm is enhanced by repetition because repetition allows effective involvement in the dance movements. In the song '**whoever dose not know his in-laws, (sn. 21)**' a line like 'He is fined a cow father' is repeated and this enables the singers to rhythmically shake their heads and stamp their feet as they emphasize the penalty meted on a person who disrespects his in-laws. Similarly, the line 'Love your daughter Kobilo' in the song '**Love your daughter' (sn.6)**' is repeated so as to develop the rhythm of the song. Repetition of such lines makes it easier for the audience to grasp what has been said and gives the singer confidence that his/her message has been understood.

Repetition makes an immeasurable literary impact of the wedding poetry on both the performer and the audience. It makes easier for the audience to grasp what has been said and gives the singer confidence that he/she has understood the message he is trying to communicate. Apart from sustaining the durability of the Tugen wedding poetry, it also facilitates memorization and cramming which are forms of recording the poetry in the performer's memory. It enables the performers to easily remember the whole text. A phrase like 'No it isn't so' in the song; **The much liked wedding (sn.12)** is repeated to enhance memorability. In the process of repeating certain lines, the audience get an opportunity to learn the song and are then easily motivated to participate in the performance actively. The chorus:

No it isn't so, No it isn't so,

No it isn't so No indeed

It isn't so!

(The much liked wedding)

as observed during fieldwork moved quite a number of women audience to tears as they joined in singing the chorus. Similarly, the repeated line 'Iyoni' (It is approved) in the song **who approves this wedding (sn.16)** safeguards the texture of the poem. Its brevity brings to focus the central message of the song that the wedding has been approved. Further, in antiphonal forms like in the songs **who approves this wedding (sn.16)**, **We love our daughter (sn.19)** and **whoever does not know his in-laws (sn.21)** repetition offers an opportunity for an audience to take part with ease in the act of performance to a degree not

possible without some measures of repetition. Repetition is necessary to ensure comprehension of the message/themes passed by the performers/singers is complete.

One method of identifying if the intended audience is grasping the message passed is through active participation and observing the facial expression. A smile for example is a sign that the message has been appreciated.

Repetition is clearly an important aspect of style employed in the composition of Tugen wedding poetry and plays a central role as Finnegan (1977) observed:

Repetition has a great literary and aesthetic effect. It is not just a utilitarian tool but something which lies at the heart of all poetry. Repetition gives peculiar pleasure and artistic effectiveness in oral poetry.

By and large, repetition depicts the intensity of emotion. It plays an important role in communicating the poets concern. Patterns of repetition provide structure and coherence to Tugen wedding poetry - a necessary aspect in a medium as ephemeral as the spoken or sung word but need not lead to monotony. Repetition in itself can lead to a variation both in the intervening non-repeated units and very effectively in strategic variation within the repeated element itself.

2.1.1 Ideophones

Leteipa Ole Sunkuli (1990) defines ideophone as a sound expression that conveys, for the purpose of intensifying ideas of colour, manner, smell, silence, action, posture, state idea in sound. Lusweti (1984) defines ideophones as descriptive words that enable the listener to identify a feeling, sound or movement. This thesis will in addition use ideophone to mean sounds to simulate and represent action. Tugen wedding songs abound in ideophones. Apart from punctuating songs and adding extra musical appeal, ideophones are important components of the wedding poetry as they contribute to the rhythmic beat and help regulate body movements. For example, in the song **Kicham Cheptanyo (we love our daughter) (sn19)** 'Oye leyo' is used to regulate the soloist's body movement whereby, s/he bends slightly and thrusts his/her head forward as he/she opens the song. This ideophones also serves as an opening formula (beginning) of the song.

The ideophone 'Woi woi woi' in **Miyem weritab bich (Avoid hurting people's son) (sn.5)** is performed with certain dramatization where the singers place their right palms on the cheek to signify crying and extreme mental torture. This ideophone designates a person wailing as a result of severe beating or domestic violence. Often the cry is meant to ask the neighbours to come and rescue the battered spouse. It gives the poem some sombre tone which is pleading and agonizing. It relays the message although it doesn't mean anything in particular.

In the song '**Love your daughter (cham cheptangung) (sn.6)**' the ideophone 'ee eeya' brings musicality and regulates dramatization. In this song, 'ee eeya' accompanies the gentle shake of the performer's heads expressing total satisfaction and happiness with the daughter arrival. The ideophone 'ee eeya' further shows approval or agreement to the words uttered by the soloists. The word literally means 'yes' or 'in agreement'. It has a meaningful effect and adds drama to the recitation.

2.1.2 Rhythm.

Rhythm is defined by Miruka (1994) as:

The patterned rise and fall of sounds and words in a poem. Each poem has its rhythm which facilitates the appeal to the ear, dance ability and general reception (Miruka1994:90)

Tugen wedding songs are performed rather than sang in a static position. Rhythm therefore becomes a very important component of these songs as it facilitates body movements which are often an integral part of the total meaning of the song. In a song such as **Tumdab Jerotich ak Kirwa (The wedding of Kirwa and Jerotich) (sn.10)** the rhythm is quite important. The voice is changed according to the gender so that a line like 'Sikole boisiek paipai kole paipai' is sung with a deep voice (bass) because it is reflecting the old men (boisiek) thoughts. Similarly the line 'sikole chepyosok sere kapchi Kolal ma' is sung by the girls with saprano voice. The singers use rhythm in the song **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** rather than words to pass the message.

This is due to the fact that as they warn Joseph against whistling in the evening anymore, one performer demonstrates the actual whistling much to the laughter of the audience.

Tugen wedding songs have a beat that is articulated with dancing, rhythmic movement, percussion by instruments or handclapping, all of which contribute to the form and attractiveness of the song. The musical and rhythmic effect of this poetry arises also from tonal assonance – specific short patterns of syllabic tones repeated at intervals as in the song **our brother (sn 18)**

The rhythm of the song/dance provides the fixed framework within which the song must be developed, a framework which is likely to continue for a long period of time during which the song is repeated again and again. The various Tugen wedding songs can be seen to shade into songs for dancing for in each case the singing accompanies rhythmic movement and for the audience their main interest lies in the rhythm and melody and the fact that they can participate in the singing.

2.1.3 Alliteration and rhyme.

Alliteration which is the similarity of initial sounds in words contributes largely to the rhythm and musicality in Tugen wedding poetry. Though, rarely used in these songs, it contributes to the achievement of the intended rhythm.

Examples of alliteration are evident in the following songs:

‘ Kimwaun cheptanyo kimwaun

rani x2 makimache keitun

kele kobesho kapsandet’

‘ **Makimache: stanza III (sn.2)**

The /K/ sound is repeated in the words keitun kele kobesho kapsandet.

“Akoriren akomuti serem

akoleni woi woi woi”

miyem weritab bich: stanza I (sn.5)

The syllable /ako/ alliterates in the words akorirei, akomuti and akoleni.

Alliteration as seen in the above examples contributes to the poetry’s consistency and unity of rhythm. Rhyme and rhythm goes hand in hand with alliteration. (Assonance). Rhyme refers to the matching of final sounds in the final words of adjacent lines. Rhymes are lost when Tugen words are translated into English. Rhyme is not employed often in the composition of Tugen wedding poetry but when used gives a staccato effect to the verse. At

times it underlines the joyous mood associated with the occasion. Instances of rhyme are clearly demonstrated in the following poems:

“ Boiboen kapkitony
che kagon Jeptangwany
kotamne kapchepchieng
che kagon tungei”

Kongoi eng tumdo: stanza I (sn.8)

“Ara anyun moitanyo
kakekoiten raoni, iwe
itepi komie eng kongung
ak ne ngung”

Tumdab Jerotich ak Kirwa: stanza III (sn.10)

“.....
Singetab kerenge kakoek
Singetab saboruk
Aaiyae kas anyun
Kas kesib kemwoun”

Tumdangwong: stanza I (sn.14)

The words kapkitony and Jeptangwany, kongung and ngung, anyun and kemwoun rhyme in the songs aforementioned.

Rhyme brings musicality and makes the song melodious thus encourages the singers to continue performing the song. In addition, it affects the kind of dramatization or body movement that should accompany the song. For instance, when the words 'Kongung and ngung' are pronounced, the performer points at the couple because the word 'ngung' means 'yours' suggesting the couple henceforth belong to one another for always.

Onomatopoeia is the imitation of the sound of the thing that the poet is referring to. The most common onomatopoeic used in Tugen wedding poetry is 'ariri'. Ariri when used heightens the happy mood that is associated with weddings. Its continued use often brings the audience and the couple to tears. Ariri is a sound that suggests joy.

Moriony is another onomatopoeic effect. The use of *moriony* which means to whistle is repeated in the song **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** creating humour in the process.

“Ye umen itau imoriony, moriony
moriony, ngo no to imorionychini?”

Kandagor and Jebet: Stanza III (sn.9)

Onomatopoeia gives a vision of shape, sound, colour and its impact on the listener as Ariri is used in the song *Ariri* and **Miyem weritab bich (sn.5)** can be powerful.

2.2. Antiphony.

Okumba Miruka (1994) defines antiphony thus:

This is the call and response structure. The classic example of antiphonal delivery is the existence of a soloist who calls the tune and the rest chorus the response. But there are variations in this structure where for example, the two parties are complementing one another rather than the soloist dominating in calling the tune.

In other words, in antiphony there is the alternating voice with the soloist calling the tune and a chorus answering.

Tugen wedding poetry are in most cases antiphonal. On the form of songs, Ruth Finnegan (1970) has this to say:

Songs in Africa are frequently in antiphonal form. There is some response of some kind between soloist and chorus and the song depends on the alternation between the two parts. The role of the soloist is crucial. The chorus is more or less fixed. The soloist has a complete scope to improvise his part of the verse (Finnegan 1970:70).

The songs **Kicham cheptanyo (we love our daughter) (sn.19)**, **Sinende ne kigosengei (sn.20)** and **Iyoni ngo tumi? (sn.16)** are examples of Tugen wedding songs which are antiphonal. While the soloist continues to introduce other words in the songs, the chorus repeats certain phrases thorough out the song. The song goes on and on and only stops when the soloist wants to. The

song may continue when another soloist takes up the same song and continues to improvise on it while the chorus repeats the same phrases. The style of antiphony provides scope for more flexibility, rich elaboration and varied interpretation than is immediately apparent from the bald statement that this is the characteristic structure of African songs. It makes possible both the exploitation of an expert and creative leader, and popular with participation by all those who wish or are expected to join in. The repetition and lack of demand on the chorus also make it particularly appropriate for dancing. Finally the balanced antiphony both gives the poem a clear structure and adds to its musical attractiveness. On the other hand if the soloist is very powerful, he tends to domineer over the other performers and they may develop an over dependence on him at the detriment of developing other talents. The soloist could also become complacent and presumptuous.

2.3. Hyperbole.

The oxford English dictionary (2000) defines hyperbole as a way of speaking or writing that makes something sound better, more exciting, dangerous etc than it really is. Miruka (1990: defines hyperbole as the, "style of portraying a character, object etc as if it were bigger, smaller, louder etc than is the case in reality. It is an overstatement, exaggeration used especially for purposes of satire" (P. 39).

Hyperbole is used in Tugen wedding poetry to mock the groom and also to create humour. A humorous situation where Hyperbole is employed is in the song “ **Don’t be a gossip**”. (sn.4) Nickson, the brother in-law is said to be thinning and now uses sisal as a belt. Indeed, this is exaggeration as sisal is hardly used as a belt and if one uses it then he must be very poor. The image of a person using sisal as a belt is comical.

Hyperbole is also employed in the song **Avoid hurting people’s son (sn.5)** to ridicule the bride who is said to have been sprinting to her boyfriend’s home after wrapping herself with a scarf. The sprinting part of elopement is an exaggeration but serves the purpose of telling the bride not to turn back in the new marriage life.

Apart from being a source of entertainment, Hyperbole is used to mock the groom or bride depending on the origin of performers. Yator, the groom in the song, **The much like wedding (sn.12)** is ridiculed through exaggeration as having the guts to tell his father that he is not the kind of man who constructs fences. The bride is also mocked and warned not to give certain responses to the mother in-law like telling her it is her son who married her and not she. This is hyperbole, as no sober and courteous bride can give such responses to her mother in-law.

Hyperbole as seen above shows the attitude of the performer towards the character he is describing and emphasizes his/her behaviour. Hyperbole usually comes in where the poet wants to make comparison of the characters in the poem with some other natural objects.

2.4. Allusion.

Allusion refers to reference to familiar objects or persons known to the audience. It also means indirect reference to a presumably familiar person, place, event or thing. It is a literary device by which implications are made to ridicule, euphemise and so on. The events, persons or places are assumed to be well known enough to be recognized by the reader, or listener. For example the man had the eloquence of PLO Lumumba. In this example, the allusion is to PLO Lumumba of Kenya, and it is assumed that we all know that Lumumba is very eloquent. And allusive language is that in which there are references to persons or events or places that are well known. The Tugen wedding poetry has employed certain biblical allusions because of the effects of Christianity, a dominant religion in the Tugen land. In the song **Ariri**, biblical allusion is evident.

Our sister is happy
brother in-law is even
happier because he
has gotten his rib

Ariri: stanza II (sn.15)

The rib in the song is an allusion to the Biblical story of how God put Adam into deep sleep and in the process removed one of his ribs and used it as the raw material of making Eve, his wife.

So the Lord God caused the man to fall into deep sleep, and while he was sleeping, he took one of the man's ribs and closed up the place with flesh. Then the lord God made a woman from the rib he had taken out of the man and he brought her to the man.

Holy Bible: Genesis 2:21-22

By virtue of the fact that most of the people are Christians, it would be absurd for someone to seek an explanation in reference to the rib. The rib in this song is Willy's daughter.

There is also allusion to certain common objects or creatures that are assumed to be known by all the audience. For instance, insects like locust and grasshopper mentioned in the song **Share the little (sn.3)** are assumed to be known by the audience. Objects like sisal and barbed wire form part of allusion because sisal is grown widely in Tugen land. Sisal is used to make ropes to tie livestock and barbed wire is the modern way of fencing to prevent livestock from invading other people's farms. Tugen people being a pastoral community, each and every member of the society is expected to know sisal and barbed wire as they are important objects in livestock keeping.

2.5. Humour.

Humour is the quality in something that makes it funny or amusing; the ability to laugh at things that are amusing. Weddings being happy occasions demand that the songs sang during the event carry with it some light moments. The performers of Tugen wedding poetry occasionally create comical sentences either through exaggeration or making amusing body movement. The bride's age mates who perform the song **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** in stanza I deliberately ask the couple who were seemingly looking sulky due to tension to laugh as evidence that they are happy with their union. It is unusual for someone to be asked to laugh as laughter is a reflex action. This deviation from the norm is humorous and the smile of the couple has a ripple effect as eventually all the guests end up laughing.

Description of certain youthful mannerisms is humorous. In the song '**Tumdogwong' (It is your wedding) (sn.14)** the performers chastise Kiprono and warn him to stop what he used to do before.

Listen carefully Musa Kiprono there
is no more halting of girls and telling
them 'I love you' with your bright torch.

It is your wedding: stanza 2 (sn.14)

The picture of a youth with a bright torch awaiting to predate on a girl is comical. The humour is further emphasized because the performers who are village mates of Kiprono are simply reliving the past life of Kiprono.

2.6 Figurative language

Figurative language encompasses the use of metaphorical expressions, similes, symbolism, personification and circumlocution. In its basic form, imagery is descriptive language, most commonly being simile and metaphor. However, anything that creates a mental picture in the mind of the reader can be said to be an image. Metaphor is used because there is mixed audience and so there is need to conceal certain ideas. Metaphors in Tugen wedding poetry give unity and depth of meaning to the poem. There is the use of the metaphor 'Kolal ma' (To start a fire) in the song. **The wedding of Kirwa and Jerotich. (sn.9)**

'Sikole Chepyosok sere	The old women say it is
Kapchi kolal ma.'	Joyous when a home
	Has started a fire.

This metaphoric expression means to be able to support a family. When a boy graduates into manhood, he is bound to have a wife. It is his job to see that family is started. When fire is used as a symbol of starting a family, it means that that you have to look for a means of supporting your own family. Keeping your own fire burning as it were. When one dies, an heir should have

been born. Logs of fire are pushed in to the fires before sleeping to avoid the embarrassment of waking a neighbour in early hours of the morning. The Tugen hate borrowing, especially adopting a child as an inheritor.

The metaphor of a groom (man) having acquired himself a rib (karas) as in the song *Ariri* implies that the groom has gotten himself a companion, an individual who shall be part of him as a rib is part of person. The companion will be of much help in daily chores especially domestic and conjugal duties.

The imagery used in Tugen wedding poetry has its images gotten from the fauna and flora available in the Tugen environment/world. They are things that are drawn from the local environment and they are things which the couple and the entire audience are familiar with. These images enhance the authenticity of the poems. The livestock mentioned provide milk, meat prestige and clothing to the couple. Most images are related to livestock because the Tugen are basically pastoralists. In the song **Avoid hurting people's son, (sn.5)** Jepchumba is compared to an unborn Calf resting as the cow grazes. This has the implication that the Tugen highly regard a peaceful wife because normally an in-calf cow is least destructive and very docile. Mary the bride in **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** is referred to as our calf. The image of a calf brings to mind a graceful and innocent looking God's creation. The bride is expected to be clean, gentle and beautiful like a calf. The mention of livestock conjures up the image of milk. The Tugen see milk as a very valuable thing that should

be given high regard because it is a necessary diet for the young expected not long after the wedding ceremonies. Seldom, there is mention of insects because at times, the Tugen especially during droughts resort to hunting and gathering. The effect of simile is strongly appreciated by the audience. It helps them draw meanings and impressions from the comparison. A bride is advised not to engage in gossiping as this is a vice, which easily leads to family break-ups using the image of a mole.

Don't be an underground mover like a mole

Don't be a gossiper: stanza 1 (sn.4)

A mole is a very destructive rodent but is rather invisible because it stays in tiny holes. The gossiper who in most cases is not visible because she talks in low tones is compared to the mole.

A simile is also used to compare the love expected of a couple and the light of a hurricane lamp.

Place it (the love) at the table's
top to light like a hurricane lamp

Put on top of the table: (sn.11) the chorus

This simile is used to mock the bride and the groom in order to emphasize the need of them to show openly that they are a couple lest one may be tempted to engage in illicit affairs. This is because the Tugen believe that when love is in the air among a couple, then possibility of adultery is minimized.

Images, for example *talamya*, (locust), and *mokoyo* (grasshopper) are used in the poetry to enhance the need of a couple to avoid selfishness.

These edible insects are quite small unlike say beef or mutton but the couple is encouraged to always remember one another when they come across some food. Apart from depicting the harsh conditions that the Tugen people have sometimes to bear, the image of locust and grasshoppers emphasizes the need of the couple to share every gain they achieve in their daily duties. At times the image is used to represent even grains or anything edible like mushrooms that either spouse may garner in life struggles. This ultimately encourages peaceful existence and cements the union as each spouse will feel loved and cared for. An important image employed in the composition of Tugen wedding poetry is that of the plants '*Korosiot*' and *sinende*. *Korosiot* is a combination of the fruit bearing plants *soke* (*ugandiasis*) and *Nerkwo* while *sinende* is a climbing plant with milky sap. The plants are often tied on the groom's and bride's necks during weddings while the family members wave them. The *Nerkwo* and *soke* trees are highly valued because they provide a source of food especially during the dry season since they are drought resistant. The *sinende* with its milk is a

symbol of motherhood. The wedding ceremonies were/are the gateways to motherhood which is highly cherished.

Other images like calf, cow, sisal, barbed wire denoted the pastoral nature of the Tugen while objects like aeroplane, pajero, torch and frying pans show the influence of western modernity among the Tugen. It is observable that these foreign images are used to create some kind of humour and with it is some inert criticism of the groom and the bride. These images represent the complexities and the alluring effects of material property which the couple is warned to beware of. The image of pajero brings to mind a fashionable and elegant automobile that can make weak spouse elope with the owner. The reminder of earthly temptations prepares the bride to settle and accept her husband for better or for worse hence putting a cross the idea of permanence in marriage.

Circumlocution is another style employed in Tugen wedding poetry. A person is not only referred by name and left at that. Reference to him or her is embellished with names of his relation, friends, deeds and places of origin. Jepchumba, the bride, in the song **Avoid hurting people's son (sn.5)** is said to be the one who rests inside the cow's stomach as the cow grazes. This symbolizes the gentle and peaceful nature of Jepchumba because a cow can only graze if it is health and has no abdominal upsets.

The bride's age mates and mothers who hail from the bride's home place refer to the bride with pride that she hails from a certain place.

Happy are we the
girls from lomet

Arii: stanza 3

They hail their Lomet home

we are proud of the bouquet (sn.20)

The singers are proud to be associated with Lomet because Lomet is a place in the lowlands with a permanent stream. They are proud to be from a point with a permanent source of water. Jebet, the bride in **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** is also called Cheptala which is the name of a gentle cow which produces a lot of milk.

Personification is often used in poetry when a writer wishes to endow some quality which does not have any life really, with the attributes of a human being. This style is used in Tugen wedding poetry.

Personification is employed in reference to the image of *sinende* in the song '**We are proud of the bouquet**'. (sn.20) Literally, *sinende* is a sacred climbing plant used in erecting family altars and is a major form of decoration in wedding entourage. The use of *sinende* as a unifying agent brings to fore the importance of weddings. Weddings among the Tugen are meant to unite

relatives who have not met for a long span of time as a result of busy schedules. Similarly, weddings unite hitherto unrelated families and henceforth become *tilya* (a relative). It is important to note that in Tugen, a relative is highly regarded and there is really nothing like a close relative but all relatives receive equal treatment. *Sinende* refers to the bride but the singers sing of the plant as though it is a person who unites all the relatives. Nostalgia (Homesick) and happiness is personified in the song **love your daughter. (sn.6)** It is said to have the ability to thunder. The happiness which accompanies the visit of a daughter can't really thunder but is personified to show the magnitude of the joy. It is so much like the mighty and resonating sound of thunder in the hilly Tugen land. Homesick and happiness are personified and equated to thunder because indeed in Tugen a visiting married daughter is given a 'red- carpet' welcome. She brings a lot of joy to the parents especially when she is accompanied by her children. A goat is slaughtered for the family to feast and fermented milk (*Mursik*) is drunk in plenty. A chat which takes the siblings back to the days of childhood often takes place and is accompanied by great moments of laughter. A visiting daughter has all the freedom to stay at her paternal home for as long as she wishes. Personification here depicts the importance of the girl child to the Tugen community.

2.7. Sarcasm and satire.

Sarcasm and satire are employed in Tugen wedding poetry to reveal inherent weakness in humanity and to warn the bride and groom not be victims of such weakness. The singers of the song **Salala our sister (sn.7)** satirize materialism amongst women.

When you see men with pajero,
don't say God one! so I am lost.

The bride is advised to accept her husband the way he is and not be lured by the riches of another man so as to abandon her husband.

Similarly the groom's lust is satirized. He is cautioned not to be easily swayed by the girls dressed in miniskirts exposing their thighs. His thinking that he is lost by marrying the singer's sister is condemned.

A bridegroom who is mean and stingy is satirized in the song **put on top of the table. (sn.11)** The groom, Japhet is warned not to be too economical to an extent that he does not provide money to buy milk for the toddler and paraffin for the hurricane lamp but instead commands his wife to use kindling to light fire and give the child porridge.

Sarcasm is used to condemn selfishness in marriage life. The bride and groom are advised in the song **The much liked wedding (sn.12)** not to tell off their parents when they ask for Bata shoes and Mumias sugar.

The songs **werinyon (our brother) (sn.18)** and **suitors have disappeared (sn.17)** satirize boys and girls who delay their marriage. Bachelors and spinsters are disregarded among the Tugen. The song castigates the girl to make up her mind quickly and get married and the boy is ridiculed for feeding on his mother's food despite his advanced age.

The song **whoever does not know his in-laws (sn.21)** is not only meant for entertainment. It is sung during wedding ceremonies to mock/ridicule men who do not respect the relatives of his wife. A man ought to know the expectations in-laws have in him. It is used to warn those men who have shown disrespect to their in-laws in any way.

The diction or the choice of language employed in the composition and transmission of Tugen wedding songs shows the pastoral nature of the community. References are made to calves, milk and cows. The beauty of the girl would normally be recognized in appropriate metaphor for example a calf. Due to Western and foreign influence, contemporary Tugen songs have with them words which are not Tugen. For instance, Tochit (torch), simama, I love you, soburok (sufuria) , pajero, miniskirt and so on. This indicates the

dynamic nature of the poetry if it is to continue serving a purpose in the society.

Proverbs, for instance, *makialdo konyit* (respect is not sold) are at times used in Tugen wedding songs to emphasize the theme of the song.

“makialdo konyit kimi
kobocho keny”

Respect is not sold. Its
been there since the days of yore.

Respect: (sn.13) stanza 3

Respect is emphasized as a necessary recipient in life as it promotes peaceful co-existence among community members.

Generally there is tendency to use language somewhat different from that of every day speech. At times meaningless words like *salala* are added to fill in the line and add length to the song.

According to Alembi (2002), “language is the main medium of the oral artist in conveying his/her message to the audience” (P. 171).

A skilful artist ought therefore to manipulate language in a way that he will wholly capture the audience and take them to the world of the singer.

The artist has to use words unique to the art in question so as to communicate the message effectively. From this study, it appears that manners of poetic expression, use of symbolism and imagery, repetition, rhyme and rhythm, allusion, hyperbole are some of the stylistic features used in composition of Tugen wedding poetry in the Soro ritual. This shows that Tugen wedding poetry is composed and performed with literary features of style like any other genre of modern poetry. In this analysis of style, the inter-relationship of form and content emerges. The context of creation shapes the content and form of the poetry.

A conclusion on the style of Tugen wedding poetry can be summed in the words of Alembi (1991)

The Style of analysis shows that these songs are rich in repetition, imagery, personification, sound of words and that the words are carefully chosen to appeal to the children. (In the case of this study, it is groom and bride).

CHAPTER THREE: PERFORMANCE OF TUGEN WEDDING POETRY

3.0 Introduction

Oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion- there is no other way in which it can be realized as a literary product. The connection between transmission and very existence is a much intimate one in oral poetry and questions about the means of actual communication are of the first importance- without it's realization and direct rendition by singer or speaker, an unwritten literary piece cannot easily be said to have any continued or independent existence at all.

Performance refers to the live presentation of oral literature for example story-telling, singing and dancing, reciting riddling and so on. It includes the words, movements and instrumental accompaniments. The study of performance of oral poetry focuses on two major aspects: the first is the context of performance. This includes the venue, occasion, performers and audience. The second is how the poetry is being performed. The time, audience or singer brings about different performance. The skill and personality of the performer, the nature and reaction of the audience and the purpose of the poetry also affects the performance. Each performance is unique. The actual place, time and situation when a poem is performed is very important as it gives the poem the immediate function and meaning.

The significance of performance in oral literature goes beyond a mere matter of definition: for the nature of the performance itself can make an important

contribution to the impact of the particular literary form being exhibited. Printed words alone represent only a shadow of the full actualization of poem as an aesthetic experience for poet and audience. This is because the actual enactment of the poem also involves the emotional situation say of a wedding, the singers beauty of voice, facial expressions, vocal expressiveness and movements (all indicating the sincerity of her Joy) and not least, the Musical setting of the poem!

Much of what is normally classified as poetry in African oral literature (Tugen wedding included) is designated to be performed within a specific context and in a musical setting. The Musical and verbal elements are thus interdependent. An appreciation, therefore, of these sung poems depends on at least some awareness of the musical material on which the artist draws, and we cannot hope fully to understand the impact or subtlety if we consider only the bare words on the printed page.

In performance, the artist is typically face to face with his audience and can take advantage of this to enhance the impact and even sometimes the content of his words. A particular atmosphere can be conveyed not only by a verbal evocation of mood but also by the dress, accoutrements or observed bearing of the performer. A full appreciation must depend on an analysis not only on the verbal interplay and overtones in one piece, its stylistic structure and content, but also of the various detailed devices which the performer has at his disposal

to convey his product to the audience, and the varying ways these are used by different individuals.

The poetic flavour of a wedding song is marked by the musical features. For the Tugen., the verbal content of the poetry is paramount. Similarly, Musical aspects of form and performance also play some part in the artistry of the wedding song as actually heard. The occasions of the Tugen soro poetry are easily described. It is a literary form expressly composed and performed for the occasion of a wedding and it takes its place alongside such other social expressions such as drumming, ululating, clapping of hands, and percussion accompaniment to the singing and chanting. The Tugen soro poetry is a conventional medium of expression, with its own canons of form, theme and delivery as well as its own traditional occasion when it is performed. In performance, variations and scope for individual creativeness are possible. For the Tugen, the wedding poem is a form of recognized not only for its clear social importance but also for its aesthetic merit. Tugen wedding poetry (soro) are related to ritual and therefore have restrictions not only on time and place but also of qualification of participants. Since these songs are part and parcel of the ceremony, it follows then that they may only be performed at the specific time and place appointed for the ceremony. Secondly, only those who qualify for the ceremony may participate in the particular performance. It is not right to sing songs related to the ritual outside the social context.

A close observation of *soro* performance indicates that these poems are delivered much faster and in a higher tone than ordinary prose utterances. The singer (s) pours the praise and advice with few pauses for breath and at the top of his/her voice. Often there is growing excitement and dramatic gestures are made as the poem proceeds. The audience too play their part and often laugh or clap encouragingly in support of what the performer(s) is saying to cheer him/her on, adding to the emotional, even the ecstatic mood that is induced by the delivery of these poems.

As earlier stated, Performance is an important aspect of oral literature. The Tugen wedding poetry has no meaning outside the live performance because it is in live performance that this genre is realized and enhanced. Without performance, the full implications of oral arts cannot be grasped. Isidore Okpewho (1985) in his exploration of the Africa poetic heritage observes:

As far as oral literature is concerned, we cannot properly understand the songs unless we direct our minds towards the actual performance of them. These songs are not written to be read but are chanted openly for an audience to appreciate with their eyes and ears (Okpewho 1985:7).

Okpewho's sentiments on performance of oral art are further echoed by Finnegan (1977) who notes:

A piece of oral literature to reach its full actualization must be performed. The time, audience or singer brings about different performance. The skill and personality of the performer, the nature and reaction of the audience and the context. Each occasion is unique.

3.1 Mode of dressing

The performance of Tugen wedding songs both in terms of dramatization, instrumental accompaniment and mode of dress has not been static. From an interview at Kapkwang, it was observed that before Westernization took root in Tugen land, the carrying of specific tree branches know as *Korosiot sinende*, decoration of performers with specific costumes is a significant feature of style. The *sinende* and *Korosiot* were tied at the entrance to the couple's home. In those days weddings took place long after the couple had married and living happily with children. The *korosiot sinende* were special plants (*soke and nerkwo*) because they not only provided shade but also were a source of nutritious fruits. The *sinende* is a sacred climbing plant with milky substance which symbolizes motherhood. This points to community's concept of optimism.

The mode of dressing is also a feature of style. There has been drifting from traditional mode of dressing to modern form. The drift from the traditional mode of dressing can be traced to the coming of the European with his form of textiles (cotton, silk and nylon fabrics). Skewed understanding of the Christian religion made certain persons view anything African as a symbol of paganism and should therefore be abolished. The modern form is also available in large quantities because of the efficiency of the production machines. In the traditional times, there was specific costume/garment to be worn by different persons depending on age and gender. The young girls wore *usyo* made from goatskins to cover the lower abdomen and was beautifully decorated with *masyan* (ankle jingles) and *titir* (hand bangle). The old men simply wear *sumat* (a long coat) and flywhisk. While the older youth decorate themselves with *Ngaria* (ornament made of metal objects, goat skin and fibres) which clinks continuously while the married women put on *sowai* (well made leather which covered the body). This mode of dressing is quite significant. They beautifully punctuate the performers head, neck and buttock shakes. Modern costumes worn during performance of *soro* include *lessos* (scarves) and brightly coloured clothing mostly decorated with flowers. The ornamentation was / is very significant in the performance of the wedding poetry because they punctuate the rhythm of the melody and also enhanced body movements. The *lessos* on the young ladies' waists facilitate the occasional gyrations while the scarves on the older women's heads pass a message to the bride that soon that would be her acceptable mode of dress.

3.2 Structural arrangement

The structural arrangement is vital as well. This arrangement varies according to the performers and the song. The groom and the bride are encircled by a group of singers. This gives the impression of social cohesion. Even when a linear arrangement is made, the female performers take the left side while the males are on the right side as the couple performs in the resultant tunnel. This is evident in the performance of the song **whoever does not know his in laws.** (sn. 21). The performers of this song are always a couple who have duly paid dowry and performed the soro ritual, therefore it automatically signifies that the male performer has been to his in-laws and he is well known there as he also knows them. Failure to know your in-laws suggests the man simply grabbed his wife perhaps in the disco halls or in the market centre. This practice is disapproved and mocked in the song. The slow movement that accompany the songs symbolize the need to take life slowly and avoidance of hurry. The practice of a female / wife standing on the left hand side of a male is a cultural aspect as old as the Tugen people. The idea behind this structural arrangement is to give unhindered room to a Man's right hand which in most cases holds a ceremonial ornament like a staff or a weapon like a spear. It was considered a taboo for a feminine creature to handle such manly paraphernalia and to avoid close contact to them, the women always stood on the left hand side of men.

The circular arrangement of performers during wedding songs with the couple at the center signifies the social cohesion expected. This circular arrangement is observed in the performance of the song **cham cheptangung (love your daughter (sn.6) where** the woman is placed at the centre of the performers. Divorce was unheard of among the Tugen even under extreme provocation. Divorce was viewed as tampering with the society's unity and this is emphasized by the structural arrangement of the performers during the performance. Further, the circular arrangement communicates the architectural structures common among the Tugen. As Aristotle put in his theory of mimesis "A human being apes what is readily found in his environment to explore on creativity" so do the community under study dance in a way related to their structures. Among the Tugen, shelter and other forms of housing take a circular format just like the Kraals of their livestock. It is therefore, not surprising to find the Tugen dance to a wedding rendition in circles.

3.3 Non-verbal cues

The common non-verbal cues in the performance of Tugen wedding songs include body movement, gestures, facial expressions, visual effects and musical accompaniment. The voice and the gestures of the singers are supposed to tell the mood unearthing the purpose of the song. An example of wedding song which employs a lot of gestures is **salala our sister. (sn.7)**. When the singers inform the bride that she now belongs to the side of women they reinforce this by

imitating a woman sitting while threshing millet using mortar and pestle. Similarly, when they inform the groom that he now belongs to the side of men, they gesture by putting the right palm at the chin touching the moustache.

The gestures indicating the posture of a woman winnowing and a man touching his chin enhances the style of humour and more so communicates the responsibilities a head for the couple. A woman was expected to provide food as her title, *Komet* indicates. *Komet* means "she who provides something to eat". The touching of a beard by men is because men often find themselves in this position as they engage in serious thinking and instinctly as they herd livestock.

There is soft stamping of the ground to regulate rhythm. This was quite visible during the performance of the song who **approves this wedding.(sn.16)** Foot thumping develops with the rhythmic patterns of the drum and the clapping. This is done to increase the effect of the drum and clapping. Clapping is not only done by the singers but also by the audience who enjoy the rhythm of the song. This active audience gives the performer (s) the required motivation and indirectly urges him to continue with his performance each time they feel he wants to stop. Facial expressions are observable during the performance of the wedding songs. Facial expressions are used to depict emotion. In this case, the dominant emotion is that of joy and happiness. This was observed in the song **Ariri (sn.15)**. As the song was performed, the performers smiled while the audience smiled even more especially the suitors kinsmen. Another observable

facial expression is that of nodding. This serves the purpose of expressing approval of what is expressed in the song. In the song, **whoever does not know his in-laws, (sn.21)** the performers nod when the phrase "Whoever does not know his in-laws is fined a Cow, he is beaten, slapped etc." Quite often, the performers smile especially the bride's age mates because a wedding is a joyful occasion. To reinforce this joy, the girls sway their bodies making some sexy gyrations. There is some occasional clapping by the girls and jumping by the males to signify the joy associated with the ceremony. The jumping by the males is accompanied by some deep growl. The deep growl resembles that of a cat or a dog under siege that is about to attack ferociously. The men take such characteristics to enhance their machismo ego and often shows their full appreciation and enjoyment of the poetry recited.

Whistling and ululation are part of the performance. Ululation is done by women while the men flap and vibrate their lips like they do when they call grazing cattle. This is evident in the songs **Kiyesta sontoi (suitors have disappeared (sn.17))** and **Cham Cheptangung (love your daughter) (sn.6).**

The whistling and vibration of lips elucidates on the major economic activity of the Tugen, that is, pastoralism. The two sound effects are often a mode of calling animals to come closer to the herdsman. This reinforces the fact that a people's oral literature is closely related to the cultural practices. Whistling (*kemoriong*) and ululation are mostly used as the tempo builds up towards climax. This whistling is a sign of excitement or hysteria (*sema*) among the

women when the song has become too melodious and performers don't want to stop performing. This was observed during the performance of the song **kicham cheptanyo (we love our daughter) (sn.19)** where even the audience were tapping objects to bring rhythm. Whistling and ululating portray the attitude of the occasion. There is a happy mood which is from the fact that the wedding occasion marks social development in society. Ululating *Rrrrr* and *Aaaiii* in the song **we love our daughter (sn.19)** is a sign of hysteria.

Visual effects have undergone transformation in the performance of Tugen wedding poetry. In the past performers would carry *saror* (flywhisk), sticks and feathers and their decorations would include putting on *sanai* (beads), anklets, painting and tattooing. Presently the major costume is the *lesso* (scarf), sisal fibres, jingles and head scarves. There were jingles and headscarves. There was jingling anklets which contributed rhythm rhyming with the movement of the feet and whole body as the drum, tambourine and bottles provided the rhythmic beat. As observed during an interview with Kobilu Kaptum at Boin there was a crescent formation by girl performers and the leader was a head. The accoutrements and instruments are significant in song performance. The wearing of a headgear, colourful skins and production of sounds from instruments like drum, jingles and horn enhance the audio reception and act as visual attractions to the audience.

Wedding songs which are sang suit the occasions of performance which is a joyous one. It is a moment of happiness, where relatives of the bride and the groom as well as friends exchange praises and give advise to the new couple. The joy accompanying weddings is evident by the loud laughters heard from the audience and the frequent hearty greetings by old friends meeting after a long duration punctuated by the words 'Asak', 'Asak' among women or the men firmly holding their hands and solemnly greeting one another 'Oo so meretei' (Glad to meet you my initiation mate).

An aspect of performance evident in Tugen wedding poetry is that of elasticity and spontaneity. Miruka (1994) notes:

In oral performance, especially in song the text is often not fixed. It may be shortened or lengthened depending on the requirements of the moment. The lengthening may be done by repeating certain lines or inclusion in others.

In the presentation of the songs **Werinyon (our brother) (sn.18)** and **suitors have disappeared (sn.17)**. The performers lengthen the song by repeating the stanzas severally. They are also lengthened by changing the soloists and the pitch of the voice; to range from soprano to bass. At other times, an oral performer takes stock of his audience in the performance and uses it as a source of reference by including their relation to the groom and bride and other things observed there during the performance. For example in the song **who**

approves this wedding (sn.16). The soloist need not mention only old men, old women, aunts, etc he /she may even include the name of clergy, political leaders, teachers and another group observed during the wedding. This means that as he performs, he also creates; it is not a mere reproduction of rehearsed material. It is this expansive aspect observed in the performance of soro that is referred to as elasticity while the ability to incorporate new matter extemporaneously comprises the spontaneity.

3.4 Role of audience

Many a times, there are interjections where the audience get inspired and they join in clapping or even singing the song. To signify joy, the audience often join the singing by repeating the refrain. Each gender has a way participating in the performance. The males for instance join in and gently move their necks to and fro as they rhythmically lift their feet and move about the arena. The females join and shake their bodies especially the breasts rhythmically. They at times make shorts jumps as they clap loudly. Nodding of the head by both sexes is observable among the seated old who may not be able to join the dancing. This active audience gives the performer the required motivation indirectly urging him to continue with his/her performance each time they feel he wants to stop. Age is a crucial factor in performance of Tugen wedding songs. The young ones can sing very loudly and dance vigorously while the old ones make use of their heads and gestures, facial expressions and offer variation of voice.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEANING OF TUGEN WEDDING POETRY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to bring out the importance of the songs and to stress the role it played in the society. The analysis of the wedding songs hopes to bring out the Tugen view of life. Meaning is used here to refer to the messages that are derived from the oration of '*Soro*' (wedding songs). They are not only meant for entertainment but are used to pass specific messages to the couple and members of the community. Alembi (1991) cites the following as sources of information while carrying out study on the style and social significance of the Abanyole children's poetry:

- (a) Opinion from elders.
- (b) Author's own observation.
- (c) Author's critical analysis and context of collected poems
- (d) Experts opinion (Focus group discussion)

The meaning of the Tugen wedding songs was got following the above formular. The criterion above has been followed because a deep insight into the meaning of the Oral poetry under study is obtained from the elders who are not only the custodians of the folk wisdom, but also the principal composers of such poems with clear objectives as to how they intend to prepare the young couple for the challenges of marriage life. Criteria 'C' entails moderation formed opinion rather than generation of such opinion. The observation and analysis are based on informed judgement within the context of literary analysis as

portrayed by a variety of literary sources. A critical analysis was done by the researcher especially on the poetry recited/sung by younger girls because the poets did not have deep literary analysis on the poems. The researcher has an advantage of being an adult member of the community with a deep and varied knowledge on wedding poetry as he has participated actively in many ceremonies.

Tugen marriage ceremonies are a never-ending process of development, beginning the day a young man notifies his parents that he has found the woman of his choice often during a special wife identifying ceremony known as *Kiprili*. During *Kiprili* a young man, ready for marriage in liaison with his parents organize a feasting ceremony where the young uncircumcised girls and the unmarried men form a large part of the party. Meals are cooked at the young man's home where "*Tien bo bet*" (songs of the day) are sang. As the party progresses, teaching is given to the young man on marriage life. Late in the evening, food is carried to *Katin/Kaprili* (the place of wife identification) usually a small forest. A lot of singing takes place. It is here that the young man who hosted a party will search for a spouse. Such a young man will have a license to marry as *Kiprili* is/was an important rite of passage. The goat eaten during *Kiprili* shall be scanned in the entrails to see whether the young man will first sire a girl or a boy and also observe how soon he will get a wife. With spouse identified the young man reports to his father accordingly. After four days, the young man goes unaccompanied to the girl's home for an

overnight stay and reports that he is a Sanian (suitor). On his way to prospective in-laws, the potential suitor wears a jingling bell on his knee which announces his intentions and therefore his safety on the way is guaranteed. Two days after the young man's return, his father visits the girl's father for further discussions and usually comes back with no final word. It is only after another three days when the young man's mother makes her visit that the girl's parents give consent. All these journeys are made when there is moonlight. Once a mutual agreement has been made, (*ka-kiil*) the young man's mother sends young girls who will return home with the bride. At her future husband's home, the bride spends four days with the groom's parents after which a ceremony called '*koku*' is carried out where the groom, his parents and bride assemble and the bride holds a shepherd's stick while the young man holds a goat which the bride beats four times and lets it in the parents house. The parents also give her presents in form of livestock which are specified using colours. She then goes for grazing until evening when she will find her mother in-law having put flour and other foodstuff in her son's house and marriage life begins.

After a period of about seven months when the wife is expectant, the husband makes busaa (millet beer) and his wife together with four men and four women carry it in calabashes to the in-laws. Soon after the couples are blessed with a child, another ceremony known as *Kwang* is held. Food and beer are taken in plenty by the selected few old men whose sons have done *kwang* ceremony.

Those fathers' whose son(s) haven't done *kwang* remain at home and those who have accompany the host (young father) to the *kwang* area (*kapkwang*). During *kwang*, the young father is tutored further on the expectations and duties of a father and there after taken by one chosen old man to his home for observation, rest and to be cleansed.

Once a couple have had two children, then they can now wed (*kantuniso*) which is a source of the *soro* (wedding songs) discussed in this study. Marriage is completed by performance of *Kantuniso* ceremony which signals the end of debt to the wife's family. *Kantuniso* is done once a number of children have been born so there is no return of dowry. The *kantuniso* (wedding) gives the husband complete authority over his wife as after *kantunisiet* (marriage) she can't divorce him, but also it makes him independent of his parents in-law as after this ceremony they cannot force the bride to leave her husband and marry another man. Despite the fact that the husband holds authority over the wife, he has to seek her consent in future if he wishes to have a second or third wife. During the wedding, blessings are showered on the couple and thereafter beers are taken in plenty. The couple put on special regalia like *seretyon* (root grass), *moikut* (a fruitful tree), and *sinende*. The root grass symbolized a cleansing agent. A very important man known as *Baserek*, who shall remain a good friend to the family at all times presides over the ceremony.

Tugen weddings are always occasions for excitement, accompanied by gaiety, laughter and perhaps a few momentary fears and certainly one or two tears. It is one of the most memorable undertakings. The songs were sung mostly by the age mates of the bride on the day of the wedding. It was usually expected that the bride show sorrow and actually cry at having to leave her people. Such songs were supposed to taunt her to tears. The songs also reminded her of traditional expectation of a wife.

In the traditional society, a woman was supposed to obey her husband all the time. Women were free to air their views but men had the final say. The performers of wedding songs stressed the same importance of obedience in their songs during a wedding. The bride, for instance, in the song **Thank you for the ceremony (sn.8)** is advised to avoid unnecessary verbal exchanges but rather to listen to her husband to ensure family stability. Obedience was necessary for a peaceful co-existence in the family which is a prerequisite for socio- economic development. The verbal exchanges that the bride is asked to avoid are often some nagging nuances that cause irritation. The verbal exchanges are also to be avoided because the children copy the parents and quarrels are likely to have a negative impact on the development of the child like causing stress and mental disturbance.

Some songs for example **Avoid hurting people's sons (sn.5)** mocked the bridegroom for having frequented the bride's home after traveling long distances. The idea behind traveling for long distance signals the effort the groom made to acquire the bride. Spending such an effort further shows that indeed the bride must be a jewel (worthy, precious wife) for no one would spend time and energy traveling long distances to acquire a not- so - good wife. Traveling long distance is also the community's time proven method of curbing in-breeding/ incest. Incest is a taboo among the Tugen and whoever commits this is banished from the community. A child sired through incest is called *Lakwe bo tilya* (A child of a relative) and such child /children will suffer the penalty of not being given an opportunity of leadership apart from living on the periphery of the clan. The frequency at the bride's home further suggests the desperation of the groom. All efforts had to be put in order to acquire a wife. The groom's relatives equally mocked the bride for having grabbed her clothing occasionally to visit her boyfriend.

To make the mockery effective, the performers exaggerate a lot. The bridegroom is ridiculed and warned against mistreating his newly wedded wife. This mockery has a humorous effect on the audience especially among the unmarried young men/women who confirm that their own 'wooing styles' is after all not a new phenomenon in the society. Mistreating of women is highly condemned in Tugen poetry since a woman was a very important human resource. She is important because women bring three things in marriage:

their agricultural labour, their domestic labour and their reproductive potential. Men clear farms, fence and irrigate while the women dig, sow, weed and harvest the crops. The Tugen conceive marriage as a joint project in which men and women work together to produce foodstuff, to maintain their herds and rear children. He must remember that she was looked after very well by her parents.

Another song, **don't be a gossip (sn.4)** tells of the bride's beauty. She is so beautiful that there are no scars on her face proving the ultimate care she received from her parents. The people's definition of beauty lay not on the physical aspects but more importantly on her reproductive ability and character. During an interview at Kapkojiryon, Mzee Kassim Arap Chepkonga defined a beautiful woman as follows:

Physically a beautiful woman is generally one who is tall and endowed with milk white teeth and in the past her body and face should have the cultural tattoos. However, a beautiful woman is one who comes with procreation potential, in fact the Tugen says: A woman is very beautiful if her breast milk is white.

This suggests fertility because without fertility there would be no milk in her breasts. Her character should be humble, obedient, hardworking, welcoming and generous. The bridegroom is warned against inflicting body injury through

beating. They praised the girl as in the song **we are proud of the bouquet (sn.20)** so that she may not be mistreated after marriage. These songs were used as a kind of protection for the bride.

In the song, **Sinende ne Kigosengei (we are proud of the bouquet) (sn.20)** the bride's relatives praised themselves saying that they come from Lomet, the only place with a permanent stream in the vicinity. Such praises were meant to make the groom feel that he acquired a jewel, the community's pearl.

4.1 Marriage as a sacred institution.

From the Tugen wedding songs, the community understands marriage as a sacred institution. It is a sacred institution because it plays an integral role in the continuity of life. There is the theme of permanence of marriage. The idea of divorcing is a subject of the performer's criticism. The idea of divorce was quite unwelcome in marital circles as this was not only a shame to the groom's mentor (*baserek*) but also a disadvantage to the children. Even under extreme difficulties, the couple were counselled on the need to mend their differences because a lot of wealth, energy and time have already been spent in their marriage. In the song **we wouldn't like, (sn.2)** the bride is reminded not to come and make family members fall apart as this easily leads to divorce. At the same time, the bridegroom is warned against wife beating as this might lead to separation and divorce which was discouraged in the society. In the wedding songs, the poet explores the behaviour of mistreating a wife. The

performers warn the husband in the song **Don't be a gossip (sn.4)** not to beat Josephine (the bride) and then claim she was bruised by a barbed wire. It is incredible to go for a wife and then send her away.

The poet does not however lose sight of the fact that misunderstanding may arise. The poet is concerned with how each party in marriage responds to the problems. The husband is expected by the poet to be tolerant and to endure any kind of problems that arise within the family. In the song, **Jebet and Kandagor, (sn.9)** the couple is encouraged to avoid annoyance and emotions but rather engage in dialogue. The poets recognize that looking sulky, sullen and gloomy is not a good ingredient to happy union. The couple is advised to avoid unhealthy mannerisms likely to catalyze separation like being supercilious but rather keep their cool when tension is high

The importance of procreation is dealt with in Tugen wedding songs. It is the cardinal purpose of marriage. There is the mention of a child in the song **put on top of the table, (sn.11)** where Japheth is asked to provide the baby's food and avoid being mean. Similarly, the couple in the song **share the little (sn.3)** are reminded the need to always keep aside something for their children when they come across some fortune. The mention of children to the couple in the wedding songs emphasizes the need to marry for purposes of having children. There is nothing like 'enough' number of children and people shouldn't avoid getting children. The poet composes and performs the wedding song against

this background to enact the wishes of the community that for the achievement of the purpose of marriage, that is procreation, there has to be peace and mutual understanding within the family.

The Wedding songs **Tumdo ne chamei chitugul (the much liked wedding) (sn.12)** serve the purpose of educating the couple and the people on a number of issues affecting the society at large. Marriage songs advise the bride how to cope with married life. The bride gets glimpses of married life through songs. In their new life; they will have to face in-laws. Life's lessons are taught indirectly through simple songs. For example in the song **the much liked wedding (sn.12)** the bride is advised to always assist her mother in law by fetching firewood and occasionally buying foodstuff like sugar. Similarly, the young husband is reminded not to be boastful and arrogant to an extent of telling his father off when the old man asks to be bought a pair of shoes. The bridegroom is educated through satire the need to know and respect his in-laws as evident in the songs **However, does not know his in-law. (sn.21)**

Wedding songs express the sorrow of leaving home and parting with friends and going to leave with strangers (bridegroom's family). In the song **Thank you for the wedding ceremony (sn.8)** the girls get very emotional at the imagination that Jebet is going to a distant land and in fear of her safety beg Cheptumo (the groom) to take care of her.

In addition, wedding songs serve the purpose of entertainment and amusing the couple and the gathering at large. This is evident in the songs **salala our sisters (sn.7)** and **put on top of the table (sn.11)**. The humour is evident in the song **salala our sister (sn.7)** when the groom is warned not to think of abandoning the bride when he spots wearers of Miniskirts (read prostitutes). The alluring glamour of a city woman of easy virtues makes the husband swear that he has married a second rate woman. The humour comes in comprehending the husband trying to manage the temptation. Weddings are happy moments and people should have fun. Entertainment is mainly achieved through exaggeration and dramatization. At times the couple are forcefully made to smile as in the song **Kandagor and Jebet (sn.9)** where the girls ask them to smile to assure the poets that they are indeed in love.

4.2 Wedding poetry and education.

Marriage songs prepare the couple psychologically on the duties and responsibilities expected of them in their marriage life. The Tugen discourage laziness, and idleness among their members. The belief here is that idleness leads to evil thoughts such as pilfering and physical confrontation. From the onset of marriage, the couple is advised to always keep themselves occupied with some constructive work. In keeping the couple busy, the poem entertains and promotes educational values. The educational component is achieved through the teaching implied in the poems such as being dutiful and tidy. In the song **Kirwa and Jerotich, (sn.10)** the bride is reminded that from now henceforth,

beautification of body is no more but will now be majorly doing chores like cleaning frying pans. The same is also emphasized in the song **It is your wedding (sn.14)** where Doris (the bride) is introduced to wife duties like cleaning cooking pots.

In the wedding songs, **share the little (sn.3)** and **Tumdo ne chamei chitugul (the much liked w3edding) (sn.12)** virtues like generosity and sharing are instilled in the couple. The couple in the song **share the little (sn.3)** are advised to always remember one another when they acquire something. The Tugen community encourage open handedness among its members. People are encouraged to share out what they have, be it food or anything else, with those in need. This virtue is taught to a couple from the early stages of their marriage. In the song, **share the little, (sn.3)** the couple are asked to share the grasshopper at hand. The grasshopper is symbolic of all foodstuffs that the couple may have in their household. The society discouraged selfishness and stinginess as this was likely to lead to failure in marriage. Importance of respect and morality were emphasized in wedding songs. Wedding poetry served as a means of social control. A bridegroom was ridiculed not to be lustful for girls in Mini-skirts while bride was warned not to be swayed by men in classic vehicles like Pajero. This was meant to curb immorality in marriage as this was likely to cause havoc and social instability. In the song **Respect (kondit), (sn.13)** the couple (the Samuel's) are asked to ensure that they respect everyone especially their parents as respect is a necessary recipe to

lead a good life. Wedding songs show the origin of the performers' clan. Mentioning the clan was often said with pride. The performers in the song **We are proud of the bouquet (sn.20)** mention with pride their Lomet home. These songs also highlight tenets necessary for a peaceful co-existence in the society like love and unity.

4.3 The poetry as a factor of cultural heritage

Through the Tugen wedding poetry, the culture of the community is maintained, because people dance and sing songs belonging to their forefathers and so their culture continues to exist. This was evident when old songs like **who approves this wedding?(sn.16)** and **whoever doesn't know his in-laws (sn.21)** were performed. The people danced a lot and became hysterical and never wanted the performance to stop. The participants and audience went wild with these songs because these are some of the earliest wedding poetry among the Tugen having existed since time immemorial. The mood was joyous and full of excitement confirming the poetry's ability to arouse people's interest in their forefathers' culture. The wedding songs also enhanced the people's faith in their religion. Majority of the Tugen are Christians and in their wedding songs they beseech Jehovah to guide and bless the couple and the community as seen in the last stanza of the songs **salala our sister (sn.7)**, **Respect (sn.13)** and **Thank you for the wedding ceremony. (sn.8)**

The couple in Tugen weddings stood to gain economically because *Roteiwo* (presents) were given as the songs were performed. Men mostly gave out grains (maize and millet) as their presents. Richer men presented the couple with honey. Honey was a symbol of sweetness and warmth. The bride was encouraged to be as sweet as honey to her husband and family. The bride's age mates and older women presented the bride with baskets and necklaces (leleyan). The basket is a symbol of a good and hospitable mother. Whenever she goes to the market or anywhere she visits, she must always come home with a basketful of food for her husband and family. The necklace symbolizes the passing from girlhood to womanhood. The couple were together given the gifts of livestock in the form of she-goats and heifers. It is through marriage that a man actually acquires livestock and at the same time full property owning status of an individual man which marks his assumption of full adulthood. Plenty of honey beers (*Kipketin*) were drunk after the wedding. The beer is a symbol of sweetness, unity and happiness. It is also used for libation.

In conclusion, Tugen wedding poetry educates the society on social and economic matters affecting the community. They also show the origin of the clan as in the song **we are proud of the bouquet (sn.20) were** the performers show pride in hailing from lomet. (The place with a permanent stream). The poetry teaches virtues like generosity and respect to the couple and other audience especially the importance of respecting parents. They also communicate an important message like the need to co-exist peacefully in the

home and the larger society. This is seen in the song **we wouldn't like (sn.2)**.

The performers ask the bride not to make members of the family fall apart because of her verbal words and visible actions.

The Tugen wedding poetry is very useful in the society as Kemoli (1980) notes, "Folksongs present an enormous challenge as they are the carriers of philosophy, the beautiful tunes and also the vehicle of language". He further particularly observes:

But wedding songs don't end at the surface admiration of the beauty; they are critical, they are satirical. Satire aims at bringing society to normality and people understand that without being critical, a healthy attitude, there is no way of sustaining normality. In wedding songs, the man is the main target for satirical barbs.

Wedding songs do therefore have a beautiful philosophy, a concern with social balance; this worthy our attention, worthy of our conserving.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

5.1: Introduction

The study investigated certain aspects of the Tugen wedding poetry namely: the exploration of the poetic features that characterize the poetry, the style of performance and analysis of the meaning of this poetry. These components were studied through observation, interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. It is observed that the wedding song is an integral part of the Tugen society and its significance continues to grow even today. In it, cultural life and institution, values beliefs, attitudes, hopes and fears of the Tugen are reflected. The study was an incisive and purposeful analysis of Tugen wedding poetry.

The style of analysis has revealed that the Tugen wedding song possesses imagery, humour, mnemonic effects and that the words are carefully chosen to appeal to the bridegroom and the bride. In terms of meaning, the study shows that these songs offer a lot of education to the bride and groom. The songs pass information which is important for the development and social stability of community. The study also shows that these poems act as a tool of maintenance of culture, and entertainment and there is a beautiful blend between the message and style of its presentation. The message is quite significant to the general readers in that it talks about crucial issues in the society.

5.2: Contributions of the study.

The study has established that Tugen wedding poetry is dynamic and has pragmatic value. The custodians of this poetry are mainly women and bride's age mates. The poetry is important as a tool of cultural education, social control and a source of amusement not only to the couple but the entire audience/society. The findings of the study are an important contribution to the hitherto unexplored field of wedding poetry among the Tugen. It is significant in that it has opened avenues for further research in the field of oral poetry in particular wedding poetry in this community.

This research is a contribution to the study of a poem even in its written form. In the analysis of style and meaning, the inter-relationship of form and content emerges. The context of composition and performance of wedding poetry shape the context and form of the poetry. This research further increases the understanding of the Tugen of the Rift valley and their unique style and content in their wedding poetry. Oral literature is very important for national unity. It is a crucial part of the secondary syllabus and University Literature courses. This study is a contribution to the understanding of the richness or strength of the Africa tradition.

5.3: Recommendation for further study.

The findings of the study show that this hitherto ignored area needs to be taken seriously in oral literature scholarship. The same kind of study can be done with various ritual poems from other ethnic communities to show their style and meaning. It recommends that the wedding poetry be preserved. This is because the study has revealed that the poetry is not only important to the couple but all society members. Given its dynamic and pragmatic value, the wedding poetry is very significant in enhancing peaceful existence in the society. We recommend that this poetry be preserved as a work of art for aesthetic purposes both to the community and the general readership.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STYLE AND MEANING OF TUGEN WEDDING POETRY

A. THE INFORMANT.

- (a) Name of the informant _____
- (b) Place of birth _____ location _____
- (c) Date of birth _____
- (d) Gender _____
- (e) Informant's clan _____
- (f) Occupation _____
- (g) Informant's educational background
- (i) Primary school _____ from _____ to _____
- (ii) Secondary school _____ from _____ to _____
- (iii) Tertiary Education _____ from _____ to _____

B. ON WEDDING POETRY

- (i) What is the Tugen word for wedding songs?

- (ii) When are those songs sung? _____
- (iii) Try to remember a wedding song you sung at a certain time of your life.
- (iv) Who composed the song?
- (a) You
- (b) Your friends
- (c) Adaptation
- (v) Why do people sing wedding songs in your community? Give as many reasons.
- _____
- _____
-

2/

(vi) What costumes were worn/musical instruments

(vii) How was it performed? (Dramatisation) Arrangements

(viii) What images are found in Tugen wedding poetry?

Cows, Goats, Trees, Sun, Milk, Sheep, Millet, Mushroom, Hoes, Cooking stick,
Fruits, Insects, Udders, Machines, Vehicles (Tick the right answers)

THE FUTURE OF WEDDING POETRY

1. How frequent do people sing perform wedding poetry?

(i) Always

(ii) In some weddings.

(iii) Rarely

2. In your opinion, does wedding poetry serve any useful purpose?

3. What kind of people in the Tugen community perform wedding poetry.?

THE TUGEN WEDDING SONGS

KIMI ARUSI NE TILIL

Kimi arusi ne tilil, kituni
Jerono towenyu, boiboiyet
ne tya, kimi arusi ne tilil

Baibai akine Kipsang
ko kakotach toek
che loen. boiboiyet ne
tya iman kimi arusi
ne tilil

Boiboen ichek sigikwok
amu kakotungei lagokwak
kimi arusi ne tilil
kituni jerono towenyu.

Oruten anyun ne mie
akonde chomyet ne
tala kimi arusi ne
tilil ketunei Jerono
towenyo

MAKIMACHE

Salala salala salala eeh
salala salala agoi
ra ketuye

Kas anyun cheptano
kas anyun kemwoun
makimache keitun kele
kosaket bamuru kosaket
bamuru kosaket missing
ye kilenchi koamine
kole konyalan cheptangwong
achicha cheptanyo, achicha
Achicha

Kas anyun bamuru, kas anyun
kemwaun makimache
keitun kele rirei cheptanyo
eng serem ye kilenchi
ko amine kole
kobiron bamuru, Achicha
bamuru Achicha, Achichah

Kimwoun cheptanyo, kimwaun
rani x2 makimache keitun
kele kobesho kapsandet,
kobesho ne matiny ye
kilenchi ko amakne
kole kobeshoch
cheptangwong, Achicha
cheptanyo Achicha, Achicha

WE CELEBRATE A HOLY WEDDING

We celebrate a holy wedding,
Jerono, the last born is wedding
It is great joy to celebrate
this holy wedding.

Kipsang is also happy
to have received visitors from
far and wide. It is great
joy to celebrate this holy wedding

Your parents are also happy
because their children have
wedded. We celebrate
the holy wedding of Jerono
our last born.

Travel well and put in
place a gentle love
we celebrate a holy
wedding of Jerono our
last born

WE WOULDN'T LIKE

Salala salala salala eeh
salala salala till our
meeting today

listen our sister
listen we tell you
we wouldn't like to be said in future
that our brother in-law is thinning
and when we ask him what has happened
He response your sister denies me
food; No our sister No
No

Listen our brother in law
listen we tell you
we wouldn't like in future to be
said that our sister is crying at
the verandah and when asked
what is happening; she response
that you've battered her. No
our brother in law; No - No

We tell you our sister we tell you
today we would't like to be said
in future that your husband'S family
have fallen apart irreversibly.
When we ask them what became
of you, they respond your
daughter has made us fall apart
No our sister. No - No.

OBUTUL KITIGEN

Achech chu tibikwok
Achech chu tibikwok
che chame chitugul

Tumtongwong kabarusi
Tumtagwongx2 Ne
chame chitugul

Kibaibai kekatak okwek
kabarusi koboto
toekwok tugul che mi
yu ra x2

Kas anyun ye nyoru
talamya ibutul kitigen
ak ibwati kwondangung

Kas anyun chebinyo
ye nyoru makoyo ibutul
kitigen ak ibwati
bamuru

Okas we kabarusi
yonyoru kitukul obutul
kitikin ak obwoti
lagokwok

MEEKU KIPKASNGAL

Kas anyun kimatiny
meeku kipchutnguny,
kipchutngweny bungungwo
magoitu tupchenyo kotebei
omitwokik obartaek keldo
ibartaek keldo ibartaek keldo
ak ilenji chekchinkei

Kas anyun tupchenyo
meeku kipkasngal,
kipkasngal eng sangta
mankiitu koskoleny
ibunguste eng kurkat
ak ilen kikaikai buch.

Kas anyun tupchenyo,
kuschin kong bamuru
ngokotuissei longit imwaech
nguno makimache si
mutai ilenchech orono
bamuru Nickson rotengei
makongen.

Kas anyun bamuru
kuschin kong tupchenyo
ngot kotinyei berut mwawech
nguno makimache si
mutai ilenchech orono
tupchengwong Josphine
akowar singenge

SHARE THE LITTLE

We are your sisters
we are your girls
who are loved by all

It is your wedding ceremony x3 newly weds
It is your wedding ceremony x3 which
is liked by all x2

We are happy to salute you the
newly wedded plus
All your visitors present
here today

Listen carefully our brother in law
when you get a locust take
a little, spare the rest for your wife

Listen carefully our sister
when you get a grasshopper, take
a little, spare the rest for
our brother in law.

Listen well, you the newly weds
when you get anything edible,
take a little sparing the rest
for your children

DON'T BE A GOSSIPER

Listen well kamatiny
don't be an underground mover
An underground mover like a mole
so that when our brother arrives
and asks for food, you stamp
your foot and rudely tell
him "squeeze these to your self"

Listen carefully brother
don't be one who listens to gossip
gossip in the neighbourhood
so that as you arrive in the evening
you sneer at the door and
say it were better you hadn't married.

listen our sister
look carefully at our brother in law
and see whether the trouser fits him.
Tell us now, we don't want you
to tell us tomorrow that there comes
your brother-in-law Nickson, using
sisal to tie his trouser.

Listen well our brother in law
look carefully at our sister
if she has scars in her face
tell us now we don't want
you to tell us tomorrow, that
there comes your sister
Josephine bruised by a barbed wire

Kas anyun kabarusi
amoyei kouno, koberurok
Jehovah koberurok
Jehovah koberurech
ak ache

Listen well the newly weds
Don't do like that
May God bless you
May God bless you and
May he also bless us.

5 MIYEM WERITAB BICH

Kas anyun wee Bamuru kemwoun
makimache siyeimen iyem
cheptanyo met, siyetebyei
akorirei, akomuti serem
akoleni woi, woi, woi,
mi ano sigikchu

Kas anyun we chepi kemwoun
makimache siyeimen iyem
weritab bich met siyetepeyei
ako imekei met akoleni
woi, woi, woi, kokeikei
atebi buch.

Ariri, Ariri ariri eeh
Ariri cheptanyo, cheptanyo
Jepchumba ne ruwe
teta mo, teta mo ko
aketi

Kas anyun tupchenyo
makimache tun ile
woi ai chepto ne
kitom koyeman atunis
kiborun ngo oret ne
kiwendi kapkeino koti
name lesoit akitiech
ne ma yu?

Kas anyun bamuru
makimache si karon
ile oye muren kitom
koyem andunis, kiboru
ngo oret be wendi
akoi koibarak akibune
matatu akibene
emono?

Ariri tupchenyo ariri
bamuru ariri bichu
aeng akorute ne tala

AVOID HURTING PEOPLE'S SON

Listen, we tell you our brother in law
we wouldn't like come evening you
psychologically torture our sister, to
make her cry as she meanders in the
verandah saying woi, woi, woi
where are My parents.

Listen well, our sister, we tell you
we wouldn't like come evening you
psychologically torture people's son
to make him always regret saying
woi, woi, woi, it were better
I remained single.

Ariri Ariri eeh
Ariri our siter, our sister
Jepchumba who rests inside
the cow's stomach as the cow
grazes.

Listen well our sister
we wouldn't like you in future to say
woi, I am just a girl not ready
to be married. Who showed you
the way towards Keino's when
you wrapped the leso and took off hurriedly?

Listen well our brother in law
we wouldn't like to hear you tomorrow
saying; I am a young man
unprepared for marriage. Who
showed you the way towards
Koibarak as you used a matatu
and stayed there overnight?

Ariri our sister, Ariri brother
in law ariri the two of
you and may the best
be yours.

CHAM CHEPTANG'UNG'

Oleyo oo oleyo oo
 cham cheptan'gung' kobilo ee eeya
 cham cheptan'gung' kobilo ee eeya

cham cheptang'ung' kuratu
 Eeya cham cheptang'ung' kobilo Eeya
 emo natulei ee eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' kobilo eeya

Cham cheptangu'ng kobilo
 Eeya cham cheptang'ung' kobilo eeya
 konyonen kataban ee eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' komie eeya
 kotoru kei kaye eeya
 Cham cheptangu'ng kobilo eeya
 kotoru kobilo ee eeya
 cham cheptangung komie eeya

Emo - netulei ee eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' komie eeya
 kotulei kot koech ee eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' komie eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' mosoptoi eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' kobilo eeya
 koboto chenabot ee eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' kobilo eeya
 emo kotulei ee eeya
 cham cheptangung kobilo eeya
 cham cheptangung kobilo eeya
 kas koro kotulei ee eeya
 cham cheptangung kobilo eeya

Tolakat korotu ee eh ya
 cham cheptang'ung' komie eeya
 katoroche eng kaiye eeya
 cham cheptang'ung' kobilo ee ya

Emo kutulei ee ee ya
 cham cheptangung kobilo ee ya
 Aaa aaya ee ya
 cham cheptangung komie eeya

LOVE YOUR DAUGHTER

Oleyo oo oleyo oo
 Love your daughter Kobilo eh ah
 love your daughter kobilo eh ah

love your daughter as she arrives
 love your daughter kobilo eh ah
 sound happiness ee ah
 love your daughter kobilo eh ah

Love your daughter kobilo eh ah
 love your daughter kobilo eh ah
 I come from the neighbouring house eh ah
 love your daughter very much eh ah
 she set her self for this home eh ah
 Kobilo has come ee eh ah
 lover your daughter, eh ah

Sound of happines ee eh ah
 love your daughter Jemuge eh ah
 it thunders until dawn ee eh ah
 love your daughter very much
 from mosoptoi ee eh ah
 love your daughter kobilo eh ah
 with her baby eh ah
 love you daughter Kobilo eh ah
 Happiness that thunder Kobilo eh ah
 love your daughter Kobilo eh ah
 Hear as it thunders eeh eh ah
 love your daughter Kobilo eh ah
 so she will visit you in future eh ah.

Love your daughter eh ah
 we will be welcoming her in this house
 Love your daughter

Happines thunders ee eh ah
 love your daughter Kobilo eh ah
 Aaa aaya ee ah
 Love your daughter very much

SALALA CHEPTANYO

salala , salala, salala
 salala , salala, cheptanyo

Kas anyo cheptanyo
 kemwaun kelenji makomi
 chepachu, makomi chepachu
 makomi chepochu
 chebo kipkoskoleny kaibunji
 chepachu kaibunji
 chepachu komostab
 chepyosok

Kas anyo bamuru kimwaun
 kelenjin makomi 'wait me'
 makomi wait me chebo

SALALA OUR SISTER

Salala, salala salala
 salala. Salala our sister

Listen well our sister
 we tell this, there is no more
 of this, there is no more of this
 there is no more of this
 of late evening, you've belonged
 to these ones, you have belonged
 to these ones the side
 of women

Listen well our brother in law
 we tell you this there is no more
 wait me', there is no more wait me

kipkoskolony kaibunji
chepachu komostab
murenik

Kas anyun cheptanyon kimwaun kelenjin
yeiger murenik, yeiger
murenik che tindo pajero
melle Mungu Mmoja !
kumbe nimepotea ibetieni ano ak komi
bamuru gaa?

Kas anyo bamuru kimwoun
lkelenjin yoiger tibik, yoiker tibik
chetindoi mini-skirt melle
Mungu Mmoja! kumbe
nimepotea ibentieni ano ak
komi cheptanyo?

Saisere kapkorony , saisere
kipkorony ngoribok
Jehovah, Ngoribok Jehovah
ngoribok Jehovah agoi
tun ketuye.

of late evening you've belonged to
these ones the side of men

Listen well our sister we tell you this
when you see men, when you see
men with pajero, don't say
God one ! so I am lost
where did you get lost, where
did you get lost and our
brother in law is at home?

Listen well our brother in law, we
tell you this, when you see girls, when you see girls
dressed in mini skirts. Don't
say God one ! so iam
lost where did you get lost
and our sister is there ?

Bye bye, the koronyi's, bye bye
the Korony's. May God bless you. May
God bless you until we
meet again.

8

KONGOI ENG TUMDO

Kongoi wee tupchenyo
kongoi wee jepkwen
akobo tumdonmgwong
ne kaigurech ra.

Boiboen Kapkitony
che kagon Jeptangwany
kotamne kapchechieng
che kagontunjigei.

Kisomin Cheptumo
Iribwech Jebet, makimache
tewernat ne bo ga.

Kimwaun wee Jebet, kimwaun
kele, makimache kayunyuny
ne bo go.

Saisere kapkitony koboto
toekwok, ngoberurok
Jehovah agoi tun
ketuiye.

THANK YOU FOR THE WEDDING CEREMONY

Thank you wee our kinsman
Thank you wee the middle-born
for your wedding
that you have invited us today.

The kitony family are happy
for giving their daughter.
The Chepchieng's are happier
for having married one.

We ask you cheptumo
to take care of Jebet, we don't
want disagreements at home.

We tell you Jebet, we tell you
this, we don't want frequent
lamentations in the house.

Bye bye kitony's family
plus your friends, May God
bless you until we
meet again.

9 KANDAGOR AK JEBET

Ache chu tupchosiekab Mary
Kiboiboi ra eng tumdab
Jeptanyo, ara kobilo irori
kitigen, rori roi si keger
boiboiengung

Rori so! Ai yaya
asak wee moitanyo
ketyingeil Ai ya ya

KANDAGOR AND JEBET

We are Mary's relatives
today we are happy for our sister's wedding; Kobilo,
smile a bit, smile so as
we are sure you are happy.

please smile' Ai ya ya
Asak wee our calf
Again! A i ya ya
Asak wee the gentle one

asak wee cheptala

Kimwaun maria Jebet magimache
kit neo tewernatet, ye umen
itau inerech, nerech nerech
ngo noto inerekchi?

Joseph? Achicha
Ololo magimache

Kimwaun Joseph Kandagor
Magimache kit nou morioganatet
ye umenitau imoriony, moriony
moriony, ngo noto imoriongchini?

Alak? Achicha
Ololo magimache

We tell you Mary Jebet, we don't
want uncouth mannerisms as
the sun sets, you begin getting
annoyed, annoyance always;
who are you annoyed with ?

Joseph? oh no;
No indeed, we don't want that.

We tell you Joseph Kandagor
we don't want
evening whistling; whistling
always; who are whistling to?

Others (girls)? Oh no!
indeed we don't want that

10 TUMDAB JEROTICH AK KIRWA

Kongoi inye Kirwa nekagoyan
Jerotich, kole kitepye tuwai
eng koigeny ak koigeny

Sikole boisiek paipai kole paipai
Sikole boisiek paipai kole paipai

Kas anyun Kirwa matinyalel
Jerotich, opotepi tuwai
eng chomye ne talal

sikole chepyosok sere
kapchi kolal ma.

Ara anyun moitanyo
kakekoiten raoni, iwe
itepi komie eng kongung
ak ne ngung.

sikole neranik onamten no
chomyono.

Mekomi singetab singetab kerenge
kakoek singetab, singetab saburiet
saisere tupchosiek
saisere tupchosiek.

opotepi ne tala eng koigeny ak koigent
sikole boisiek paipai kole paipai
Sikole chepyosok sere kapchi kolalma
sikole neranik onamten no
chomyono.

THE WEDDING OF KIRWA AND JERUTICH

Thank you Kirwa who has been accepted
by Jerotich for agreeing to be
together forever and ever.x2

The old men pronounce
much happiness on this
The old men pronounce
much happiness on this

Kirwa, you should never
harass Jerotich, go and stay
in gentle love.

The old women say
it is joyous when a home has
started a fire.

So our calf, we've given you
out today, go and stay well
in your home with your spouse.

The youth say; keep your
love alive.

There is no more daily cleaning of legs
It is now the cleaning of pans
Bye bye relatives
Bye bye relatives.

Go and stay well forever and ever
The old men pronounce happiness
The old women say it is joyous when a home
has started fire
The youth say keep your love alive.

1 ONDE MESET BARAK

Amonde chamyengwng kap Japhet
kureretab mesa
Amonde chamyengwng KapJaphet
kureretab mesa

PUT ON TOP OF THE TABLE

The Japhet's don't
put your love under the
table
The Japhet's don't put
your love under the table

Onde-onde meset barak
kolal kou taet
Onde-onde meset barak
kolal kou taet

Yelenjin cheptanyo we Japhet momi
chekab lakwet
melenji melenji cheptanyo kobanjo
musarek

Yelenjin cheptanyo wee Japhet
momi mwaitab taet x2
melenji melenji cheptanyo kobanjo
sikorik

place it - place it at the table's top
to light like
a hurricane lamp

When our sister tells
you Japhet the child's milk is over
please don't respond; what
of the porridge

Japhet ! When our sister
tells you we have run out of paraffin
please don't tell her to
light the kindling.

12 TUMDO NE CHAMEI CHITUGUL

Tumdo ee tumdo ee
ne chamei chitugul
tumdo ee tumdo ee
oiye - ta gura

Kas anyun wee Yator - yelenjin
babangung kerwo karwet Oboi
melle, haki ya mungu ng'o ne
chutei sereiwo -Acha
mauno

Achicha mauno, achicha
mauno achicha mauno
acha mauno

Kas anyo wee cheptanyo
yelenjin mamangung ilwo kwenik
lakwani melle haki ya mungu
kaituna anan werit - Acha
mauno

Kas ayun bamuru yelenjin
babangung alwo kweonik
Oboi melle haki ya mungu
ma Bata koi nyu mi bata
Limuru - Acha mauno

Kas anyun cheptanyo yelenjin
mamangung alwo sukarok
lakwani mele haki ya Mungu
ma Mumias koiyu - Acha mauno

THE MUCH LIKED WEDDING

This is the wedding. This is wedding
the one liked by all. This is the wedding
oiye. It shall be seen
today

Listen Yator - When your
Father asks you to repair the
fence Do not swear by God that
it is not you to pull branches -
No indeed; It isn't so

No it isn't so, No it isn't so ,
No it isn't so, no indeed
It isn't so!

Listen our sister when your
mother asks you politely to assist in
fetching fire wood, do not
swear by God that is not you who
married her but your son - No
indeed it isn't so.

Listen our brother - in-law when
your father asks you to buy
him a pair of shoes - do not
swear by God that your house
Is not the Bata Factory, and that Bata
is in Limuru - No it isn't so

Listen our sister when your
mother asks for sugar do not
swear by God that your house
is not Mumias factory - no
it is n't so.

KONDIS

Kondit Kipchumba kondit
Jepkorir kondit kotoror wee
kaeb kab Samuel

Kimwoun Kipchumba mie
irib Jepkorir kou ye
Kiribei sigikche komi gaa

Kimwaun Jepkorir mie irib
Kipchumba kou ye kiribei
sigikche ko mi gaa

Kimwaok kapsamwel
okonyit sigikwok
makialdo konyit komitei
kobocho ken

Saisere Jepkorir saisere
Kipchumba koribok
Jehovah kotatun ketuye

14 **TUMDONGWONG**

Tumdo - tumdongwong wee
kaeb kab - Samuel
tumdo tumdangwong ne
chamei chitugul.

Kas anyun wee Doris
Jepchumba, makomi
sigetab kerenge kakoek
singetab saburok
Aiyae kas anyun
kas kesib kemwoun.

Kas anyun wee
Musa Kiprono, makomi
simama 'I love you' ak
tochit ne lale
sitima Aiyae
kas anyun kas
kesib kemwoun.

ARIRI

Ariri, Ariri, Ariri eee
Ariri tumdangwong
nekaituyo kiptaiyat,
nekaituiyo kiptay
ne kaituiyo kiptaiyat
eng kap Willy raeni.

Boiboen kabigoi kotamne
kapsande, kotamne
kapsande negikochin

RESPECT

Kipchumba and Jepkorir
Respect is paramount and
the Samuel's should know that.

we ask you Kipchumba
to take care of Jepkorir
as her parents did while
she was still at her parents home

We ask you Jepkorir to
take care of Kipchumba
like his parents did while
he was still at his
father home.

We ask you the Samuel's
to always respect your
parents. Respect is not sold
for it's been there since
the days of yore.

Bye bye Kipchumba
and Jepkorir, may
God take care of you
until we meet again.

IT IS YOUR WEDDING

It is your wedding ceremony
you, the Samuel's
It is your wedding ceremony
the one liked by all.

Listen carefully Doris
Jepchumba, there is no more
frequent cleaning of the legs but now it
is the cleaning of cooking pots
Aiya ee, listen well
Listen - you better be told now.

Listen carefully - Musa Kiprono
there is no more halting of
girls and telling them
'I love you' with your
very bright torch
listen well. You better
be told now.

ARIRI

Arir, Ariri Ariri ee
Ariri your wedding
that the Lord has
blessed and bound this day
at Willy's compound.

The bride's kinsmen
are happy and definitely
the Groom's people should
be happier for we have

Boiboi cheptanyo
kotamne bamuru,
kotamne bamuru,
nekakonyor karastanyi

Boiboen tibik - tibikab
lomet gaa kotamne
toekwok che kakobwa
tumtongwong

6 IYONI NGO TUMI?

S: Iyoni ng'o tumi?
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni Chepyosok
All: Iyoni Asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni ng'o tumi?
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni boisiek
A: Iyoni Asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni kole nee?
A: Iyoni kole wei, Asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni ngo tumi
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni kwonyichu
A: Iyoni, Asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni ngo tumi?
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni murenik
A: Iyoni Asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni kole nee?
A: Iyoni kole ne, asak Iyoni
S: Iyoni ngo tumi?
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni sengisiek
A: Iyoni Asak iyoni
S: Iyoni ngo tumi ?
A: Iyoni
S: Iyoni mecheiwek
A: Iyoni. Asak iyoni
S: Iyoni kole nee?
A: Iyoni kole WEI Asak iyoni

7 KIYESTA SONTOI

Nerekan Evelyn
Iyoe ne ee?
Nerekan Evalyn
Iyoe nee?
Kiyesta sontoi kutkulany nteke
lenjin babangung kutekuny kong'ung'
lenjin babangung kutekuny kong'ung'

Nerekan Evalyn
Iyoene ee?
Nerekan Evelyn
Iyoe nee
Kiyesta sontoi kutkulany nteke
lenjin babangung kutekuny kong'ung'
lenjin babangung kutekuny kong'ung'

Our sister is happy
Brother in law is even
happier because he
has gotten his rib

Happy are we the
girls from Lomet. Definitely
the guests who've
witnessed this nuptial
vows are happy
WHO APPROVES THIS WEDDING?

Who approves this wedding?
It is approved
Old mothers approve it
It is approved with much happiness.
Who approves this wedding?
It is approved.
Old men approve it.
It is approved with much happiness
How do they approve it?
By saying Yes with great joy
who approves this wedding?
It is approved
Young mothers approve it
It is approved with much happiness
who approves this wedding?
It is approved
The young men approve it
They approve with happiness
How do they approve it?
They approve with great joy
Who approves this wedding?
It is approved
The aunts approve it
They approve with great joy
Who approves this wedding
It is approved
The in-laws approve it
They approve with great joy
How do they approve it?
By saying YES with great joy

SUITORS HAVE DISAPPEARED

Lady Evalyn
what are you doing?
lady Evalyn
what are you doing?
suitors have disappeared, the've boarded aeroplanes
Tell your father to build you a hut
Tell your father to build you a hut

Lady Evalyn
what are you doing?
lady Evalyn
what are you doing?
suitors have disappeared, the've boarded aeroplanes
Tell your father to build you a hut
Tell your father to build you a hut

WERINYON

S: Werinyon

A: Eee oe Arap baba

S: Werinyon

A: Eee oeAa aiya

Tulagat isib inyo ye mechome
tulagat iwe igor

A: Eee oe Arap baba

S: Werinyon

A: Eee oeAa aiya

Tulagat isib inyo ye mechome
tulagat iwe igor.

KICHAM CHEPTANYO

S: Oye leyo

A: Kicham chepkicham amu kagurech

S: Oye leyo

A: Kicham chepkicham amu kagunech

S: Oye leyo

A: Kicham cheptanyo amu kagurech

kirotan korosiot sinende

welinyo mi boiyon

S: Kibune lomet ee

A: Kicham cheptanyo amu kagurech

S: cham cheptanyo ee

A: Kicham Cheptanyo amu

kagunech ... kirotan korosiot

sinende welinyo mi boiyon

kicham chepkicham amu kagurech

S: Chepyosuchu

A: Kicham cheptanyu amu kagurech

S: Oye leyo

A: Kiroten korosiot sinende

welinyo mi boiyon kicham

cheptanyo amu kagurech

S: Rrrrr

A: Aaaii

SINENDE NE KIGOSENGEI

S: Sinende nyo ne kicham

Kigosengei

A: Sinende nyo

S: Ituisot Kamama

A: Sinende nyo

S: Ituisot Kapkugo

A: Sinende nyo ne

kicham kigosengei

sinende nyo

S: Asak anyo warekcho

A: Sinende nyo

S: Kaskoro kotulei

A: sinende nyo

S: kaskoro kamama

A: sinende nyo ne

kicham kigosengei

OUR BROTHER

Our brother

Eee oe son of our father

Our brother

ee oe Aa aiya

come early tomorrow

evening. It you don't like , go on exile.

Eee oe son of father

Our brother

Eee oe - aaaiya

come early tomorrow evening if

you don't like go on exile.

WE LOVE OUR DAUGHTER

Oye leyo

we love the beloved for the invitation

Oye leyo

we love the beloved for the invitation

Oye leyo

we love the beloved for the invitation

we celebrate with a bouquet of sinende

towards where there is an old man

We hail from Lomet

we love the beloved for the invitation

we love our daughter ee

We love our daughter for the invitation

We celebrate with a bouquet of sinende

towards where there is an old man

we love the beloved for the invitation

You old mothers

We love our daughter for the invitation

Oye leyo

We celebrate with a bouquet of sinende

towards where there is an old man. We love

Our daughter for the invitation

S: Rrrrr

A: Aaaii

WE ARE PROUD OF THE BOUQUET

S: Our sinende that has been

our source of pride

A: our sinende

S: The uncles get together

A: our sinende

S: The grandparents get together

A: Our sinende that has

been our source of pride

our sinende

S: Joy to our children

A: our sinende

S: Listen as it thunders

A: our sinende

S: Listen to the uncles

A: Our sinende that has

been our source of pride

sinende nyo
S: kaskoro lagochu
A: sinende nyo
S: Chesolu lomet gaa
A: Sinende nyo ne kicham
kigosengei sinende
nyo

our sinende
S: Listen to the children
A: our sinende
S: They hail their lomet home
A: our sinende that has
been our source of pride
pride , our sinende

21 CHITUGUL NE MENGEN KABUGOI

Kilionginei ee babanyon, kilionginei ee babanyon?
chitugul ne mengen kabugoi kilionginei ee babanyon?

Konu tany ee babanyon
konu tany ee babanyon
chitugul ne mengen kabungoi
konu tany ee babanyon

Kilionginei ee kokonyon, kilionginei ee kokonyon?
Chitugul ne mengen kabugoi kilionginei ee kokoion?

kimerchinei ee komie
Kimerchinei ee mamanyon
Chitugul ne mengen kabugoi
Kimerchinei ee mamanyon

Kilionginei ee kukonyon, kilionginei ee kukonyon?
chitugul ne mengen kabugoi kilionginei ee kukonyon?

Kitikonei ee kukonyon
Kitikonei ee kukonyon
Chitugul ne mengen kabungoi
kitikonei ee kukonyon

Kilionginei anyun kokonyon, kilionginei anyun kokonyon?
chitugul ne mengen kabugoi, kilionginei anyun kokonyon?

Kikomotei ee kokonyon
kikomotei ee kokonyon
chitugul ne mengen kabugoi
kikomotei anyun kokonyon

Kilionginei anyun chorwenyo, kilionginei ee chorwenyon?
Chitugul nemengen kabugoi kilionginei anyun chorwenyob?

Kituluchei ee chorwenyon
kituluchei ee chorwenyon
chitugul ne mengen kabigoi
ketuluchei anyun chorwenyo

Kituluchei anyun chorwenon
ketiorei anyun chorenyon
chitugul ne mengen kabigooi
kerobochei anyun chorwenyon

Kiorbochei ee chorwenyon
kikochinei ee kibelit
chitugul ne mengen kabigoio
kekochinei anyun kibelit

WHOEVER DOES NOT KNOW HIS - IN - LAWS

What should be done father, what should be done father?
to whoever does not know his in-laws, father?

He is fined a cow father
He is fined a cow father
Whoever does not know his in laws
is fine a cow father

What should be done, what should be done mother?
To whoever does not know his in-laws, mother?

He is dealt with severely
He is dealt with mother
He who does not know his in-laws
is dealt with mother

What should be done, what should be done grand father?
To he who does not know his in-laws, grand father

He is instructed my grandson
He is given instructions my grandson
He who does not know his in-laws
is instructed my grandson

What should be done then, what should be done grandmother?
To he who does not know his in-laws, grandmother?

He is pinched my grandson
He is pinched my grandson
He who does not know his -inlaws
is pinched then my grandchild

What should be done friend, what should be done friend?
To he who does not know his in - laws, friend?

Friend he is beaten
friend he is beaten
He who does not know his in-laws
is beaten my friend

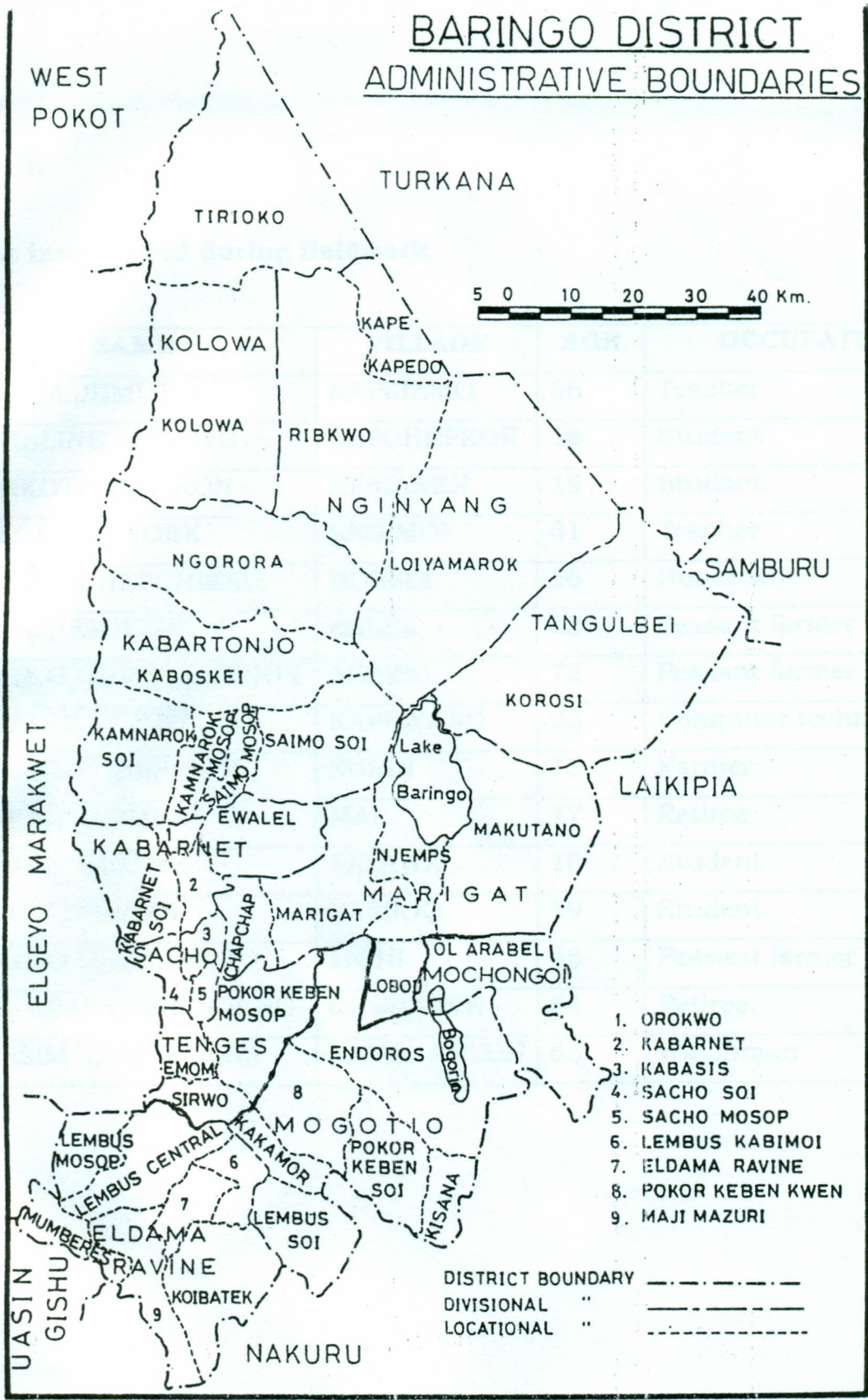
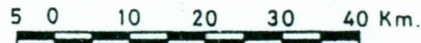
Oh! He is beaten my friend
He is also kicked my friend
He who does not know his in-laws
is also slapped my friend

My friend he is slapped
my friend he is kicked
He who does not know his in-laws
Oh! he is given a slap.

BARINGO DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

WEST
POKOT

TURKANA



1. OROKWO
2. KABARNET
3. KABASIS
4. SACHO SOI
5. SACHO MOSOP
6. LEMBUS KABIMOI
7. ELDAMA RAVINE
8. POKOR KEBEN KWEN
9. MAJI MAZURI

DISTRICT BOUNDARY -----
 DIVISIONAL " - - - - -
 LOCALATIONAL " -

Appendix E.

1. Persons interviewed during fieldwork.

NO.	NAME	VILLAGE	AGE	OCCUPATION
1.	SOPHIA JEMUTAI	KAPKIAMO	36	Teacher
2.	ANGELINE AENGWO	KAPCHEPKOR	18	Student
3.	BARKOTIO SHARON	KIPKAREN	19	Student
4.	MILCAH TUITOEK	KABIMOI	31	Teacher
5.	KOBILO CHEPCHIENG	BOSSEI	56	House wife
6.	KOP CHEMWENY	KALEL	65	Peasant farmer
7.	KOBILO CHEMNYONGOS	AIYEBO	72	Peasant farmer
8.	ELIZABETH JEPTOO	KAPKWANG	23	Computer technologist
9.	KIPLAGAT KIBETION	SURIN	73	Farmer
10.	KIMUGE KOMEN	MAL	77	Retiree
11.	KANDIE GLADYS	SALAWA	18	Student
12.	KURUI DORCAS	KAPSOO	19	Student
13.	KOBILO CHEMOSUTO	MOHI	45	Peasant farmer
14.	C.C. ARAP CHEPCHIENG	CHEBAREN	64	Retiree.
15.	KASSIM CHEPKONGA	KAPKOJIRYON	65	Watchman