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CODE SWITCHING IN THE CONTEMPORARY  
KISWAHILI RAP SONG

DISSERTATION

BY

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the contemporary*

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## Declarations

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree or diploma in any university.

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This dissertation has been submitted to the University with our approval as University supervisors.

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## Dedication

To my grandmother, the late Esther Wanjiru who passed on in June 1995, for always believing in me. May God rest your soul in eternal peace.

And,

To my children Alvin and Wendy who, though young, have shown great patience and understanding during this period.

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I thank God for all His mercy towards me.

## Definition of Terms

**Code Mixing:** A situation where forms of one language or dialect are used while a speaker is basically using another language. In most cases it refers to switching within a sentence.

**Code Switching:** The alternative use of two or more languages particularly where it appears in one utterance.

**Constraints:** A set of grammatical rules or structural factors that dictate the context in which switching is possible within the sentence.

**Habitus:** A system of norms arising from conditions of existence of a particular class or group in society.

**Hip- hop Music:** A music genre characterised by aspects like heavy beats and spoken words and is associated with hip-hop culture with its origins in America.

**Multilingual Society:** A society that consists of different languages being used by its population in different contexts.

**Rap:** A type of popular music in which the words of a song are not sung, but spoken rhythmically over a music beat.

**Speech Community:** A community that is united by a common evaluation of the same variables, which differentiate the speakers. This includes the same social value of linguistic elements, dialects or languages. In most cases this community shares at least one language.

**Symbolic Power:** Authority or status accorded to any code in society.

## Abbreviations

CS - Code Switching

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

NP - Negotiation Principle

SAT - Speech Accommodation Theory,

SD - Symbolic Domination

SP - Symbolic Power

MLF - Matrix Language Frame Model

MSP- Model of Symbolic Power

## **Abstract**

This is a sociolinguistic study that investigates code switching in the contemporary Kiswahili rap song. It seeks to identify, interpret and explain the patterns of code switching, the constraints governing these patterns and the communicative functions of code switching in the songs. The study is organized in five chapters covering different areas of code switching.

Chapter one forms the introduction of the study comprising the statement of the problem, research objectives and assumptions, justification for the study and the scope and limitation of the study. Literature review, theoretical framework and the research methodology are also presented in this chapter.

Code switching takes place in a given pattern constrained by various grammatical and structural factors. This is discussed in chapter two. Chapter three consists of the stylistic strategies that these artists employ in their songs for various communicational purposes.

The social symbolism and the communicative functions of the codes are outlined in chapter four. The focus is on how artists make code choices based on societal expectations and norms. Chapter five forms the conclusion of the study. It includes the summary of the research findings as well as the conclusions drawn from these findings. The recommendations for further research are also outlined.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## THE INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Background to the Study

Code switching is a common phenomenon in many multilingual informal settings. The term code here refers to a system or subsystem of linguistic communication and as such can refer to a dialect, a style of speaking or a distinct language. In this study, the term code has been used to refer to varieties of English, Kiswahili, Sheng or a local language as used in the same song.

The terms code switching and code mixing are sometimes used by some linguists to mean one and the same thing while others differentiate them. Fasold (1984) says that code mixing is where forms of one language are used while a speaker is basically conversing in another language. Code switching is defined as the alternative use of one or two languages. Traditionally, code mixing has been used to refer to intra-sentential switching. The language forms taken from another language are often words, but they can be phrases or larger units. However, code switching and code mixing cannot be cleanly separated from each other, and are better viewed as a continuum from relatively large-scale to relatively small-scale choices. In the present study, the two terms are used to mean the same thing. Since we have both intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching, it would seem more appropriate to use code switching.

According to Mesthrie (2000:38), there is an essentially multilingual nature of human societies. Almost no country in the world has everyone speaking or identifying with one language since each language variety has a communicative value. They indicate a speaker's origin or aspects of social identity and experience. Often, these varieties carry certain social values related to the speakers who use them and the contexts in which they are habitually used (c.f. Trudgill, 1984).

A person's knowledge of his language therefore, includes more than the knowledge of phonological, syntactic and semantic rules. He must acquire pragmatic knowledge that includes knowledge of when to speak, how to speak and what to communicate in any given context. According to Fowler (1971), in order for one to participate fully in a community one must learn flexibility in an enormous range of registers of language. One must acquire the skill to perform appropriately, linguistically, according to the situation one is in, the role one is playing, the function of each speech, one's audience or interlocutor and so on. This is enhancing one's sociolinguistic competence. Part of this knowledge is associated with the social meanings attached to different linguistic styles and codes (see Milroy, 1980).

Code switching (hereafter CS) has been perceived as incompetence on the part of the speaker but research has shown that it does not usually indicate lack of competence on the part of the speaker in any of the languages but results from creative multilingual skills. It is a strategy manipulated by speakers upon being motivated by various factors (See Appel and Muysken, 1987). The individuals concerned, according to Gumperz (1982) live in situations of rapid transition where traditional inter- group barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing. These people spend most of their day interacting with others from different linguistic backgrounds.

In most parts of the world, Kenya included, the ability to speak more than one language is a natural development. Multilingual communication generally integrates members from different backgrounds, which translates to different languages being spoken in different parts. According to Scotton (1993:33), though there are monolinguals in Africa, the typical person speaks at least one language in addition to his or her mother tongue. Persons living in urban areas often speak two to three additional languages.

Kenya is a multilingual society with as many as over forty indigenous languages. In addition English is the official language and Kiswahili is used as the lingua franca or as the national language (see Mbaabu, 1996). This means that most Kenyans can converse in their mother tongue, Kiswahili and to some extent

English. In addition, most people in the urban areas speak other languages that they learn from their neighbours as well as the slang variety, Sheng', which is used mostly used by the youth.

This study looks at CS in song, a literary genre, and specifically the Kiswahili rap song. Song in particular and music in general is an important part of social life. According to Murphey (1992), there is no human society without its poetry and music and when the two are put together, they constitute a powerful force for both cultural cohesion and group or individual identity and fulfilment. Music is assumed to be highly memorable and its message touches deep-seated emotional and aesthetic chords. It is highly motivating for children, adolescents and young adult learners. Popular music in its many forms constitutes a powerful sub-culture especially among the youth. Finnegan (1970) in explaining the importance of popular songs argues that they take the place of newspapers among the illiterate in the community. However it is important to note that music appeals to all in society and is quite informative. Songs are also a sure way of detecting social change. According to Akivaga and Odaga (1982), song is an oral literature genre that has the ability of reaching a very wide audience especially in this era of great technological advancement. These ideas all point at the importance of studying song in general and rap song in particular.

Rap originated among black Americans in Harlem and the Bronx in New York, in the early 1980s. There is a lot controversy surrounding the difference between rap and hip-hop and the information available consists of varied opinion. Hip-hop is a catch all term that refers more to a culture or way of life than to a specific music style. Hip-hop music contains aspects like breaks beats and scratches. Thus, there is hip-hop culture and hip-hop music (see Nelson, 1998). Most of the time rap is seen as a musical component of hip-hop mostly because it was associated with black Americans, who were using the songs to fight poverty, drugs urban decay and other issues. Rap in Kenya addresses these issues and others affecting the youth. For example sexuality and Aids ([www.magicalkenya.com](http://www.magicalkenya.com)). Rap can be roughly defined as words spoken rhythmically over a beat and instrumental backing. It also has a repetitive hypnotic beat. Rap music has its own subculture and dress code like any other popular music genre.

Rap singers in Kenya are like Prezzo, Nonini, Kleptomanics, the late K-rupt, Kalamashaka, Necessary Noize, Deux vultures and Poxie Presha. Rap has become increasingly popular among young Kenyans especially since the beginning of the 1990's and in the 21st century. This music has also been characterised by a lot of code switching especially in Kenya. Songs in any society portray the kind of language use at any period in history, hence the need for this study. Song is a genre that has not been studied much sociolinguistically

and more specifically no study in CS has been done in these songs despite its rampant usage and popularity. This is the main focus of this study.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Code switching is a prevalent form of language behaviour and interpersonal communication in Nairobi and other urban areas in Kenya. It is an important area of study in finding out how language is used to effectively communicate ideas among multilingual speakers and to enhance interpersonal relationships. This study looks at CS in Kiswahili rap songs from a sociolinguistic point of view.

#### **3 Research Objectives**

Some of the researches done on CS previously show that there are universal constraints on CS in conversations indicating that CS is not random but follows grammatical rules but none has looked at CS in song. This study aims to find out if these constraints apply to the rap song considering that the songs may be using poetic language. This will add to the existing knowledge of CS in the sense that there might be patterns of CS in song that are not in a conversation.

Song is a source of information on how a given society is using language by showing the value of the codes used and their symbolism. This is also examined in this study. No other study, to the best of my knowledge has looked at these aspects using the song as a unit of analysis.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

The study meets the following specific objectives:

1. To identify and analyse the patterns and constraints exhibited by artists in their songs.
2. To determine the stylistic strategies employed by the artists in the songs.
3. To distinguish the symbolic properties of the different codes used in the selected songs.
4. To evaluate the communicative functions of CS in the songs.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

In order to meet these objectives the research addresses the following questions:

1. What patterns of CS are depicted in the songs?
2. Are there any stylistic strategies depicted through CS in the songs?
3. What symbolic properties distinguish the different codes used in the rap songs?
4. Does CS serve any communicative functions?

## **1.4 Research Hypotheses**

The assumptions of this study are:

1. CS exhibits certain patterns and strategies that can be identified in the songs.
2. Different codes in the rap song perform different interactional roles and communicative functions.

## 1.5 Scope and Limitation

This study falls in the domain of sociolinguistics. It focuses on code switching in the Kiswahili rap song in connection with the use of other languages like English and Sheng. CS has functions in actual language use and it occurs in a given pattern. A study on code switching may involve the investigation of grammatical patterns of CS in the text, types of CS, communicative functions of CS, the notion of base or host language, grammatical constraints on CS that could be particular, universal or relativized constraints. It may also involve the examination of the communicative functions of CS. CS also involves the investigation of social variables that may influence CS.

This study investigates the patterns of CS, types of CS, the matrix or base language and the stylistic, grammatical and social functions of CS in the songs. The study also looks at grammatical constraints of CS in the songs, which involves the interaction of universal principles and aspects particular to code switching as observed in the data. Stylistic aspects like rhyme are analyzed more especially where they directly influence CS. An artist may choose a word from a different code so as to fulfill the need for rhyme in the song. Sociolinguistic variables like gender are considered because the artist's style may change in relation to gender. Most of the time the view of the addressee's sexuality

influences the speaker's choice of words. The age variable is important in the study because the songs are by the youth and they target the youth.

The study investigates five artists each with four songs making the total number of compositions for analysis twenty. Our main concern is on the language use especially because these singers seldom use one language in their songs. They sing in a mixture of the three languages (Sheng', English, and Kiswahili) and have the aspects of code switching that this study hopes to investigate. These artists are Necessary Noize (Nazizi Hirji and Kevin Waire), Kleptomaniacs (known by their nicknames as Roba, Collo and Nyash), Prezzo (Jackson Makini and CMB), Deux vultures (Thomas Konzanga and D. Moustapha) and K-South Flava (Bamboo, Kantai and Jerry Doobiez).

These artists may be viewed as being representative of other rap singers in Kiswahili in Kenya in the sense that their main style is rap and their music involves a lot of CS in the three codes under investigation. The musicians are also based in Nairobi and this is representative of most urban areas in Kenya, since it hosts people from all races and ethnic backgrounds. This is also observed in other cities of the world.

The study is limited in several ways. This relates to aspects like ethnic background, which is not considered because ethnicity does not really dictate

language use among the youth in Nairobi, who mainly speak Sheng, English and Kiswahili. The occupational background of the artists is not considered in the study because the occupation may not influence CS. One may engage in singing as a hobby regardless of one's career. No direct comparison of the musicians is made in relation to language use; gender or level of education because that is beyond the scope of this study whose main focus is the text rather than individual artists.

### **1.6 Rationale ForThe Study**

CS has been studied in many areas of the world but one important aspect notable in all these researches is that CS is not a uniform phenomenon. The norms vary from group to group even within the same community. Each speech community establishes its own conventions with respect to CS. Factors like region of origin, local residence, social class and occupation are involved in defining the norms. Thus, even though CS studies have been done in Kenya, there are still gaps in knowledge relating to the study of code switching. This study investigates CS in songs and this brings out aspects of CS relating to songs by multilingual speakers that had been previously overlooked.

Appel and Muysken (1987), argue that it is by no means certain that CS has the same functions within each community. A socio-linguistic typology of CS communities focusing not only on who switches but also on why people switch

and the context of switching is important. The context could involve the interlocutors involved in the interaction, the topic under discussion and the speaker's intention at that particular moment. Apart from the context the data being studied may also have different patterns. The current study looks at a different genre and a different group of speakers whose speech is dictated by a particular set of norms.

The current study tests the viability of the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis and its ability to explain CS in these songs thus investigating CS using a different theoretical approach. Songs are a sure way of detecting social change and the study will help us understand the current situation of language use in Kenyan urban areas. For instance by examining the language that the singers are aiming at using and the reason why. By discussing the symbolism of the codes the study shows certain aspects of CS through song since song uses language in the way it is being used in the society at any given time.

Investigating CS in the songs has a lot of contribution to make in language learning and teaching as it sheds light on how the young are currently using language. Songs by the youth are influential to other youth especially in the urban areas.

Though song is a literary genre it can be analysed linguistically. This is because literature is language and therefore analysable using theories and methods of linguistics. Linguistic theories are important in the development of language education theories. Linguistic universals like those related to second language learning and language acquisition are important aspects. Students in multilingual societies who may be speaking a mixture of languages and non-standard varieties have a problem in language learning. There are many ways in which work of this nature may be applied in second- language teaching, in language planning and standardization. The investigation of the social symbolism of the codes and their status is also a contribution to language planning in that the value of a language to a nation can be understood from its symbolism.

Sociolinguists have much to learn from studies that investigate the languages, dialects or styles that are employed in different situations. The social norms for the use of language in different communities, social meanings and connotations that different varieties acquire and how these may be manipulated in social interaction are important. Code choice is a rational act and the individuals usually have weighed their options. For instance each code in the song may be having its social significance.

Psycholinguists would have an interest in CS and song and may view this form of language use as being more attractive especially among the youth and

how the mixed code is produced. The study also sheds more light on studies related to CS as this applies to English, Kiswahili and Sheng and how these languages are used interchangeably. The investigation of Kiswahili in relation to other languages gives good ground for the testing of linguistic aspects of mixed codes. Kiswahili is a Bantu language and this study enriches other Bantu studies. This contributes to the on-going research in CS by looking at a literary genre and using a different theoretical framework.

## 1.7 Theoretical Framework

Various theories and approaches have been used to explain CS by different researchers. Two of the most commonly used theories are the Markedness Model as discussed by Scotton (1983) and the Speech Accommodation Theory by Giles, et al (1982) as well as the Functions Model by Jakobson (1960) and Halliday, et al (1964).

The Markedness Model explains the motivational factors that are specific to CS. This theory's central claim is that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes on persona and relation to others. The social motivations of CS are explained basing it on the norms of the society and the social functions of the different codes. The strongest claim of the Markedness Model is the Negotiation Principle (NP), modelled on Grice's Co-operative Principle. The NP claims that all code choices can be explained in terms of speaker's motivations.

The NP rests on three main maxims namely, the marked, unmarked and exploratory maxims. The marked choice maxim explains the use of the more unexpected code. The unmarked choice maxim involves the use of the natural code in the given context and the exploratory choice maxim states that at times the interlocutor makes a choice without being sure of the appropriate code at that moment. These maxims explain code choice in speech and societal norms of

CS. This theory is not used in this study because it basically looks at a speech situation involving two or more interlocutors in face to face interactions while the present study involves CS in song.

The Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) by Giles, et al (1979) claims that speakers adjust their speech styles as a means of gaining or not gaining social approval, attaining communication efficiency between interactions, and maintaining speakers' positive identities. The main tenets of the SAT are the concepts of convergence and divergence.

Convergence refers to the process whereby individuals shift their speech styles to become more like that of those with whom they are interacting. Speech divergence refers to the situation when speakers wish to remain distinct and to maintain their own identity. This theory though important in explaining language shifts in conversations may not really be helpful in the analysis of CS in the songs where the speech situation is not distinct. This is because the artist in his singing is not involved in a one to one conversation. The addressee is just assumed and the audience for recorded music is silent.

The Functional Model by Jakobson (1960) and Halliday, et al (1964) has been used by many researchers to explain the grammatical functions of CS. Various functions are identified such as the referential, directive, expressive, phatic, metalinguistic and poetic function. They are defined briefly below.

- Referential function involves transferring of information by referring to extra-linguistic information. This is the basic function of language and any speaker must have command of this function.
- The directive function is also called the integrative function that involves use of greetings, imperative mode of address, imperative exclamation and questions to create interaction and ensure cooperation.
- The expressive function involves making one's feelings known such that one is seen as a unique individual.
- The phatic function involves use of conventionalized openings, closings and turn-taking and indicate that language forms that identify the in-group are made known.
- The metalinguistic function makes known the speaker's attitude towards language and his / her awareness of language use and linguistic norms.
- The poetic function involves use of jokes, puns and other word play and conscious styles language is played with so that language use becomes a goal and source of joy.

This model is not used in this study because it involves only general functions of language. The current study recognises that functions of a language affect language choice. The focus of the study is not only on the general functions of a language but also on speaker choices based on their intentions. These strategies by the speaker and the linguistic functions are examined in this study

using Gumperz Conversational Frame Model since it involves the analysis of both aspects. In order to explain CS in the songs this study employs a syncretic approach as it uses two main models; Gumperz's Conversation Framework Model (1982) and Pierre Bourdieu's Model of Symbolic Power (1991).

Gumperz's model is based on interactional sociolinguistics, which analyses communication in context (see Giles, 1990:198). The focus is on face to face encounters and is basically speaker-oriented. Gumperz has studied three languages that identified with Slovenian, Spanish and Hindi as the 'we' codes suitable for kin and close friends. German and English are viewed as 'they' codes to be used with outsiders for special types of formal discourse. He uses data from these situations to show that CS serves various discourse functions. This model rests on three premises:

- Small group interactions as the proper research site and the observation of naturally occurring data.
- The social meanings of language use in situated contexts.
- The use of linguistic choices as a strategy that adds intentional meaning to an utterance.

According to this model speakers define the social situation by choosing the codes most appropriate to them at the moment. Fasold (1984) concurs with this by noting that speakers choose among alternative linguistic means, any of which

would satisfactorily communicate the propositional information, thus defining the social situation. Gumperz (1982) observes that in most cases in conversational CS the participants immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time. Their main concern is with communicative effect of what they are saying. The social norms or rules, which govern language usage here, seem to function much like grammatical rules. They form part of the underlying sociolinguistic knowledge which speakers use to convey meaning. This model looks at how speakers communicate and how the interlocutors decode their information appropriately. The strategies that speakers use must be understood by their audience in order for the information to be understood.

Gumperz's Functional Model champions micro-analysis in studying naturally occurring data in small-group interactions (Scotton, 1993). In this model, the speaker is important not so much as an identity-bearing individual but rather as a "participant" in an on going interaction. This model is based on the notion that social meanings are constituted "locally" rather than at the societal level. Thus, if social meanings arose in the interaction, then a speaker's linguistic choices would only make sense as part of an on going interaction. CS signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. It generates presuppositions in terms of which the content of what is said is decoded.

In general, Gumperz model gives a unique framework for studying CS by looking at interactions at micro-level. Other models mostly take the macro-analysis approach, which focuses across interactions to look at societal norms. Scotton (1993) argues that most practitioners who have followed an approach similar to that of Gumperz attest to the acceptance of this model as the most credible approach to CS so far in that it takes the individual speaker more into consideration.

Scholars like Bell (1976), argue that rampant CS by individuals in multilingual communities is taken for granted since the users are accustomed to it and they know that whatever language they use will be understood. In this case, CS functions as a stylistic device. This is the basic argument of Gumperz in his model. Wardhaugh (1986) views this use of CS as a very useful social skill among participants in an interaction.

Gumperz's Conversations Framework Model accounts for members' interpretive strategies or code switching styles. Gumperz views the ideas of linguistic choices as personal strategies, in addition to situational switching, which may be dictated by topic or context. These strategies may also involve the violation of situational norms. Since speakers do understand each other and can agree in particular settings, there must be some sharing of codes and principles of interpretation.

This includes the knowledge of strategies of CS that may also be called the stylistic strategies of CS. These strategies include:

### 1. Quotation and Mimicry

In most cases the code -switch parts are clearly identified either as direct quotations or as reported speech.

### 2. Addressee specification

CS serves to direct the message to one of several addressees in a conversation.

### 3. Interjection or sentence filler

This involves the use of word or expression from the other code at some point in conversation. It is also called tag switching. For example: *Anyway, nitamwona ingawa ni usiku*. Others are: *well, Hmm, Ala* and so on.

### 4. Reiteration

A message in one code is repeated in the other code either literally or in modified form may be for emphasis.

### 5. Message Qualification

Qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complement .eg *the bigger one, yule mkubwa ambaye yuko chuo kikuu*.

### 6. Personalization Vs Objectivization

It involves distinction between talk about action and talk as action , in terms of whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge or has authority of known fact.

These are some of the functions of CS within the text that help people to communicate to each other and to interpret what is communicated. In this study, this theory is used to account for the stylistic functions of CS, thereby depicting the pattern of CS in the song. Types of CS in the song will also be addressed using this model.

Though Gumperz's theory is able to analyse CS at a micro level, it is limited in the sense that it may not show the actual state of language use in the society. It talks of personal strategies of CS. Language as used by an individual cannot be divorced from the society which dictates the norms of language use. The focus of this study is on one particularly expressive genre in a single society. This is important in this study because language in society is expressed in song. The communicative function of CS that includes the motivational factors is explained using the Critical Discourse Analysis Theory. This theory will also show the status of the various codes and how this influences CS.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory was proposed by Norman Fairclough in 1989 in his book *Language and Power*. He was extending the work of earlier linguists like Fowler (1979) and Michel Foucault (1972). Later on, other scholars extended Fairclough's ideas and came up with different models of analysing discourse. These analysts include Van Dijk (1993) and Pierre Bourdieu (1991). This theory generally looks at language in relation to societal systems like

politics, culture, ideologies and philosophies and how these affect discourse. Discourses in this theory are ways of thinking, behaving, interacting, valuing, believing, speaking, reading and writing that are accepted and are instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people. These ways define the general view of the theory (see Mesthrie, 2000).

This study uses Pierre Bourdieu's model of Symbolic Power (1991) to explain language use in general society and the social functions of code switching in the rap songs. Mesthrie (2000) says that Bourdieu though not a linguist, has interest in politics, culture, education and language and offers a base that unifies sociolinguistic theory. He revised Fairclough's theory and came up with a model that deals with both micro and macro-linguistic variation, in the sense that it looks at both how an individual uses language and how the society directs this use. This model has four major tenets.

#### 1. Symbolic Domination (SD)

According to Bourdieu every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant it may appear bears the traces of social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce. SD is therefore implicit in sociolinguistic competence. Each language has its social significance. Some languages dominate others in the linguistic market.

## 2. Communicative Economy

This tenet states that communication is part of the economics of everyday living. Linguistic interaction between speakers (in terms of content and more so style) depends on the social relationship between speakers. Favoured patterns of language such as style, discourse and accents are conceived as symbolic assets, which receive different values depending on the market they are offered. Language use among the youth for example varies according to where they are (context) or their audience. Part of socialization involves learning to produce expressions which are highly valued as can be observed in people who command an academic or literary style or have command of the high variety in multilingual situations.

## 3. Euphemism

This tenet states that the knowledge of a language involves knowing how to use acceptable words according to the norms of that particular speech community. Use of tact and politeness is central in communication. This entails that one should have the ability to assess the situation accurately and produce expressions which are appropriate in that context.

## 4. Habitus

In this theory habitus denotes a system of durable, transposable disposition arising from the conditions of existence of a particular class or group of people in society. Such dispositions include the way one walks, speaks and behaves. Habitus gives us our social identity and character. CS is always a reminder to the

addressee that the speaker has the multiple identities associated with each of the linguistic varieties involved.

Bourdieu uses these four notions to explain code switching and style shifting in multilingual societies. The emphasis is on natural language use in the society. This theory helps us to capture the situation of language use among urban youth by looking at the rap songs that are actually an indicator of how language is used at a certain point in history. Rappers use their songs to fight the evil in the society and to speak for the minority groups even in the West. In Kenya these songs also address social issues such as violence, HIV AIDS and poverty. Thus, the theory of CDA, apart from explaining the social significance of the various languages in the song also helps to analyze the themes, some of which dictate the use of CS. The themes of the songs should be understood in relation to the society they are meant for.

The two theories, that is, Gumperz Conversational Framework Model and Bourdieu's CDA, helps to capture the individual's choice of language and the societal values of CS. The focus of the study is on the reasons behind language choice by looking at how individual artists manipulate code choice to suit their personal goals. The study also looks at how the society determines the choices that we make in our linguistic interactions.

Various studies have looked at CS in different social situations as seen in the literature review below.

## **1.8 Literature Review**

The review of literature for this study has been divided into two sections; literature on song and music and literature on CS. In these sections both general and specific literature on song and code switching, respectively, is given.

### **1.8.1 Literature on Song**

There is no human society without its music and poetry. Music is as old as humanity. People in everyday life use songs and music to set or change an atmosphere or mood. They also use them to make a social environment, form a feeling of community and make internal associations with the people, places and times of their lives (see Murphey, 1992). According to Honigshem, (1973) music plays a major role in the society as a medium for passing political and religious ideologies as well as educating the masses on various life issues.

The Kenyan society enjoys a variety of music, some of which is based on culture and the rest on outside influence. Most ethnic groups have their own music and dance. Grier (1996) concurs with this when he notes that every piece of music is created under a unique combination of culture, social, historical and economic circumstances. Kenyans nevertheless have borrowed dancing styles and even

music from the West and also from the other African countries. The traditional music continues to be enjoyed and enhanced. Western influence on the music scene cannot however be underestimated. This was more pronounced in the 90s and also in this century with the adoption of reggae, rap, rhythm and blues into Kenyan music (see [www.magicalkenya.com](http://www.magicalkenya.com)).

Specific studies done on songs in Kenya are not many and they have generally looked at one artist at a time. They have all been on literary aspects, mostly theme and style. Ntarangwi (1990) looks at liberation themes in Remmy Ongala's songs. He looks at how song is used to critic issues in social life by looking at the means of production in the society. The study uses the social realism theory. Chiuri (1984) and Nkonge (1988) whose main focus is Joseph Kamaru study pop music as a form of oral literature. They look at theme and style. The main concern is to show how Kamaru covered social and political issues in Kenya through his songs. Wambua (2001) analyses style and themes related to social issues in Kakai Kilonzo's songs. He uses the stylistic analysis theory. King'ei (1992), looks at theme by investigating language, culture and communication in Taarab songs of the Swahili. The study looks at the role of taarab in contemporary Kenya between 1963 and 1990.

It is apparent that in all these studies style and theme are examined. None of these studies look at code switching in the songs. The current study takes a

sociolinguistic approach to investigate CS and style hence validating the present study.

### **1.8.2 Literature on Code Switching**

Code switching is a situation in which a single speaker uses different varieties of languages dialects or styles within the same conversation. CS as an area of research has been studied by many sociolinguists. These scholars have set the base for aspects of analysis in CS and have come up with theories and models to account for CS. Scholars like Appel and Muysken (1987), Hudson, (1980) and Scotton, (1993) investigate aspects like the situation or context in which the switching takes place, reason for the switching, the patterns of CS that emerge in a text and types of switching. They also investigate the factors that trigger the switching and the constraints governing CS. Hudson (1980) explains that there's metaphorical, situational and conversational code switching. These sociolinguists also suggest that in analysing CS it is important to investigate the notion of base or host language. The base language can be identified through various methods. That is socio-linguistically as the language in which the discourse is based, and grammatically, as the language that is imposing the constraints.

Scotton, C. and Azuma (1990), proposed the Frame Based Process Model to account for the points in the sentences where the speaker shifts from one language to the other in CS. Scotton and Azuma, (Ibid) define CS in this context

as the selection by the multilinguals of lexemes from an embedded language during the conversation. The major interest is on intra-sentential switching. They provide criteria for distinguishing between matrix language (ML) and the embedded language (EL). The ML is the main language during the conversation while EL has a lesser role.

The model identifies three types of constituents within a code-switched sentence. First there are ML+EL constituents which consists of morphemes from the two or more languages involved in CS. Secondly, we have the ML islands and finally the EL islands. These constituents consist entirely of morphemes from either ML or EL. They must be well formed according to the grammar of the respective language. The model sees CS as a process involving the building of a frame. The proponents of the model see a difference in the roles two languages play in building the frame. Logically, the ML has more overall frequency than the EL. This model helps us in this study to identify the dominant or base language in the songs. This is important in explaining the patterns of CS in the songs as well as the constraints on CS.

According to Scotton (1993), one can date the current interest in CS from the 1972 publication of a study of Jan Blom and John Gumperz in a collection of readings on sociolinguistics edited by Gumperz and Hymes (1972). Their main focus was on social motivations for CS. Other important sociolinguists in the

study of CS are Labov (1972) who is seen as the father of modern sociolinguistics. He described CS as a puzzling problem in trying to study linguistic variation with a community. Thus, before the article by Blom and Gumperz very little had been done on CS. From that time many linguists wrote many articles regarding CS each looking at certain aspects of analysis. For example starting in the mid 1970s some of the sociolinguists became interested in constraints on where in a sentence a switch could occur.

Various scholars have looked at code choices from an economic perspective. Thibault, Kelley and Homans cited in Scotton (1993) use economic metaphors to linguistic variation. They argue that participants assess the relative costs and rewards of the position in the interaction, which are open to them, with each participant striving to receive the best return possible. This view is the one that Bourdieu (1991) adopts in his analysis and which is also used to analyse data in this study.

Many studies have been done involving CS in various speech communities each coming up with important observations of this form of language use. Romaine (1994) examines CS and its role in bilingual communicative competence in a Panjabi speaking community in Britain. The study looks at bilingual children in Papua, New Guinea (see Wardhaugh, 1986). Romaine looks at constraints, functions and motivations behind CS. This study differs from the current study in

terms of the sample and the languages involved. It is not certain that CS is a uniform phenomenon and thus it is important to enrich these findings by use of other languages and texts.

Scotton and Ury (1977) carried out a study on the Luhya language of western Kenya and observed that the speakers had a tendency of switching between three codes, English, Kiswahili, and Luhya. Scotton (1993) continues to explain the language situation in Kenya basing it on a study on natural conversation in Nairobi. She used the Markedness Model to explain how speakers choose their codes and what motivates them. This study differs from the current one in terms of the theoretical framework but it is important in explaining the Kenyan situation of CS. The study looks at motivations for CS but not strategies that individuals employ in CS and the value of the codes used that this study investigates. There is need for a more current study to verify findings and update them.

Parkin (1974) studies CS in the speech community of Kaloleni Nairobi (see Whiteley, 1974). He focuses on CS during social interaction. Two variables are considered in this study; ethnicity and social economic status of the respondents. The socio-economic areas considered are like wealth, education and occupation. He observed that English was used by those who are of high status. Kiswahili shows brotherhood and neutrality while local languages show ethnic solidarity.

Muthwii (1986) studies language use in plurilingual societies and the significance of CS among three languages; English, Kiswahili and Kalenjin based on natural conversations. Muthwii uses the functional framework model proposed by Gumperz (1982). However the sample population is different with Muthwii's sample. This study will target an urban group and the text of analysis is song which may have different CS features.

Gachinu (1996) did a study on linguistic aspects of CS in Gikuyu, Kiswahili and English. It is a comparative study that tries to establish the dominant language between rural and urban Kikuyu speakers. She uses Poplack's (1980) Frequency Hierarchy of switchable constituents and Mathews (1981) Constituency Model of Syntax. Her findings were that full sentences could be easily switched followed by major constituents such as VP or NP.

Muthuuri (2000) looked at code switching among Kenyatta University multilingual community focussing on the choice between English, Kiswahili and local languages. Other than the stylistic functions, the social functions of CS, the social symbolism and functions of the codes involved in the switching are investigated. She uses Giles Speech Accommodation theory, Scotton's Negotiation Principle and Gumperz's Conversational Functions Model. This study is important to the current study in terms of the aspects of investigation but is different in that this

study investigates the patterns of CS and has a different sample and text of analysis. As earlier indicated no society has similar CS norms.

Kanana (2003) investigates language use in a multilingual urban setting in Maasai Market, Nairobi based on the Markedness Model. Her study looks at the functions of codes and the factors influencing these choices in relation to variables like age, sex and race. The study is important to this study in that they are both in the same urban setting. The difference is that the current study did not consider the variables like sex or race as it does not involve interlocutors but a single artist. Age plays an important role in this study because of the target audience. The theoretical framework used in her study is also different.

Nthiga (2003) looks at functions of CS in pre-primary classroom discourse. Gumperz's Conversation Model is used to explain these switches. These discourse strategies are observed to be important in enhancing proper message delivery to the children in these classes. This model is used together with Birmingham Theory of Discourse Analysis to show lesson organization.

Though various scholars in Kenya have done CS, it is still not as widely studied since many areas remain untouched. No study of CS in songs has been done thus making it necessary to fill this gap of knowledge by examining a different

target group and genre. The role of music in language use is also examined. The analysis of the data is explained below under research methodology.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

In undertaking this study intensive library research involving the reading of relevant journals, books, theses and dissertations and any other published material concerning CS was done as well as internet searches to supplement library research. The study was undertaken in three main stages; data collection, data analysis and data presentation.

### **1.9.1 Data Sampling**

The data for the research comprised of texts in the songs with two or more languages. The text of analysis conforms to lines within a verse. In order to collect this data the songs from the artists selected were sampled. According to Milroy (1987), socially sensitive studies of language variation depend on good data. This entails provision of sufficient types and quantities of language. The notion of representativeness needs to be broadened to include different types of speakers.

In order to select the artists judgement sampling was used. The principle underlying this sampling method is that the researcher identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied and then seeks a quota of the speakers who fit

the specified categories. The individuals selected in this study come from ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds and spend most of their time with others of different linguistic backgrounds. These musicians are living in the city and therefore know the mixed code Sheng and they have Kiswahili as their basic language in ordinary conversations within the city.

Only those songs that have more than one language were selected using judgement sampling. If all the songs by one artist were found to be songs with aspects of code switching, then random sampling method was used to pick the four songs needed. In total, five singers were selected each with four songs. The songs selected had Kiswahili as the basic language and cover different themes. This means that those with a mixture of languages of which Kiswahili was one were the ones picked for analysis. The songs picked were those whose base language was Kiswahili, which was determined statistically through the frequency of the morphemes. The singers selected were those using the rap style and the songs selected had different themes since CS may not necessarily be based on the theme. A total of twenty songs were selected. This number was deemed adequate because as Milroy (1987:21) says, large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys apparently because linguistic behaviour is more homogenous than many other types of behaviour studied by other surveys.

Various methods of sampling could be used to get the representative sample in a research. Probability sampling methods which include simple random, systematic, stratified and cluster sampling and non-probability or biased sampling methods that include purposive, snowball, quota and convenient sampling. Probability sampling methods are those that aim at giving equal representation to all members of a population by selecting the sample without any bias. These methods were not used in this study because the songs needed for the study are particular

Not all non-probability sampling methods could be used in this kind of study. The snowball method could not be used because the study was based on recorded songs and not the artists. This also goes for the other non-probability sampling methods. The only appropriate method for this study is judgement sampling. This is particularly critical to data collection.

### 1.9.2 Data Collection

Primary data involving CS in the songs was collected. The data for analysis was in form of verse lines. Data collection involved the collection of songs by the selected musicians. Songs recorded in magazines such as **Buzz** in *Sunday Nation* and **The Pulse** in *Friday Standard* were collected. The songs were tape-recorded from the mass media (radio and television), in the cases where the ones already recorded were not available. Media houses and production houses

were visited for information on artists and the songs. The data collected was transcribed and translated ready for analysis.

### **1.9.3 Data Analysis**

All the twenty songs were taken into consideration. Only the data that involved CS was classified according to points of switching, types of CS and constraints. The data was also classified according to the stylistic strategies and communicative functions. The actual analysis of the data involved first the identification of the points of switching or where exactly in the line or verse the switch takes place. A slash was used to indicate the boundary between the codes in the line. The words forming the switch points were underlined. The glosses for the Kiswahili and Sheng parts are given directly below them. Upon identification of the switch points, the constituent of the code switched data were identified and finally the constraints governing these switches were then identified. The data was then organised in terms of the functions that it is seen to serve and presented systematically.

### **1.9.4 Data Presentation**

The data was presented using the qualitative method involving descriptions incorporating illustrations from the songs. Explanations to account for the observations are also given. For instance the occurrence of the patterns is explained through the application of constraints and principles. The collected

data was classified according to the three analytical chapters of this study comprising patterns, stylistic strategies and communicative functions of CS. The next chapter comprises the patterns of CS as observed in the data.

## 2.1 Points of departure

A poem is a verbal composition which is not a random selection of words, but a carefully chosen and arranged sequence of words. The words are chosen and arranged in a way that they are not only meaningful, but also sound good. A poem is a verbal composition which is not a random selection of words, but a carefully chosen and arranged sequence of words. The words are chosen and arranged in a way that they are not only meaningful, but also sound good.

# CHAPTER TWO

## PATTERNS OF CODE SWITCHING

### 2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with introduction to the study. This chapter seeks to identify and analyse the linguistic patterns of code switching in the songs, in terms of the manner in which code switching (henceforth CS) takes place. This includes the points of switching and the structural constraints governing the switches. The objective of this chapter is to show that CS is not a random process. Rather it occurs in a given manner exhibiting a certain pattern. The word pattern here means model or design of occurrence of CS. The term pattern in this study specifically refers to where in the text code switching takes place. The types code switching are also discussed as shown through the code switch patterns. Alongside patterns, this chapter addresses the constraints that actually influence these patterns by controlling where a switch is possible.

### 2.1 Points of Switching

A code switch utterance normally exhibits a kind of pattern in relation to the various points within the line in the song. Three major points of switching are identified in the songs. These are between lines, within major constituents and within a word. A fourth point of switching is the rhyme, which consists both switching within word and bare forms of the other code. These points of switching

are discussed in turns below and their frequency in the data is shown in figures in brackets.

### 2.1.1 Switching Between Lines

A simple sentence is one which according to phrase structure rules consists of a Noun Phrase (NP) and Verb Phrase (VP) (Krishnaswamy and Verma, 2000). In this study lines within the verse will take the place of a sentence and the two terms will be used interchangeably. Our data shows the switching between a line that is in one code to another in the other code as in (2.1).

(2.1) Artist	Songs	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Okay, alright this is my day Wacha niwaonyeshe jinsi	Okay, alright this is my day Let me show them how
b) Prezzo	Leo ni Leo	Wachizi wamejaa pia mamanzi So take your match across straight to the dance floor	There are many mad people and also girls ... ...
c) Necessary Noize	Shujaa	Baada ya hapo I would kill all rapists	After that I would kill all rapists

In (2.1) a) the artist switches from English to Kiswahili. In (b) the switch is from Kiswahili to English. This shows that switching between lines is quite flexible in that it can start with one language or the other. A critical requirement is that the sentence must be grammatical.

### 2.1.2. Switching Within Major Constituents

The term constituent is used here to mean grammatical elements that form a syntactic construction. This type of switching occurs within either a S, VP or a NP. This seems to be the most common pattern in the data. Some of the major constituents within which switching takes place are shown below. Various patterns are identified in the corpus. Each pattern is illustrated by two examples where possible. The code for the song from which it is extracted is indicated after each example in brackets. The switch point is underlined since one sentence may have more than one switch that is dealt with separately. The gloss is also provided as in (2.2).

#### (2.2) 1.S: Interjection / Clause

(a) Chali mzuri anadai ati he cant be mine coz...

boy good he+ claim that he cant be mine..... (c.f Necessary Noize, song 014)

(A good boy claims that he .....

b) Sasa thanks to mafans

now .....plu+fans

Now thanks to the fans (c.f Prezzo song 017)

#### 2. VP: Modifier / Noun

a) Nataka kuwa famous kama kalamashaka

i+ Pres + want to+ be ... like Kalamashaka(see Neccesary Noize Song 013)

I want to be famous like Kalamashaka

b) Hukosi smokies kwa kila cor ner

You + no + miss.... in every ..... (c.f. K- South Song 09)

(You cannot miss smokies in every corner)

#### 3. S: Conjunction / Noun

a) Juu ningemake mapromise za kujaza city na brothers

because I + would ...Plu + promise of to + fill ... with... ( c.f. Necessary Noize song 016)

(Because I would make promises to fill the city with brothers)

b) Ama kama leader wa revolution army

Or like the...of ... (see Kleptomaniacs, song 06)

(Or like the leader of the revolution army)

#### 4. S. Clause / Clause

a) Down all this kwa sababu ya madame

..... Of because of plu + dame ( c.f. Prezzo, song 017)

(Down all this because of dames)

b) It is just a shame, mko pamoja

..... Plu +you +are together (c.f Prezzo song 018)

(It is just a shame you are together)

#### 5. NP: Noun / PP

Superstar kwa mathree na mafans kwa dinga.

Superstar in mataatu with plu. + fan in car ( C. f Necessary Noize song 014).

(Superstar in the mataatu with fans in the car.)

#### 6. VP: Verb / Noun

a) Nataka tu kuwakilisha hip-hop culture.

I +pres. + want just to + represent...( c.f. Necessary Noize song 013)

(I just want to represent hip-hop culture).

b) Naandika rhymes naona zina mistari.

I + pres. +write...I + pres. + see they + pres. + have lines ( c.f Necessary song 014)

(I am writing rhymes and I see they have lines).

#### 7. S: Adjective (possessive) / Noun

a) Ningewakumbusha zenu roots

I + would +plu. +you + remind your + plu. ....( Necessary Noize, song 016)

(I would remind you of your roots).

b) Mimi nacount blessings zangu, jo

me I + pres +count.....mine +plur. Interj. ( see Prezzo, song 017)

(I am counting my blessings.....)

#### 8. Sentential Adverbial: Verb / Noun

a) Wala, singetaka salute

or even I + would +not + want.....( See Necessary Noize , song 016)

(I would not even want a salute)

b) Sasa poeni jo, niwape story

now wait + you +plu. Interj. I +plu. +you +give .....(c.f. Prezzo song 018)

(Now wait I give you a story)

#### 9. VP: Adjective / Noun

a) Vua hiyo long anza kukatika

remove that long start to +dance. ( Prezzo song 018)

(Remove that long and start dancing)

b) Bamba hiyo volume

Increase that ... (c.f. Kleptomaniacs, Song 16)

(Increase that volume)

#### 10. S: Preposition / Noun

a) Mahaters bado niko kwa floor

plur. + hater still I +pres. + in at.....( see Prezzo, song 019)

(Haters I am still at the floor)

b) Hapana, humpigia maromantics namwambia tukutane kwenye shower.

No him/her + tell plur.+ romantics1 + pres. + him/her + tell we + meet in the shower (c.f K-South, song 09).

(No, I tell her romantic words and then I tell her to meet me in the shower).

11. VP: Verb / Conjunction

a) Niamini because its true.

I + you + believe ..... ( see Prezzo, song 020)

(Believe me because its true).

b) Chali mzuri anadai ati he can't be mine coz sina dime.

Boy good he + pres + claims that ...because 1 + not+ have ...(c.f Necessary Noize, song 014)

(A good boy claims he can't be mine because I have no money)

12. VP: Verb / NP. Object.

a) Niweze kuangusha the greatest lyrics.

1 + can +to + drop ...( K- South, song 012)

(So that I can sing the greatest lyrics).

b) Anasema anataka phone.

She/he + prs. + say she/he + pres + want ...(See Deux Vultures song 03)

(She/he says that she/he wants a phone)

13. VP: Det / Noun

Walirhyme from the giza.

They + past + rhyme ... darkness ( See K- South song 012)

(They rhymed from the darkness)

14. S: Verb / Prepositional Phrase

a) Kuwa sisi tutapanda in the charts tutamake.

that we we + will + climb .....we + will + make.....( See Kleptomaniacs, Song 06).

(That we will climb in the charts and make it).

b) Mimi siko bottom wala katikati

Me 1 + not + at ... or even middle. ( See Necessary Noize song 013)

(I am not at the bottom or even in the middle)

15. S: Verb / Adjective

a) Ni kama chali wako akinoki your best friend.

It is like boy yours he + falls + in love + with ... ( c.f. Necessary Noize song 014)

(It is like when your boyfriend falls in love with your best friend).

b) Niwape black beat

1 + give + you ...

( I give you the black beat) (K-South, Song 09)

16. VP: Personal pronoun / Verb

Like I told you jua hutasuffer

..... Know you + not + suffer ( Deux Vultures, song 01)

17. VP: Noun / Prepositional Phrase

Nasikia makele next door

1 + hear noise .... ( c.f. Deux Vulture, song 02)

( I can hear noise from the next door)

18. VP: Verb / Adverb

a) Unachafua na any ziende faster kama mdomo.

You + are + spoiling with ... they + move .. like mouth ( see K- South, song 09)

(You are spoiling with anything so that they move fast like the mouth).

b) Tuicheze super mpaka tupate jasho

We + play + it ..... Until we + get sweat ( c.f. Deux Vultures song 02)

( we play it well until we sweat).

19. S: Sentential Adverb / VP

a) Every time nimefika yule bully.....

I + got + there that ...

(Every time I got there that bully)

b) Basi subiri, listen to these rhymes

then, wait, .....

(Then, just wait, listen to these rhymes (see Necessary Noize song 013)

20. S: Verb modifier / Verb

a) Ngoma imetubamba like whoo! ( c.f. Prezzo , song 019)

dance it + has + us+ excite.....

(the dance has excited us like whoo!)

b) Hauwezi move the crowd ikufeel ( K-South , song 09)

You + cannot.....it + to + feel

(You cannot move the crowd to feel you)

21. S: NP / Adverb

a) (Ningemake ex-president chief neighbour worker kwa siku moja

1 + would + him/her + make...for day one. (See Necessary Noize, song 016)

(I would make the ex-president chief neighbour worker for one day).

b) Tupate kalika sakata rumba all night long.

We + get dance rumba...(See Kleptomaniacs, song 019)

(We get to dance to rumba all night long).

As can be observed in these examples and judging by the frequency, switching between nouns and verbs is the most frequent pattern. It has a frequency of 42 occurrences, which is the highest in the data. This concurs with Scotton (1988) that nouns are the single most easily switchable constituents. One reason for this is that nouns are relatively free from syntactic restrictions. This is because they form the bulk of words in language. They also belong to the open category as opposed to closed categories (c.f Mathooko, 2004). Examples from the data

where English nouns inserted into the utterances of the other codes, without violating the syntactic rules are in (2.3).

(2.3) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary	Ni Sawa	Huyu <i>bully</i> nitamtoa kama	I will remove this bully like a bouncer.
Noise	Tu	<i>bouncer</i>	It is like when you get to the stage
		Ni kama ufike <i>stage</i> halafu	and then the speakers go off.
		<i>speaker</i> zikazima.	
b) K-South	Pata Pata	Na madame nawadanya	And I trick the dames with coffee.
		na <i>coffee</i> .	At night they get into the office.
		Usiku waingie kwa <i>office</i> .	

These points of switching in the major constituents illustrate that CS in the data is rampant. There are instances of several switches in one constituent.

### 2.1.3 Intra-word Switching

Intra-word switching refers to switching within a word. The focus here is on the morphemes and how they are switched. Bokamba (1988) notes that due to the highly agglutinative nature of Bantu Languages, one finds a very high incidence of morphologically adapted words from other codes in CS data. These morphologically blended words are mainly verbs but there are also a few cases of nouns.

In this data, Kiswahili is the matrix language and inflectional morphemes from Kiswahili have been affixed to the English verb. All the verbs involved in the switching have Kiswahili inflectional prefixes such as subject agreement prefix like {ni-} representing the first person singular object prefix; {-ta-} for future tense

morpheme, {-wa-} representing the third person plural subject agreement prefix and the English verb set in the morphologically adopted word ni-ta-wa-set. Other examples from the data are in (2.4).

(2.4) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Wa-na-ni-stress	They are stressing me.
b) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Si-ta-ku-dismiss	I will not dismiss you.
c) Deux vultures	Twende Mombasa	Ni-na-rest	I am resting.
d) Kleptomaniacs	Freaky	Tu-ki-spread	When we spread.

The Kiswahili verb carries all the morphemes that mark subject, object, tense and negation while the English verb would normally appear as a bare form in most cases. This is because Kiswahili is highly agglutinating and it also happens to be the ML in the data (see Bokamba 1988). Kiswahili inflectional suffixes are also fixed in a few cases on the English verb as in (2.5).

(2.5) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-south	Hamwezi Toboa	m-buy-iy-a	To buy for him/her.
b) K-south	Hamwezi toboa	Ku-ku-spoil-i-a	To spoil for you.

In (2.5) a) there is the inflectional morpheme {*m-*} that represents the subject agreement prefix referring to the third person singular in Kiswahili. Then the English verb *buy* and the inflectional morphemes are {-*iy-*} which is a Kiswahili passive suffix and the final affirmative vowel {-*a*}. In (2.5) b) the inflectional morphemes are the modifier {*ku*} and the subject agreement prefix for the second person singular {-*ku-*} as well as the passive suffix {-*-i-*} and the final vowel {-*a*}.

Apart from verbs, nouns are also morphologically blended during switching. In most cases in the data, the English nouns appear as bare forms. That is, they do not have any morphemes affixed to them. However, the artists seem to use the inflectional prefix {*ma-*} whenever the noun appears in plural. {*Ma-*} is a Kiswahili noun class plural prefix. This prefix is used here to augment the message. It is also used in Sheng' nouns in the songs when they are in plural. The English plural allomorph {-s} is also observed to be added on to these nouns in the data resulting in a morphologically but not semantically "double plural". English Morphemes of this nature are evident in the data provided in (2.6).

(2.6) i) Artist	Song	Noun	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Mafans	Ma-autograph-s	Autographs
b) Prezzo	Mafans	Ma-hater-s	*Haters
c) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelee	Ma-lyric-s	Lyrics
d) K-south	Kwa maboiz	Ma-fire drums	Fire drums.

The word \*haters is not grammatical in English. Its use here can be viewed as an aspect of creativity. The youth use it to ridicule those for whom they have negative feelings. Sheng words that also have these plural allomorphs as is observed in (2.6) ii).

(2.6) ii) Artist	Song	Noun	Gloss
a) K-South	Nairobierry	Ma-chizi	Mad men
b) Prezzo	Leo ni leo	Ma- manzi	Girls
c) Deux-vultures	Katika	Ma-beste	Friends.
d) Kleptomaniacs	Freaky	Ma-falas	Fools.

This use of double plural may serve several purposes. For instance the plural prefix {*ma-*} in the word *ma-fans* may have been used to augment the message that the artist has a lot of fans. {*Ma-*} in *ma-haters* on the other hand may be used to augment the artists' hatred towards those who hate their music. Another morpheme added to the nouns is {*ka-*}. It is a diminutive prefix in non-standard Kiswahili. It is observed in the song **Haree** by Kleptomaniacs in the word *Ka-honey*. This morpheme could be used to show some sort of endearing but it can also be used to demean girls in particular contexts.

Kiswahili morphology is therefore adapted in intraword switching more especially in inflection in the verb or noun. This is observed within the line and at the end of the line where it serves as rhyme.

#### 2.1.4 Rhyme

Rhyme is a kind of poetic alliterative found in verse in a corresponding phonetic environment. More precisely rhyme in this data is a syllabic matching. The type of rhyme that can be observed in the data is end rhyme. The important feature here is the matching sound and not necessarily the spelling. Rhyme can be observed to involve switching in the data where words with the same sound are switched. The artists seem to fix English words wherever the rhyming sound requires. Consider (2.7).

(2.7) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Lyrics zangu zitawaset kwa <u>fire</u>	My lyrics will set them on fire
		Na tena siku hizo nitakuwa maw <u>ire</u>	And again those days I will be singing.
		Marhymes ninatoa kama a foam ya <u>Beer</u>	I will be producing my rhymes like beer foam
		Nikichange style kama <u>gear</u> If you say, Je huyu Nazizi, oh <u>dear</u> .	Changing styles like the gear. If you say, is this really Nazizi, oh dear.
b) K-south	Hamwezi Toboa	Nikishika microphone ninafeel the <u>power</u>	When I hold the microphone I feel the power because I am being haunted.
		kwa maana mimi napag <u>awa</u>	
		kama makarona Ndio <u>naona</u>	Like makarona that is why
		Hukosi smokies kwa kila <u>corner</u> .	I see you don't miss smokies in every corner.

In the texts in (2.7) the English words appear at the end of the line specifically for the sake of the rhyming sounds. In (2.7) a) English words are used at the end of the line. In b) both codes are used and the rhyme is achieved through the matching sounds. This is observed in the words *power* and *napagawa*. This is also seen in *naona* and *corner*. This serves to bring in rhyme patterns with aesthetic effect.

In cases where Kiswahili words satisfy the rhyme, they are used as shown in (2.8).

(2.8) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) K-south	Patapata	Manze nguo zichaf <u>uke</u>	.....clothes
		Eeh na zirar <u>uke</u> yaani	to get dirty
		tusumb <u>uke</u>	And get torn
		Tukumb <u>uke</u>	Say we suffer
		Rhyme zikidead ltabidi zifuf <u>uke</u> .	Let us remember When rhymes die they must resurrect.
b) K-south	Patapata	Wee iko <u>nini</u>	What is wrong with you
		Weka dame <u>chini</u>	Put the dame down Lift the mini
		Inua <u>mini</u>	skirt
		Toa <u>kipini</u>	Remove the fastener
		Una trust <u>lakini</u>	Do you have trust?.
c) Kleptomaniacs	Haree	Mpeleke giz <u>ani</u> Mwambie	Take him/her to the darkness
		wamtam <u>ani</u>	Tell him/her you desire him/her
		Vipi? Hadhar <u>ani</u>	How? Openly
		Oh oh...	
		He he jam <u>ani</u> Mchezo	Game in kasarani
		kasar <u>ani</u> Moto pale nd <u>ani</u>	It is hot inside there
Aaaa! Samah <u>ani</u>	Ooh! I am sorry.		

These examples show end rhyme that is characterised by identical sounds stretching from the vowel to the end of the word. Thus, the rhyming pattern seems to dictate language choice in our data. Kiswahili words are used and in some instances the artist switches from English to Kiswahili to match the rhyme.

In the foregoing discussion we have been looking at the patterns of code switching as they are observed in our data and identified the points of switching. From the analysis of these points it is possible to come up with major categories of CS.

## 2.2 Types of Code Switching

With reference to the patterns of CS identified the four main linguistic types of CS identified in this data will be discussed in turns. These types are tag switching, intra-line switching, inter-line switching and inter-verse switching.

### 2.2.1 Tag-Switching

Tag switching involves the insertion of a tag, exclamation or parenthesis of one code into an utterance which is otherwise solely in another code (Gachinu, 1996). In this type of switching, the tag serves as the only indicator of a multilingual character in a solely monolingual speech. Consider the data in (2.9).

(2.9) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Tension	<i>Okay, niko maskani napata majani</i>	Okay, I am in the house chewing miraa.
b) Prezzo	Mafans	<i>So, siwahitaji nyie</i>	So, I don't need you people.
c) Necessary Noise	Destiny	<i>So, tafadhali mpenzi kuja hapa</i>	So, please my love come here.

These examples show English tags inserted in an otherwise complete Kiswahili sentence. Tags take only 2% of the switches (C.f. Table 2.2.5). This low frequency of tags can be explained by the fact that tags are normally used in emotive utterance. Thus, they are used only in few occasions or when situation demands.

### 2.2.2 Intra-line switching

Intra-line switching refers to the different types of switching, which occur within a line. This includes mixing within a word, where an English word is given the Kiswahili inflectional morphology. In this category we find single lines consisting

of three codes; English, Sheng' and Kiswahili. This indicates that the text switches severally in one line. Examples of intra-line switches are represented in (2.10).

(2.10) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Tension	Ni kama <u>chali</u> wako <u>akinoki</u> <i>your best</i> <i>friend</i>	It is like when your boyfriend falls in love with your bestfriend.
b) K-South	Tabia Mbaya	Yaani hata <i>wife</i> ya kimani anamtamani	Say even kimani's wife admires him.
c) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Nikamwona <i>dame</i> fulani na <u>fala</u> fulani <i>It is just a shame</i> mko <i>pamoja</i> <i>but maybe</i> <i>next time</i> tutaonana	I saw a certain girl with a certain fool It is just a shame that you are together but may be next time we will meet.
d) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Sijawahi <i>mbuyiya</i> <i>rose</i> <i>flower</i>	I have never bought her a rose flower.

In these examples there are several switches between the codes. In (2.10) a), the artist switches from Kiswahili to Sheng then to English. Text (b) has one English noun inserted in the Kiswahili line. Example (c) has several switches. The artist switches from Kiswahili to Sheng to English to Kiswahili and back to English and finally to Kiswahili. Thus there are back and forth switches. Text (d) involves a switch from Kiswahili to English. The word *m-buy-iy-a* is a morphologically adapted English word. In all these examples, Kiswahili remains the main language while English and Sheng take either second or third position. These back and forth switches enhance the integration of the codes.

### 2.2.3 Inter -line Switching

This involves a switching at a clause boundary where each clause is in one code or another. In the case of switching at clause boundary, a line is divided into two parts by the two codes involved in the utterance. This kind of switching is what sociolinguists call inter-sentential switching. It requires greater fluency in the two codes involved since each part of the sentence must conform to grammatical constraints of the code used (c.f Appel and Muysken, 1987). In this data, there are switches at line boundaries and in other cases the switch divides the line into two sections each being in one of the two codes (clause switching). Switching at clause boundary is limited in the data since in most lines there is a lot of intra word switching. Examples of switching at clause boundary are evident in the data as shown in (2.11).

(2.11) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Shujaa	Na tena, number <i>one on the charts</i> , ingekuwa hii	And again number one on the charts would be this one.
b) Prezzo	Mafans	Ombatu, <i>we are still moving strong</i>	Just pray, we are still moving strong.
c) Kleptomaniacs	Freaky	Basi ni noma, <i>like the crucifix</i>	Then it is tough like the crucifix.

Examples of switching at line boundary are shown in (2.12) in the songs **Destiny** and **Shujaa** by Necessary Noize and **Monalisa** by Deux Vulturers.

(2.12) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary noise	Destiny	Tafadhali mpenzi kuja hapa Oh! I need you	Please my love come here Oh I need you.
b) Necessary Noise	Shujaa	Baada ya hapo, <i>I would kill all rapists</i>	After that, I would kill all rapists.
c) Deux vultures	Monalisa	Ako masafa, jina ni Mustafa. <i>No need for you to worry we can keep it under cover.</i>	He is on his way and his name is Mustafa. ...

In all the three examples the switch is from Kiswahili to English. As can be seen in the summary table (c.f Table 2.2.5), inter-sentential switches are not many being only 12% of the total switches. This can be accounted for by the fact that the data shows a certain pattern of switching, where the artist switches from a mixed line to another in one language and back to the mixed line. This is the commonest type of switching in this data. Consider the representation in (2.13).

(2.13) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	<i>Ati exam nimefail,</i>  Oh God, Headmaster again <i>Tena saa kumi ulikuwa</i> <i>ukiwasumbua wasichana</i> <i>wengine kwa gate. Oh, what</i> a shame	That I have failed the exams. Oh God Headmaster again. Again at four o'clock you were disturbing other girls at the gate. Oh what a shame.
b) Prezzo	Mafans	Even the selectors and DJs <i>In general I want to shukuru</i> <i>the media</i> for making a brother like me get even bigger	Even the selectors and Djs In general I want to thank the media for making a brother like me get even bigger
c) K-South	Tabia Mbaya	<i>Ukitupa timber</i> basi ni mbao umetupa  Ni kama kuacha nyama na kukula mifupa	When you throw timber then it is timber that you have thrown.  It is like leaving out meat and eating bones.

Data in (2.13) a) and b) show a switch from a mixed line, indicated in italics, of Kiswahili and English to an English line. In c), the switch is from a mixed line with Sheng to English then to Sheng and finally to a standard Kiswahili line. This kind of switching could mean that the artist is exploring the use of the various codes. This explains why some artists are even switching to entire verses of one code before moving to a mixed line (see 2.2.4).

#### 2.2.4. Inter-verse Switching

Inter-verse switching has been observed to occur in a few songs like **Ni Sawa Tu** and **Destiny** by Necessary Noise and **Mafans** by Prezzo. Almost every singer whose main languages are English and Kiswahili exhibits this pattern. Whole

verses are observed to be in one language after the switch from a mixed line.

This is exemplified in (2.14).

(2.14) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Si hata hiyo ni sawa tu Every one there shake your body Throw your hands in the air say: open up round and around up and down and back to the ground.	Even that one is Okay ...
b) Necessary Noise	Destiny	Kokote Popote Kuja twende sote niangalie milele tuwe sote  Baby come to me coz you are my destiny I see my world in you Forever	Wherever Wherever Come lets go together Take care of me and lets be together forever ...
c) Prezzo	Mafans	<i>And now nakushow you are right</i> And if you don't believe Then the show will be tight And if you know you can't You better take a hike Coz I got my fans...	And now I am telling you, you are right... ...

In (2.14) a) the switch is from a mixed line to a whole English verse. In b) the chorus is presented in two codes: the first is in Kiswahili and the second is in English. (2.14) c) involves a switch from a mixed line with the inserted Sheng' word *na-ku-show*, to a pure English verse. An interesting example of interverse switch is in the song **Nairobierry** (see Appendix Song No. 010 by K-South). The song is divided into two large parts. The first part is in English while the second part is a mixture of Kiswahili and Sheng.

Four types of code switching that have been identified in the data and are shown in table 2.2.5. The frequency of these switches is indicated as well as the percentage.

**Table 2.2.5: Types of Code Switching**

SONG	TAG SWITCHES	INTER-LINE SWITCHES	INTRA-LINE SWITCHES	INTER-VERSE SWITCHES	TOTAL SWITCHES
01	1	5	31	1	38
02	1	1	14	2	18
03	2	1	1	3	07
04	-	3	17	3	23
05	2	9	27	2	40
06	-	2	22	-	24
07	1	6	29	-	36
08	1	1	20	-	22
09	1	10	68	-	79
010	-	-	3	1	03
011	-	-	21	-	21
012	-	-	24	-	24
013	1	1	8	-	10
014	-	6	14	1	20
015	-	7	45	-	52
016	-	2	20	-	22
017	-	3	14	3	20
018	-	1	8	1	10
019	-	4	16	-	20
020	1	-	7	-	07
TOTAL	11	61	409	17	498
%	2%	12%	82%	4%	100%

As can be observed from the table intra-sentential switches are the most frequent form of switching with the highest percentage taking 82% of the switches. This high frequency can be explained by the fact that the use of two or more codes in Kenya is the norm other the exception (c.f with Scotton, 1993). This habitual use of CS by the majority of the population makes CS to be taken for granted since

one will still be understood by other speakers. In this case CS becomes a stylistic device that the language users employ (see Bell, 1976). Youths also switch more. According to Mathooko (2004), youths are more innovative and accomodative. Most of the lines in the data are mixed lines with two or more codes. Tag switches are the least common type of switches.

### **2.3 Constituents in Code Switching**

In the above section, 2.2 the discussion has been on points in which CS is seen to take place in the data. In this section, the CS data in this study is analysed further in reference to the MLF model inorder to identify the major constituents in the CS data. This is more especially because the patterns exhibited are dictated by the relationship of the three codes, English, Sheng' and Kiswahili. The MLF model helps to determine the language that is dictating these patterns.

In this model, one of the two or more codes involved is the matrix language and the other is the embedded language. The model attempts to clarify the status of lexical material from an embedded language (EL), which appears in CS discourse provided by the matrix language (ML). Of these languages, the ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for CS utterances. The matrix language in this analysis is determined statistically on the basis of the frequency of the morphemes. It is the language in which most of the words or morphemes are in the song lines. Assigning the ML is dynamic. When the content of the line

changes then the result may be the ML being assigned to any of the other two codes if they dominate. In other words, there are times when the ML may be Kiswahili, English or Sheng.

The basic argument of this model is that CS takes place within a frame set by the matrix language. It places constraints at a relatively abstract level, which is pre-syntactic. The ML is more activated than the EL. As far as CS is concerned this model identifies three types of constituents in CS data. These are the ML + EL constituents, EL islands and ML islands. These constituents are based on the notion of mixing so that the lines are either mixed ones or in any of the codes under investigation. The data in this study as seen in patterns discussed above can be classified into these three constituents below.

### 2.3.1 ML + EL Constituents

The ML + EL constituents consist of any number of ML morphemes and single lexeme EL forms. The ML sets the morphosyntax of the ML + EL constituents. Examples of ML + EL constituents are shown from the songs **Ni Sawa Tu** by Necessary Noise, **Hamwezi Toba** by K-South and **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo (c.f 2.15). The lines consist of constituents from the three codes, Sheng, English and Kiswahili.

(2.15) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni sawa Tu	Kila siku naenda shule kama nimelate Nakupass time nitabuzz marhymes	Every day a go to school late And to pass time I will buzz rhymes.
b) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Pande ya rap songs wee ni mdense sasa unaget comfort kuliko kucapture hardcore	On the side of rap songs you are dense. Now you are getting comfortable instead of capturing the hardcores.
c) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Nikikuride kwa lift tayari kuna uhondo Hizo sheets na ngotha hatutachafua Nitakuwa nazipeleka white maua, white rose.	When I ride you in the lift there will be plenty of good things. We will not make those sheets and pants dirty. I will be taking them to White Rose.

In the three examples the ML is Kiswahili. In (2.15 a and b) the EL is English. In (2.15) c) the EL1 is English and EL2 is sheng. In all these instances the insertion of morphemes from other codes is observed.

### 2.3.2 ML Islands

The ML islands are code switching utterances consisting of only ML morphemes and are well formed according to the ML grammar. Examples of Kiswahili ML islands in the data are evident in the songs **Ni Sawa Tu** by Necessary Noise, **Wananitaka** and **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo and **Kinyaunyau** by Deux Vultures in (2.16) below.

(2.16) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Itanibidi nimkwepe kila dakika. Mtoto wee umenishinda	I will be forced to hide from him/her every minute You child, you puzzle me
b) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Na wakiniona mara ya kwanza wanataka kunata <i>Wacha niwaonyeshe jinsi</i>	When they see me for the first time They do not want to let go <i>let me show them how.</i>
c). Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Nimepewa madawa kadhaa na mganga kuvuta	I have been given several charms by a witchdoctor to lure you.
d) Deux Vultures	Kinyaunyau	Mvumilivu hula mbivu  Ngoja ifike usiku Mimi ni simba najua kile nawinda	Patience pays  Let the night come I'm a lion I know what I hunt.

These ML islands are well formed according to Kiswahili grammatical rules. In all these songs the ML language is Kiswahili except in the song **Nairobierry** by K - South. The artist in this song switches from English to Kiswahili after two long verses, so that the switch divides the song into two sections. The first is an English ML island of two verses and the second is a Kiswahili section consisting of Kiswahili ML islands and ML +EL constituents. In this second section the ML is basically Kiswahili, the EL1 is Sheng' and the EL2 is English. These ML islands are exemplified in (2.17).

(2.17) Line	Gloss
a) Sina jembe na pahali pa kulima	I don't have a jembe and a place to farm.
b) Na makasisi, wale wa kunionyesha jinsi	And the clergymen, those to show me the way.
c) Nini maana ya dini ndio niamini	What is the meaning of religion that I may believe?

### 2.3.3 EL Islands

The EL islands are composed only of EL morphemes following EL grammatical constraints. The data shows a high number of EL islands in a text that has Kiswahili as the ML as seen in the table below. These islands are complete English lines and in most cases are grammatical. EL islands also appear as clauses in a mixed line. Examples of English EL islands are shown in (2.18).

(2.18) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux	Katika	Get up get up everybody.	...
Vultures		Lets go its for our return.	...
b) Prezzo	Vile	After all its good for you	Believe me...
	Nitafanya	Niamini because its true	
c) Necessary	Ni sawa Tu	Oh, God Headmaster again	...
Noise		Oh, what a shame!	...

These CS constituents are governed by certain general constraints that actually dictate where the switching takes place (see 2.4).

### 2.4 Constraints of Code Switching

The above sections, 2.2 and 2.3, have been on patterns and constituents of CS data identified. The reason for the occurrence of these patterns is that there are constraints governing them. Constraints are general if they are believed to apply between any pair of languages, and they may also be specific to certain languages involved in CS. This is whereby the grammar of a given language dictates where CS takes place. Constraints are structural factors that prevent a switch from taking place at a certain point in a constituent. The issues of

structural constraints in code switching has been addressed by various sociolinguists most of whom have been interested in their universality. Many of these general constraints have been observed to control CS in most conversation but some have been refuted as being universal. In this sub section the focus will be on the general constraints of CS as specified by the Matrix Language Frame Model by Scotton (1992). Other general constraints discussed by sociolinguistics like Pfaff (1979); Poplack (1980) and Clyne (1987) will be cited in relation to the MLF model. Many studies have observed that there are certain principles constraining CS. The focus here is on these constraints and how they influence CS in the songs where two monolingual grammars co-operate to generate code-switching sentences.

This study will focus on these general constraints and those that are particular to the CS between the three codes; English, Kiswahili and Sheng. These constraints include the ML Hypothesis, Blocking Hypothesis, EL Trigger Hypothesis and the EL Hierarchy Hypothesis outlined in turns below.

#### **2.4.1. The ML Hypothesis**

Taking into consideration that the ML plays a major role in CS utterances. This hypothesis states that ML frames the morphosyntax of ML + EL constituents. This hypothesis is realised through two principles, the Morpheme Order Principle

and System Morpheme Principle. In discussing CS in the data we shall examine how these two principles constrain CS.

**The Morpheme Order Principle** states that the morpheme order in the ML +EL constituents must be that of the ML. For instance Kiswahili has a *Head first* order while English is head last. In an ML + EL constituent that has Kiswahili as the ML, the morpheme order must be that of Kiswahili and vice versa. This concurs with Klavans (1983) in the observation that it is the language of the inflected mai verb that determines the restrictions on CS in that particular sentence, since those elements constitute in some sense the syntactic head of the sentence and govern the rest. This order has been observed in ML + EL except where there is syntactic movement, particularly NP raising. Examples of ML+ EL constituents that follow the morpheme order principle with regard to Kiswahili are presented in (2.19).

(2.19) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Wao wanasema nawadrive insane	They are saying I am driving them insane
b) Deux Vulture	Kinyaunyau	Nitangoja hapo mpaka round two	I will wait there until round tw
c) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelee	Unafaa kutumia hip- hop na other tracks	You should use hip-hop and other tracks

In other cases we find the morpheme order changed either for stylistic reasons or due to syntactic movement. In most cases artists in song and poetry change the morpheme order for emphasis for reason like rhyme patterns. Poetic language may violate or deviate from the generally observed rules of the languages in use

in many different ways. A poet enjoys unique freedom amongst users of any language to range over all its communicative resources. This is an aspect of poetic licence (c.f Leech, 1969). This is evident in (2.20).

(2.20) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Vile nitafanya	Cloud number tisa wee utafika tu	You will still get to cloud nine
b) Necessary Noise	Ni sawa tu	Marymes nitatoa kama foam ya beer	I am producing rhymes like beer foam
c) Deux Vultures	Kinyaunyau	Na usiku unataka kwenda out too	And you want to out at night too.

In (2.20) a), the normal morpheme order in Kiswahili would be *Wewe utafika cloud number tisa tu* where the subject comes before the prepositional phrase. The same case applies to (b) that would normally be: *Nitatoa marhymes kama foam ya beer*. This is a kernel Kiswahili sentence word order before any syntactic movement takes place. The morpheme order in (2.20) a) and b) is changed for the purpose of emphasis, hence a permissible syntactic movement. However, the last example involves change of word order for the purpose of rhyme. The final word *too* is the equivalent of *pia* in Kiswahili, which in a Kiswahili sentence would appear as a sentential adverbial. The normal order would be; *Na pia usiku unataka kwenda "nje"* This word *nje* does not really bring out the meaning intended hence the switch to English. The word *nje* in Kiswahili means outside but the English word *out* here means going out for fun.

The rhyme for those lines in the song is shown as the italicised words:

Na usiku unataka kwenda out *too*

Nitangoja hapo mpaka round *two*

Na ikifika nitaimanga *tu*

This could be a case of poetic license that allows a poet to violate syntactic order in some instances for the sake of rhyme. All in all the morpheme order principle seems to be in force except in that one case. This therefore can be observed as one of the constraints in the data.

**The System Morpheme Principle** also governs the ML + EL constituent and it states that active system morphemes come only from the ML in these constituents. *Active* morphemes are those that participate in relationships within the sentence, which are external to the head of the morpheme itself. In the few cases where we have suffixal inflectional morphemes in the ML + EL constituents they are also from Kiswahili (See 2.1.3). Examples where the system morpheme principle seems to constraint CS are in (2.21).

(2.21) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Kleptomaniacs	Kwa maboiz	Wa-ki-drop I-me-ku-capture	When they drop It has captured you
b) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Ni-na-feel Ku-ku-spoil-I-a m-buy-iy-a	To spoil for you Buy for her

In these examples, the noun class morphemes {*wa-*} {*i-*}, {*ni-*}, {*Ku-*} and {*m-*} are all Kiswahili grammatical markers. The object and subject agreement prefixes,

and the tense markers are also from Kiswahili, which is the ML. The nouns in the ML +EI constituents also have the Kiswahili plural prefix {*ma-*} even when the English plural suffix {*-s*} is used. Consider data in (2.22).

(2.22) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Ma-producers	Producers
b) Kleptomaniacs	Kwa maboiz	Ma –sisters	Sisters

The data therefore confirms the ML hypothesis as one of the constraints of CS. The two principles are seen to dictate how CS takes place by restricting word order and also setting the morphosyntax of the ML + EL constituents. This violates Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint that permits the switching of only free morphemes here morphemes of the EL that otherwise be free are morphologically blended. This is exemplified by the words *sisters* and *producers* in (2.22). The use of {*ma-*} here serves to augment the message that the artists are passing especially when speaking Sheng'.

#### 2.4.2 The Blocking Hypothesis

The blocking hypothesis also exerts constraints on the ML +EL constituents. The ML blocks the occurrence of the EL constituents. For example an EL congruent content morpheme can be blocked from occurring. Congruent here means the equivalent content morpheme. These content morphemes are thematic role assigners like verbs and prepositions, and thematic role receivers like nouns.

The ML sets the frame of ML + EL constituents by inserting only ML morphemes. Once this frame is set then there is the content morpheme insertion stage where content morphemes may be accessed from either the ML or EL, as long as the EL morphemes pass the blocking filter. According to Scotton (1992), the lines are open at this stage to position EL morphemes in slots in basically ML constituents.

The blocking hypothesis however limits the set of EL content morphemes. This explains why in the data the most commonly switched morphemes are nouns. These words have higher congruence. Almost every artist switches nouns of the EL in the text even when no other word category in that language is used in the line. This is shown in the songs **Kinyaunyau** by Deux Vutures, **Haree** by Kleptomaniacs and **Leo ni Leo** by Prezzo in (2.23).

(2.23) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux Vutures	Kinyaunyau	Lakini wa kisumu Apenda kunywa beer Na wakati wa joto Anapenda kula ice	But those from Kisumu like drinking beer And in the hot season they like eating ice
b) Kleptomaniacs	Haree	Vueni hizo mamini na mashati Uchi kwa floor	Remove those mini skirts and shirtts Naked on the dance floor
c) Prezzo	Leo ni leo	Si unajua wanapenda attention	You know they like attention.

When a term is non-congruent, the blocking filter disallows the EL term from being inserted in the ML + EL constituents. This can be observed in the English

prepositions, which have no equivalent in Kiswahili as observed in the song **Hamwezi Toboa** by K-South in the line, *Kijana mchafu toka East*. The gloss for this line is *A vulgar boy from the East*. The word *the* has no equivalent in Kiswahili and cannot occur in this constituent and therefore, its complement *East* occurs in bare form. Other examples are represented in (2.24).

(2.24) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
K-South	Hamwezi	Tunacause town riots	We cause riots in
	Toboa	Nizispread Kenya	town
		Nzima kila mkoa	I spread them in every province in Kenya

In both instances the preposition *in* is blocked from occurring. Thus the blocking hypothesis is a very effective constraint in the data.

### 2.4.3 The EL Trigger Hypothesis

The EL Trigger Hypothesis attempts to explain the occurrence of EL islands. The hypothesis states that CS forms, which do not meet the principles of morpheme order and system morpheme, must be accessed only as EL islands. Clyne (1972a) cited in Clyne (1987) calls this constraint *triggering*. He says that triggering is internally conditioned so that in anticipation of a trigger word or following a trigger word an EL island results. The underlined words act as triggers to the other code. Examples of this triggering in the data are in the songs **Wananitaka** by Prezzo and **Shujaa** by Necessary Noize in (2.25).

(2.25) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Sitareject your case.  Wanaroll down down my way.	I won't reject your case  They are rolling down down my way.
b) Necessary Noise	Shujaa	Ningemmake ex-president chief neighbourworker. Ningedo rights instead of bombing.	I would make the ex-president chief neighbour worker. I would do rights instead of bombing.

Kiswahili triggers are not common in our data. Few examples can be found however as in the line *Look like a suspect Juu hadi Chini* in the song **Tension**.

The word *juu* triggers the switch to Kiswahili since it would be unusual to say, *juu up to down*.

The EI trigger hypothesis also has the constraint that if a quantifier from English like *all* is accessed, an EI island must follow. This is because quantifiers are system morphemes and only ML system morphemes are possible in ML + EL constituents. See data in (2.26).

(2.26) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
1. Prezzo	Leo ni Leo	Kusikia ngoma imebamba club all the house	We heard music filling the club in the entire house.
2. Deux Vultures	Katika	Sakata rumba all night long.	Dance to rumba all night long.

The data shows that the presence or anticipation of an EL word triggers the switch to the other EL. This kind of switching is internally conditioned and does

not rely on situational context, topic or lack of equivalent words. However there are instances where switching takes place in the data at points where a trigger word is present. Pfaff (1979) specifies a constraint related to the EL Hierarchy Hypothesis. It involves switching within a PP and states that speakers infrequently produce the determiner and noun in one language and verb in another except in contexts where the noun functions as a technical term. This constraint seems to regulate CS in our data, except in one case in song, **Kwa maboiz** by Kleptomaniacs in the line, *Walirhyme from the giza*. The word *giza* is not a technical term yet the switch has taken place. The word *from* here is a possible trigger word to a switch to English. The data also violates a constraint propounded by Pfaff (1979) that states that CS does not take place in an entire prepositional phrase (henceforth PP) though it occurs infrequently. Examples that show PPs are mixed are in (2.27).

(2.27) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Size yenu iko huko <i>kwa street zile za hawker</i>	Your sizes are in the hawkers streets.
b) K-South	Nairobierry	Kisha utawekwa <i>kwa boot ya Mistubishi</i>	Then you will be put in a mistubishi boot.

#### 2.4.4 The EL Hierarchy Hypothesis

The EI hierarchy hypothesis is another constraint that attempts to explain the occurrence of optional EI islands. Poplack (1980) calls this constraint the Free Morpheme Constraint, which states that switching can take place after any constituent in discourse provided it is not a bound morpheme. According to

Scotton (1992) the freer a morpheme is in terms of its functions, the freer it is to appear as an EI Island. In the data, the word *every* appears as optional EL island in (2.28).

(2.28) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni sawa Tu	<i>Every</i> time nikifika yule bully	Every time I get there that bully.
b) Prezzo	Mafans	<i>Every</i> day napokea baraka	Everyday I receive my blessings.
b) Deux Vultures	Katika	Get up x2 <i>Every</i> body stand up x2 kila mtu	... stand up x2 <i>Every</i> body.

The last example shows that the word *every* has a Kiswahili equivalent *kila*. In the morpheme hierarchy the word *every* is more free than for example a noun like *baraka* in the above line hence it is easily switched.

The grammatical constraints discussed in this section are general and they seem to govern CS in our data except with a few exceptions. These constraints were seen to dictate the placement of CS forms in the ML + EL constituents as well as to explain the EI islands occurrence in CS data. Other constraints not specified by the Matrix Language Frame Model have also been identified.

### Conclusion

This chapter set out to identify the patterns of CS in the data and their governing constraints. The main objective was to show that CS in the songs is systematic

and follows certain structural rules. From the data analysis in this chapter, it was possible to observe the patterns of CS as well as the constraints of CS.

In relation to patterns, various switching sites were identified. These are switching between lines, within words, within major constituents, between verses and rhyme. From these patterns, four CS types were identified. These are, tag, inter-line, intra-line and inter-verse switching. Intra-line switching was observed to be the most prevalent taking 82% of the switches.

The largest group of switches concerns the insertion of single words in one language in sentences of the other language. These insertions found in our data are mostly single English lexemes. One major pattern was revealed in most of the data; that where there is a mixture of Kiswahili and English, Kiswahili was the ML with only one or two cases of English emerging as the ML. Sheng' seemed to be prevalent in verses which were predominantly in Kiswahili.

The patterns of CS are dictated by certain general constraints. The data generally showed adherence to these constraints except for a few exceptions. We could conclude that the constraints specified by the ML F model are general in, as far they seem they seem to dictate the patterns of CS in the songs. Where they are violated it is because of the poetic licence and not due to the fact that the three codes defy them. Therefore CS takes place in a given pattern as

dictated by certain constraints. It does not occur in a random manner but is guided by these principles.

In conclusion it could be said that CS in these songs seems to be used as a code in itself. This is because in all these songs every line has a switch even where there could be equivalent words in the ML. The artists seem to draw freely from the languages of their choice.

# CHAPTER THREE

## STYLISTIC STRATEGIES OF CODE SWITCHING

### 3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter has addressed the patterns of CS exhibited in the data. These patterns show how an individual speaker makes code choices in linguistic interactions. Code switching can in some instances be viewed as a strategy employed by a speaker for certain communicative reasons. The present chapter will address the stylistic strategies that an interlocutor can use.

The term stylistic strategies in this study will be used to refer to the means that multilingual speakers use to convey messages in a conversation involving multilinguals. In order to account for these speaker-oriented strategies, Gumperz's Conversational Functions Model (1982) will be applied. Gumperz (Ibid) calls these stylistic strategies, discourse strategies. They are also referred to as stylistic functions (c.f. Scotton 1993; Muthwii 1986; Gachinu 1996).

The main objective of this chapter is to show that CS at times that a speaker is manipulating conversations by using strategies that help him/her to reach his communication goals. CS is thus viewed here as a device that a speaker uses whenever deemed necessary in the conversation for the purpose of passing information. CS is, according to this model, a communicative option available in a multilingual community. Language use is a function of the dynamics of interaction

which depends on context. CS in this case is a creative strategy for accomplishing something (c.f. Scotton, 1993:94). All language users adopt strategies to convey their meaning. These strategies depend on the assessment made of our interlocutor's linguistic competence and the topic of discourse (See Faerch and Gabriele, 1983).

This study views speakers as rational actors who strategize on how to convey information. This involves code selection as devices to make communication successful. Interlocutors in a communication interaction understand each other and can agree on what is being accomplished in particular settings. This means that they have shared knowledge of codes and principles of interpretations.

Gumperz (ibid.) suggests six discourse strategies that speakers use in conversations. These strategies are quotation, mimicry, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration and personalization versus objectivization discussed in turns below.

### **3.1 Quotation**

In an ordinary conversation, speakers often switch codes when quoting what other interlocutors have said. This means that speakers will switch to the languages used by the preceding speakers. Some of the artists who have used

this form of strategy are such as Prezzo in his song **Wananitaka** and K-South in the song **Hamwezi Toboa** as shown in (3.1) below.

(3.1) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Vua hiyo long anza kukatika Anasema, <i>Slow down</i> <i>Prezzo unaniroga umehit</i> <i>najihisi mbona nakutaka</i>	Remove that trouser and start dancing. She says, <i>slow down Prezzo you</i> <i>excite me and now I feel I want yo</i>
b) Prezzo	Wananitaka	Kupita dame akanikonyezea Nikasema, <i>Dame kwako</i> <i>unaweza? It is just a shame</i> <i>mko pamoja but maybe next</i> <i>time tunaonanaa</i>	On passing the dame winced at m I said, <i>Dame would you really do that? I</i> <i>is just a shame that you are</i> <i>together but maybe next time we</i> <i>shall meet</i>
c) K- South	Hamwezi Toboa	Yeah kuna rumours zinaspread ali mnasema, <i>Its</i> <i>true its true mmeloose</i> <i>maskills</i>	Yeah, there are rumours spreadin around and you are saying, <i>Its tru</i> <i>its true that we have lost skill</i>

In the three texts in (3.1) the exact words of the preceding speakers are used. In (3.1) a), the young man aims at showing his prowess to his admirers and competitors. He repeats the exact words used by the girl to imply how good he is in romance. In (b), the aim is to register the speaker's disapproval for the girl's behaviour in the company of another man. He disapproves of the loose morals depicted in that behaviour. (3.1) c) shows disappointment on the part of the speaker at what he thinks is unjustified criticism of his group's singing. He is quoting the words that their critics have used. The critics do not think that this group has any rap skills.

Examples of quotation involving Sheng' is shown in (3.2) in the songs **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo and **Twende Mombasa** by Deux Vultures.

(3.2) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Na akikuuliza, <i>Nataka kulambwa?</i> Nakuonyesha, <i>Utataka?</i>	And if she asks you, "I want to be licked?" Then I ask you, "Will you want it?"
b) Deux Vultures	Twende Mombasa	Nikamwuliza, "Jambo, Jambo sana bwana, <i>Unatoka wapi?</i> <i>Mimi natoka Mombasa.</i> <i>Mambo?</i> <i>Poa</i> <i>Vipi?</i> <i>Freshi.</i>	I asked him, "How are you" Very fine sir Where are you from? I am from Mombasa. How are things? Okay. How is you? Well.

As can be seen from the examples represented above most of the quotations are mimics since in most cases the artist imitated the actual speaker even through change of voice. In (3.2) a) the artist is talking of a boy and a girl in a sexual relationship. He quotes the exact words of the girl in Kiswahili and the boy's answer in Kiswahili. In (3.2) b) the quote is a conversation between the artist and a Mombasa fan. The conversation is in Kiswahili except in the last answer *freshi*, which is in Sheng'. The word *Nakuonyesha* is a Sheng word signifying that the artist recognises the age group of the girl thus using the language most appreciated by the youth.. It is used here to establish closeness and intimacy.

### 3.2 Mimicry

Mimicry involves imitations of another person's original speech. In most cases mimicry is accompanied by change of voice quality. This could be detected in the songs as the artist mimicked the preceding speaker. Examples of mimicries in the data are shown in (3.3) below involving songs by Necessary Noise and K-South.

(3.3) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Oh God! Headmaster again <i>Tena saa kumi ulikuwa ukiwasumbua wasichana wengine kwa gate. Oh what a shame!</i>	Oh God headmaster again! Again at four o'clock you were disturbing other girls at the gate. Oh, what a shame!
b) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Mama! Mama nataka kuwa rapper <i>Mtoto wee umenishinda</i> Nataka kuwa famous kama Kalamashaka, <i>Je Ukishindwa?</i>	Mother! Mother! I want to be a rapper. "You child you puzzle me" I want to be famous like Kalamashaka. "What if you don't make it?"
c) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Mpaka mafake Mcs wanauliza <i>Mbona hawa wasee ni wanoma kutushinda</i>	Until the fake MCs will ask,  "How come these young men are better than we are?"
d) K-South	Pata Pata	Na madame nawadanganya na coffee, Usiku waingie kwa office,  <i>Huna coffee?</i> <i>Hapana nina doo, piga tochi.</i>	And I will trick the girls with coffee So that at night they get into the office "You don't have coffee?" "No I have money, switch on the spotlight."

In (3.3) a) the artist is mimicking a school headmaster. The Kiswahili words by the headmaster with no Sheng word signify formality and this can also be seen in (3.3) b) where the mother of the girl uses Kiswahili without mixing. The English words by the headmaster at the end of the quote signify authority as the headmaster reprimands the student. The mother in (3.3) c) uses Kiswahili to reprimand the child when she voices her wish to become a musician. Refusing a child to be a rapper shows conservatism on the part of the mother just like Kiswahili is used mostly by the older members of the urban population.

Sheng' is a modern form of language. In (3.3) c) the artist mimics other artists asking about their singing. The switch is from a mix of English and Kiswahili to Sheng'. These artists are all young and Sheng is the unmarked code for them. In (3.3) d) the artist is talking about how girls are lured into sexual relationships using *coffee*, a drink associated with sophistication and urban life in Nairobi. The word is in English to signal sophistication. However his own words *Hapana nina doo...* which is Sheng' shows that the artist and the girl are in the same age group and he wants to close any social distance.

In some instances, mimicry does not involve the switching between codes. For example, in (3.4) the switch is not between codes but between parlance. In (3.4) a) the artist switches from Kiswahili to the *matatu* ( a kind of public service vehicle ) register when mimicking the tout. The tout's language is more like

Sheng but is rather abusive in the sense that it deviates from the acceptable norms. This is also seen in (3.4) b) where the artist mimics the police by using their language form *wee iko nini?* which in normal Kiswahili (Nairobi dialect) would be *nini baya na wewe?* which is a colloquial expression.

(3.4) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-South	Tabia	Na kama tungepigana	If we had tried to fight back we would
	Mbaya	tungeshindwa	have been beaten.
		<i>ati, Kambafu jaribu kuzusha kwenye matatu, nitadunga hiyo pua iwe na shimo tatu</i>	<i>That, Silly, just try to raise trouble in this matatu I will punch three holes into that nose</i>
b) K-South	Pata Pata	Tumakwapa tunatupa kwani	Your ampits are smelly don't you
		huogi?	bath?
		<i>Wachana na mimi!</i>	"Leave me alone!"
		<i>Wee iko nini?</i>	"What is wrong with you?"

In (3.4) a), there is no direct equivalent for the word *ati* so the word that is just an estimation. In these cases and others in the data, mimicry does not necessarily lead to a real code switch. Rather, the aim is to repeat the exact words that were uttered by the interlocutors in order to add flavour to the conversation or emphasize a given point. It can also show a speaker trying to create distance from something. For instance in (3.4) a) the speaker distances himself from the touts insults or use of language.

### 3.3. Addressee Specification

In the data, the artists are observed to switch codes so as to specify one or several addressees. The switching then serves as a directive device because the

artist wishes to exclude certain persons from a portion of the message he wishes to send. The study manifests instances where artists would direct their message to specific persons or groups of people. In all these cases actual names or pronouns are used to specify the addressee.

Examples of addressee specification from the data include texts from **Hamwezi Toboa** by K-South **Kwa Maboiz** and **Haree** by Kleptomaniacs and **Monalisa** by Deux Vultures shown in (3.5).

(3.5) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Lakini trip ni nani? <i>Kijana mchafu kutoka East</i> Kama jigsaw puzzle anafix rhymes piece by piece	But who is the target? <i>A vulgar boy from the East.</i> He fixes rhymes piece by piece like a jigsaw puzzle.
b) Kleptomaniacs	Kwa Maboiz	<i>Na kwa maboiz toka Peace of All Academy</i> Tuma letter to a <i>manzi</i> called <i>Damaris</i>	<i>And to the boys from Peace of All Academy</i> Send a letter to a girl called Damaris.
c) Kleptomaniac	Haree	This song goes out to <i>wasee wanaopenda kuparty</i>	This song goes out to those <i>young men who like to party.</i>
d) Deux Vultures	Monalisa	<i>Hadija</i> <u>naku</u> ita kila siku, <u>baby</u> , Nataka uwe number moja kwangu, <u>lady</u> Mbona wanitesa kila siku, <u>pretty</u>	<i>Hadija</i> I call on you everyday, <i>baby</i> I want you to be my number <i>one lady</i> Why are you being unfair to me every day, <i>Pretty</i>

In these instances the addressee is specified indirectly except in the last instance where the addressee's name is specified. The codes are also seen to be switched. In (3.5) a) the artist specifies the addressee using Sheng and English. When he says, *a vulgar boy from the east*, he wants to show dislike and distance between their music group and the artist he is referring to. This is seen more when he uses English to show that the artist is not knowledgeable at all in music as compared to his music group. Rather the artist he is criticising fixes rhymes like a jigsaw puzzle. That is, the music does not really flow and he is not talented.

In (3.5) b) and c) the addressee is specified in Sheng. They are talking to a particular age group. In (3.5) b), the artist is talking about a girl to high school boys who speak Sheng. The aim is to create a rapport between him and his high school fans and to give them a sense of belonging. This is the same thing with c) where the artists specify young men as their addressees. Normally night party lovers are young people whom they refer to as *wasee* in sheng. Social distance between interlocutors is thus closed. In (3.5) d) the addressee is specified by name, *Hadija*. The artist is talking to a specific girl. English words are underlined at the end of each line to show endearment. Use of direct signalling also affects greater closeness and intimacy.

Addressee specification is very prevalent in the data taking 33% of the total number of strategies used. This could be explained by the fact that in most songs are normally specifying a person or persons in the society.

### 3.4. Interjection

Code switches may serve as interjections where the switched constituent is interjected between different codes in one utterance. Interjections in our data consist of both tag and other words inserted within the line. Interjection requires a higher level of competence in the codes involved so that the grammatical rules are not violated and in order to produce meaningful utterance (see Appel and Muysken, 1987). Interjections in this study are exemplified in the songs **Mafans** and **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo, **Shujaa** by Necessary Noise and **Tuendelelee** by Kleptomaniacs as shown in (3.6).

(3.6) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Mafans	Down all this <i>kwa sababu ya madame</i> Wao wanasema <i>nawadrive insane</i> <i>kwenye membrane</i>	Down all this because of girls They are saying I am driving them insane in the membrane
b) Necessary Noize	Shujaa	Natena <i>number one on the charts</i> <i>ingekuwa hii</i>	And again number one on the charts would be this one.
c) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelea	Si kuchukia wathii juu wantawala <i>industry</i>	And not just despising artists just because they are ruling the (music) industry
d) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	<i>Luckily</i> , usiulize nguo iko wapi mimi ndio najifunga  Hukumbuki juzi kwa <i>salon</i> ukishukwa?	Luckily, don't ask where your cloth is I am the one tying it around. Don't you remember the other day while in the salon being braided?

The italicized words in the data in (3.6) are interjects in the sentence. One or several words may be interjected. Interjections in this data take a big proportion as can be observed in the high frequency of intra sentential code switching, which is 82% (c.f. Table 2.2.5). As a strategy interjections take 20% of the total strategies.

The artists seem to interject with words from other codes freely in their songs. These interjections seem to have equivalents in the Kiswahili language yet they are used in the utterances. A case in point is in (3.6) a), *nawadrive insane*, where

the Kiswahili words *nawatia wazimu* could have been used. Here the use of English words serves to show force of influence on the fans who are specifically girls. In (3.6) b) English is also interjected to show success and prestige in music on the part of the artist. In (c) the word *industry* is used to stand for the music industry and the word music is left out to show the importance of music to these artists. In (d) the word *luckily* is used as a tag that serves to substantiate something said before. The artist has been describing his feelings for the girl and the things he is doing to confirm it such as putting her hair into his pocket after collecting it from the salon as she was braided and tying her clothes around just to feel close.

### 3.5 Reiteration

Reiteration involves the speaker repeating what is said in another code in the other code. This information may be repeated as it is or in a modified form. This may serve to emphasize the message passed. The code switched information could in most cases be equally well expressed in either language involved. In our data, examples of reiteration are shown by the songs **Destiny** by Necessary Noise, **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo and **Tabia Mbaya** by K-South as seen in (3.7).

(3.7) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noize	Destiny	I am craving your love <i>Nakwambia nakutaka</i>	I am craving your love I am telling you I need you
b) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Hizo sheets na ngotha hatutachafua Nitakuwa nazipeleka wapi <i>White Maua, White Rose, White Maua</i>	We shall not make those sheets and pants dirty. Where will take them , <i>White flowers, White Rose, White flowers</i>
c) K-South	Tabia Mbaya	Ukitupa timber <i>Basi ni mbao umetupa</i>	When you throw timber Then it is timber you have thrown (literal translation)

In these examples, the message is reiterated directly in the other code. In (3.7) a) the singer is talking about love and expresses her feelings in both codes for the sake of emphasis. In (3.7) b) the words *White maua* are substantiated through another code to be *White Rose* which refers to the business name of a local dry cleaner. Without this reiteration, the meaning would not come out clearly. The right translation would be *White flowers* but *maua* was used metaphorically just to create an aesthetic effect. The line *when you throw timber* in (3.7) c) is used metaphorically to mean when you loose your mind. The words *timber* and *mbao* are used in reiteration for emphasis.

At times reiteration involves the repetition of a message several times using different words as is shown in the songs **Pata Pata** by K-South and **Kinyaunyau** by Deux Vultures. See examples in (3.8).

(3.8) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K- South	Pata Pata	Style ya karate wateme mate <i>Kwenye shirt ziwe dirty dirty</i> <i>Manze nguo zichafuke,</i> Eeh nguo zichafuke	Karate style until they spit on their shirts and make them dirty .... Clothes to get dirty Eeeh, clothes to get dirty
b) Deux Vultures	Kinyaunyau	<i>Anasema anataka mali yangu</i> <i>Anasema anataka vitu zangu</i>  <i>Anasema anataka phone</i>  <i>Na anataka gari halafu ndio</i> awe wangu	<i>She says she wants my</i> <i>property</i>  <i>She says she wants my</i> <i>things</i> <i>She says she wants a phone</i> <i>And she wants a car then</i> <i>she can be mine</i>

In these two examples, reiteration is seen to involve a number of lines and involves different words but the aim is to emphasize a certain message: the reflected message. In (3.8) a) the artist wants to emphasize how they will deal with their opponents who talk ill of them until they become dirty. Reiteration is used in (3.8) b) to show that the city girls referred to in the song are very property minded. The words things and property would mean the same in this context. The artist then talks of phone and car that are all included in the meaning of property. The Sheng' word *manze* seems not to have an equivalent in English. It is an interjection that serves the purpose of getting the listener's attention. Reiteration seems to overlap with another function relating to message qualification.

### 3.6 Message Qualification

Message qualification is a strategy that involves the use of qualifying constructions, whereby the second part of the construction explains the first part by virtue of using another code and different words. The main purpose is to give the message more weight as compared to the statement made in one code without expounding. A reiterated message may at times serve as a qualification of the previous line. Message qualification could also serve as a correction of what had been said. Here the interlocutor sort of assumes that the message was not clear in the first instance.

According to Nthiga (2003), message qualification can be seen as relating to the notions of topic and comment. A topic can be introduced in one code and commented on or further qualified in another. This was observed in the data. Examples of message qualification strategies are shown in the songs **Tension** by Necessary Noise, **Mafans** by Prezzo and **Freaky** by Kleptomaniacs (c.f. data in (3.9) below).

(3.9) Artist	Songs	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noize	Tension	Na sina pesa, haiwezekani <i>Yaani hata soda siwezi kunywa</i> Sina hela Hata sijakula.	And I don't have money Its impossible Say, I can't even take a soda I don't have even have a coin I have not even eaten
b) Prezzo	Mafans	Everyday napokea baraka zangu nikisonga mbele <i>Kila siku napokea baraka zake nikisonga mbele.</i>	Every day I receive my blessings as I move forward
c) Kleptomaniacs	Freaky	Popote tuendapo sifa zetu zinaspread <i>Popote tuendapo tunaroga na maparables.</i> <i>Nikifafanua in simple terms</i> nakushow  <i>Kuwa sisi tutapanda in the charts tutamake.</i>	Wherever we go our fame spreads Wherever we go we sing in parables  Just to substantiate, in simple terms I am telling you that we are going to make it even in the charts.

In all these examples the artist elaborates the first part of the utterance through the second part. In (3.9) a) the artist is talking about his lack of money. After saying he has no money he then says he cannot even take a soda because he does not have even a coin and he has not eaten. All these other statements are qualifying the first line *Na sina pesa* (and I don't have money). In (3.9) b) the artist uses the words *kila siku* which mean the same as *every day* in the first part. The use of the Kiswahili words is probably to make sure the message is well understood. He wants to show that he is moving on and receiving blessings through his singing.

Message qualification involving Sheng and Kiswahili switches is seen in the songs **Hamwezi Toboa** and **Tabia Mbaya** by K-South. (See (3.9) a) and (3.10)).

(3.10) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K- South	Hamwezi Toboa	Uliza manzi yangu sikati <i>Kwa nyumba yangu ya mabati.</i>	Ask my girlfriend, In my tin-roofed house
b) K- South	Tabia Mbaya	Nilikuwa nasikiza tenje yangu Ile huweka kwa nyumba? Ndio, Ndio	I was listening to my radio The one you keep in the house? Yes, Yes

Gumperz (Ibid) talks of a speaker qualifying his own message, which is not always the case as is exemplified here. In (3.10) a) another speaker who is seeking substantiation the speaker also qualifies the message. In (3.10) b) the speaker qualifies his own message. Data in (3.10) a) involves the artist qualifying the first message by mentioning something that would help the listener to understand the person he is talking about. In (3.10) b) the Sheng' word *tenje* may not be understood by many and the speaker hopes that by saying the qualifying statement *The one you keep in the house* then the audience will understand. The audience may also be his fellow youth who may not understand the word. In general, message qualification has been used by the artists for purposes of clarity and emphasis.

### 3.7 Personalization Vs Objectivization

This strategy is actually a motivation to CS. Speakers can switch to show personal opinion or knowledge about something on someone. This switching shows either the degree of speaker's involvement in or distance from the message they are communicating. This strategy involves the distinction between talk about action and talk as action. This means that the speaker may make a statement to reflect personal opinion (personalization) or knowledge or has authority of a known fact (objectivization). According to Gumperz (1982), participants are likely to interpret 'we' codes passages as personalized and 'they' codes as indicating objectification. The artists seem to use this strategy to express personal opinion and also show knowledge about what is happening around them by reporting incidents. The songs **Ni Sawa Tu** by Necessary Noise, **Tabia Mbaya** by K-South and **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo (3.11) exemplifies this.

(3.11) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Ni Sawa Tu	Ni msichana from the press, <i>Nasikia anaposses some of the moves</i>	She is a girl from the press I hear she possesses some of the moves
b) K- South	Tabia Mbaya	<i>Njoro ana Njeri, leo Amina na kesho Shiro yaani ata wife ya Kimani anamtamani Najua beste mwingine anastay Kangemi Kangemi Ikifika weekend anakopa mapeni...</i>	Njoro is with Njeri , today he is with Amini and tomorrow he will be with Shiro, Say even Kimani's wife admires him I know another friend who lives in Kangemi When the weekend comes He borrows coins....
c) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Hakuna rules kwa hii game hata kwa kichaka	There are no rules in this game even in the bush

The data in (3.11) a) and b) reflect some reporting about a happening. In (3.11) a) the artist is relying on hearsay about an upcoming musician while in (3.11) b) he speaks about something he knows for sure is factual information. In this case he addresses deteriorating social standards. Moral decay is shown through infidelity and there is low speaker involvement. The artist wants to distance himself from those involved. The case in (3.11) c) however, represents a personal opinion and the artist's view about sexuality. The speaker here is closely involved in the activity different from (3.11) a) and b), which show the speaker distancing himself from what he is talking about.

The seven strategies discussed here are evident in the data and the artists are using them for different purposes. The table below shows the frequency of these strategies in the songs. Message qualification has the lowest frequency taking 6%. This is because the songs' target audience is the youth and substantiation may not be necessary in many cases. They understand the language of their in-group. Addressee specification is the most frequent taking 33%. This can be explained by the fact that most artists compose songs with an addressee in mind and the song may also be about someone. Consider Table 3.8 below.

**Table 3.8: Stylistic Strategies of CS**

Song	Quotatio n	Mimicr y	Addressee specificatio n	Interjectio n	Reiteration	Message qualificati on	Personal Vs objectifization	Total
01	1	2	2	4	-	-	1	10
02	-	-	5	2	-	-	4	11
03	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	5
04	-	-	5	4	-	-	4	13
05	1	-	9	5	1	-	2	18
06	2	-	5	5	-	1	1	14
07	-	-	2	1	-	-	3	6
08	1	1	4	3	2	-	3	14
09	1	1	4	2	-	2	2	11
010	1	-	3	-	1	-	1	6
011	-	1	2	-	1	1	2	8
012	2	3	2	1	-	-	1	9
013	-	-	3	2	-	-	2	7
014	-	1	3	1	-	1	2	8
015	1	1	3	2	-	1	1	9
016	2	2	1	1	2	-	1	9
017	1	2	2	1	2	-	1	9
018	3	-	3	1	-	-	-	7
019	1	1	3	1	1	-	3	10
020	-	1	2	3	-	1	1	8
Total	18	16	66	40	12	6	35	192
%	9	8	33	20	6	7	17	100

## Conclusion

This chapter set out to address the stylistic strategies adopted by the artists in the songs during CS. The main objective was to show that at times an interlocutor could switch codes as a device that is meant to help him communicate his intended meaning. The speakers are seen to employ linguistic choice as a strategy to add intentional meaning to an utterance. The artists are observed to define the social situation by choosing the codes most appropriate to

them at the moment. The important thing is that the strategies that speakers use are understood by their audience in order for the information to be understood.

Seven stylistic strategies have been identified in the data namely: quotation, mimicry, message qualification, reiteration, addressee specification, interjection and personalization vs objectivization. Each one of these strategies is observed in the data in differing proportions depending on the artist and the message being passed. Most songs normally target a certain individual or group and this could explain why this strategy was employed by most of these artists.

The findings of this chapter concur with Gumperz's (1982) observation that individuals use verbal strategies that have symbolic value and these choices are based on interpretive consequences. For instance an artist could qualify a message for clarity. He or she could specify an addressee to ensure proper message delivery. The artists are seen to use these strategies to pass messages and to add an aesthetic aspect. This involves intentions like to emphasize a message, specify an addressee or just to add flavour to a conversation through mimicking or quoting another speaker.

Some strategies however seemed to overlap. For instance, quotation and mimicry may for instance not be easily differentiated. Change of tone seems to be the only difference between the two. This is not easily identifiable in

transcribed data. Reiteration and message qualification also seem to overlap in the sense that both involve repeating a message for a communicative purpose such as clarity. In giving personal opinions or facts, this function overlaps with addressee specification especially when referring to an individual but not in all cases. Although some of these strategies can be identified may not have a clear-cut difference between them. Nevertheless, these strategies were observed to have been used each having its distinct use in the data.

The data presented in this chapter leads us to make several conclusions concerning these strategies. It is therefore in order to conclude that in some cases, multilinguals make code choices in their interactions as strategies. These strategies add intentional meaning in an utterance. For instance code switches in the data are used either to show distance, prestige, sophistication or emphasis. Artists in this study are observed to use code shifts for their own purposes or to define the situation as they wish and to convey aspects of personal nuances. This chapter looks at each interaction on its own merits since the study is on the individual artist and his/her strategies. In general we can conclude that speakers are not just custodians of roles imposed on them by society but rather are inquirers attempting to comprehend themselves and others in any given linguistic interaction (Gumperz, 1982).

However, if speakers were to use language in their own way in CS, based on personal choices, the result will be too fragmented. This will not show the common interpretation found in conversations. An individual speaker is part of a wider society that has its own norms of interaction. These norms constrain code choices. The society also accords each code with its social symbolism. Song is meant to reach the wider society and it is generally expected that the artists in their use of language adhere to the norms specified by the society concerned. It is therefore important to examine the social functions of CS. This is addressed in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF CODE SWITCHING

### 4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters the focus of the study has been on the text itself, the patterns within it and the strategies that artists employ in interactions. In this chapter we shall look at the various codes as they are used in the songs as dictated by societal norms. Language use cannot be divorced from the society in which it is used since CS takes place within multilingual societies that have their own norms (Giles, 1990).

The social functions of CS in this study are examined using Pierre Bourdieu's Model of Symbolic Power (1991). Symbolic power is a term used by Bourdieu to refer to the authority, status, hierarchy and prestige accorded to a particular code within a linguistic market. This power is exercised through symbolic exchanges. Here exchanges refer to linguistic interactions between interlocutors. The society determines the symbolic power of the various codes spoken within it by according them certain status. Every language in society has its symbolic functionalism as dictated by the society.

The social symbolism and functions of each code are discussed by looking at the general language use in Kenya. It is important to understand the distribution of languages within the social system in order to understand their social symbolism.

This includes how many languages are spoken, by which people in the population, in what contexts and in terms of what the local attitudes and stereotypes to these languages are. The data discussed in this study uses three codes, English, Kiswahili and Sheng, which have different social symbolism in the Kenyan society.

**English** was the language of colonial masters and it forms a necessary media of communication and instruction in the education system (C.f. Mbaabu, 1996). It is a symbol of high status and civilization and its prestige is enhanced by fact that it opens new opportunities for good jobs. It is the official language of the government, higher education, big business, laws, diplomacy and international communication. The roles that English plays in these sectors adds to its authoritative symbolism. Mazrui and Mazrui (1995), points out that the prestige of English converts it into a resource relevant for class formation in East Africa.

Due to its association with high status, English is a prestigious language of communication and is used in many conversations, including informal ones, among the well educated.

**Kiswahili** is the national language in Kenya and is very soon to become an official language legally once the new constitution is adopted. The current constitution provides that a person cannot become a bonafide Kenyan national without some knowledge (see Mazrui and Mazrui, 1995: 84). It is the lingua

franca that shows national solidarity by cutting across all ethnic boundaries. This is because it is viewed as a neutral language in a society characterized by a high ethnic diversity. Presently, Kiswahili is used in the whole of Kenya and worldwide it has more than fifty million speakers. In most urban areas in Kenya it is the main language of production. Kiswahili does not signal the socio-economic status of the participants in most cases since people of all social classes use it (Mbaabu, 1996). Rather, Kiswahili serves the important role of bridging the gap between people of different social classes.

The use of Kiswahili does not imply lack of command of the official language, English. Instead, it is increasingly becoming the language of prestige. This may be attributed to the fact that it has gained international status in the recent past (see Muthuri, 2000). It is used as one of the languages in A.U. and NEPAD meetings and is taught and spoken in many countries abroad. Kiswahili is the most important language for radio in the East African region. It is also the single most important indigenous publishing language in the region in terms of schoolbooks, novels, pamphlets and academic books (c.f Mazrui and Mazrui, 1995).

**Sheng** is a mixed code that boasts of a combination of English and a variety of other African languages the most prominent being Kiswahili, Kikuyu and Dholuo. Sheng' however follows Kiswahili grammatical rules. For instance its intonation

pattern is similar to that of Kiswahili (Echessa, 1990). This code emerged in the 1980s in Nairobi as a code specifically for the youth, who were negotiating their linguistic identity. Sheng shows a sense of shared values and brotherhood among the youth. Originally it was spoken in the Eastlands area of Nairobi in estates such as Jericho, Makadara, Eastleigh and Huruma as well as the slum areas like Mathare, Kibera and Korokocho. With the passage of time different varieties of Sheng' emerged in various sections of the city.

These three codes therefore have their social symbolism as dictated by the society. This symbolism directly influences CS in general language use in the society. Gumperz (1982) calls this situational code switching. The society agrees on the functions allocated to these codes. CS defines a given social arena which corresponds to a given set of norms (C.f. Scotton and Ury, 1977).

Gumperz and Hymes (1986) argue that all that is required in any multilingual society is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared so that speakers can decode meanings carried by alternative modes of communication. These meanings are determined by the society that classifies the various languages and sets the conventions of their use. In the Kenyan situation the common language for all speakers is Kiswahili, which also happens to be the main language used in our data. These conventions determine the social functions of

the codes used in any interaction. The functions and symbolism of the codes are investigated in the light of the Critical Discourse Analysis theory with particular reference to the four tenets of the Symbolic Power Model by Bourdieu (1991). These tenets are symbolic domination, communicative economy, Habitus and euphemism.

The notion of symbolic power refers to the authority and status accorded to any code in society. This authority is only seen in symbolic exchanges. The power of a code is seen in its ability to mobilise the authority accumulated within a linguistic market.

The Symbolic Power model's four major tenets explain linguistic variation including code switching. It observes that languages in any society are classified according to those four aspects, which dictate their use at any one time. The tenet of symbolic domination is the central claim of this theory and dominates the other three so that they take minor roles. Below each tenet is discussed one at a time in relation to the data and also in light of the information showing the social symbolism of the three codes.

#### **4.1 Symbolic Domination**

Symbolic domination here refers to the power that a certain code possesses over another in the linguistic market. The issue of symbolic domination would appear

to explain instances of class divisions in language as well as competition over status of the different codes. The process of colonization involved among other things the integration of a new linguistic market. English was a principal tool in the process of colonization. It was associated with military, technological and educational superiority. Speaking English was in itself a form of power and local persons who acquired it increased their own power (c.f Mbaabu, 1996). English was the main means of acquiring cultural capital and raising status in the social space. Kiswahili, upon colonization was given the status of a lingua franca unifying citizens of all social status in the country.

The expected code for Nairobians is Kiswahili but there are contexts in which it is not legitimated like when talking about sexuality to fellow youths. Thus, at one and the same time an artist's linguistic behaviour shows skill as well as the effects of symbolic domination. English is associated with upward mobility. It is the language of the international community and it is used in the international media. This makes particularly appealing to the young in the society like the artists who because of their age have a potential for upward mobility. A case where English is used to show upward mobility in the social space is the switch from a mixed line to an English verse in the song **Ni Sawa Tu** and **Destiny** by Necessary Noize and **Mafans** by Prezzo in (4.1).

(4.1) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noize	Ni Sawa Tu	Si hata hiyo ni sawa tu Every one there shake Your body Throw your hands high in the air Say, open up your arms round an <i>Around up and down</i> and back to the ground Mimi siko bottom wala katikati Namake trial first number moja Kwenye chart.	Even that one is okey ... I am not at the bottom Or in the middle when I make a trial I come First on the chart
b) Necessary Noize	Destiny	So, tafadhali mpenzi kuja hapa Oh I need you diamond and Pearls. No trips around the World You are my king so its you I will serve Give you everything that your world deserves	So, please my love come here ...
c) Prezzo	Mafans	Down all this kwa sababu ya madame ... and now nakushow you are right And if you don't believe Then the show will be tight And if you know you cant You better take a hike	Down all this because of girls... and now I want to tell you, you are right.

In (4.1) a) the artist sees herself as one who has a high potential for success in music. She switches from Kiswahili which she uses to answer her mother to English when talking to her fans. In the line that follows that verse she uses English words to assert her position in music which she sees as having no comparisons with the others. She is moving fast in the charts and she has the

potential to achieve much in English. The use of English symbolizes success in life and career in this case. In (4.1) c) the artist specifies his addressee as the learned fellows with degrees who assume that he is just a musician with no prospects. So he talks of influence on the fans and asserts that he won't linger but will move on.

In (4.1) b) the girl, to express love in what is believed by the youth to be the more modern or civilized manner, uses English. The use of words like diamonds and pearls all shows sophistication and high status. *Trips around the world* is another phrase that shows that status. English is an international language that makes one able to mingle with all races. Here it is also used to show prestige and honour. The girl uses it to persuade the boy to agree to a relationship. The artist here switches to English to show her potential for success either in music or in general life.

Other instances where English being the language with higher symbolic domination is used to persuade are in the songs **Leo ni Leo** and **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo, **Monalisa** by Deux Vultures shown in (4.2).

(4.2) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Leo ni Leo	Kama unabishana muulize Magadula Ooh can you dance with me tonight Ooh can I drive you home with me tonight	If you disagree ask Magadula ...
b) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Cheki manze nilivyompoa, matunda yetu walhi sio sumu <i>After all its good for you</i> Niamini because its true	Just see how good I look our fruits are not <i>poison</i> Believe me because its true
c)Deux Vultures	Monalisa	Ako masafa, jina ni Mustafa No need for you to worry we can keep it under cover For you should never mind, a battle with a lover Karibu kitandani halafu ndio utadiscover	He is on his way His name is Mustafa Welcome to the bed, then you can discover

In the texts in (4.2) the boys are all trying to persuade the girls to agree to their proposals for sexual relationships. English is used to persuade. This could be because it is more authoritative in that the girl may view the boy in a different way just because of the use of a code with a higher market value. In (a) the boy uses English to show his status as he talks of driving the girl home. In (b) he is talking of his prowess in sexual matters and tries to persuade the girls by switching from Sheng to the more symbolically dominant language. The same thing is observed in (c) where the boy promises to keep it secret using the metaphorical words, *We can keep it under cover* these words indicate the speaker's objectivity while at the same time the girl is persuaded to get into bed.

As the language inherited from the colonialists, English is taken as the language that symbolizes civilization and with it comes sophistication. Mbaabu (1996) says that learning a foreign language includes learning new values, tastes and in most cases appreciating different forms of dress, foods, eating habits, music, dance, films, recreation, education system, religious practice, and so on. This is the case with the learning of English in Kenya. So, any time that the artists want to show that they are modern or urban in lifestyle they are observed to use English even if they are only switching a minimal constituent. Due to the fact that the lifestyle of youngsters is dynamic and involves imitations, we find the artist talking of things belonging to Western culture including food, music and dance, dressing, films and forms of recreation. To them these things are indices of sophistication and are best expressed in English. Examples in the data related to dressing and jewelry can be exemplified in (4.2) and the songs **Monalisa** by Deux Vulture and **Leo ni Leo** by Prezzo in (4.3).

(4.3) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux Vultures	Monalisa	Wacha nikwambie dame alikuwa amevaa, A black stretcher Blue silk top. And a pair of black sketchers An African queen A kind of sophistication none of you has even seen	Let me tell you, the girl was wearing ...
b) Prezzo	Leo ni Leo	Bado nazidi kuvaa, Bling bling kwenye neck na mikono Mimi ni nametameta nareflect kama kioo	I' m still wearing bling bling around the neck and wrists. I'm glowing and reflecting like a mirror

In (4.3) a) the artist is describing what he believes is a beautiful girl who values sophistication. The mode of dress he describes is western and so the language that suits this linguistic market is English. The same is observed in (b) where the artist, a young man, talks of shining jewelry, which is probably expensive that he wears on the neck and wrist for his fans to see. He wants to be admired and feels that this is a way of enhancing his image. He uses the Kiswahili word *Nametameta* that means *I am glowing* but then does not feel sophisticated so he qualifies it with *nareflect* an English word with a Kiswahili prefix for the subject.

Some artists also use English when talking of music. For instance *hip hop* is an American genre. Every time the artists refer to it they use English in the line. There are instances of style variation in the verses to reflect American influence. This is shown in (4.4) below in the songs, **Tuendelee** by Kleptomaniacs and **Hamwezi Toboa** by K-South.

(4.4) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelee	Kama wewe ni <i>MC stick to the works</i> Unafaa kuweza kutumia <i>hip hop na other tracks</i> <i>Hip hop ni culture ya love</i> usisahau	If you are an MC stick to the works you should be able to use hip hop and other tracks Hip-hop is a culture of love, don't forget.
b) K-South	Hamwezi Toboa	Unarap <i>everytime</i> Lakini unarap Nonsense In real sense Upande wa rap Song wee ni mdense	<i>You rap every time</i> But you rap nonsense ... ... ...

These rappers 'worship' Western music and they use English when referring to their favourite music style. That is hip-hop in (4.4) a) and rap in (4.4) c). The respected artiste would be one who has mastered this art. That is the reason why in (c) the artist calls his competitor *dense* in reference to his rapping ability. In (a) the artist criticizes the other artiste for not understanding the hip-hop culture, which does not value hatred but love.

Examples of the use of English words to refer to food that is thought of as belonging to the higher class or a show of modernism is shown below (4.5) in the songs **Kinyanyau** by Deux vultures and **Pata Pata** by K-south.

(4.5) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux vultures	Kinyaunyau	Kinyaunyau wa Mombasa anapenda sana raha	The girl from Mombasa likes to have too much fun....
		Lakini wa Kisumu anapenda kunywa <i>beer</i>	But the one from Kisumu likes to drink beer
		Wa Nairobi anapenda kunipilia...	<i>The one from Nairobi likes</i> passing by my place...
		Wakati wa baridi anapenda kunywa chai.	When it is cold she likes to drink tea
		Na wakati wa joto anapenda kula <i>ice</i>	And when it is hot she likes to eat ice.
b) K- South	Pata Pata	Na madame nawadanganya na <i>coffee</i>	And I trick the girls with coffee
		Usiku waingie kwa office.	At night they get into the office.
		"Huna <i>coffee</i> ?"	"You don't have coffee?"

In (4.5) a), the English words *beer* and *ice* are used to refer to food generally associated with modern life. The word *tea* in (a) is in Kiswahili may be because it is taken as an ordinary drink. In (b) the English word *coffee* is used to show urban life associated with sophistication. This use of English to show sophistication is also seen when referring to forms of recreation. This exemplified in the song **Monalisa** by Deux Vultures and **Leo ni Leo** by Prezzo as shown in (4.6).

(4.6) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux vultures	Monalisa	I'm your number one lover...	... ...
		Never pain me mambo vipi? Si tuwatch DVD	How are things? Why don't we watch DVD?
b) Prezzo	Leo ni Leo	CMB na Prezzo tuko kwenye club Looking fresh and clean kwa hizi sports	CMB (Cash Money Brothers) and Prezzo We are in the club..... In these sports attire.

Being in the club is a form of recreation in the modern society. DVD (Digital Versatile Disk) is part of modern technology in recreation. The boy wants to sound modern and therefore sophisticated.

Bearing in mind the authoritative attribute of English, it is used to show anger and criticism. According to Muthuri (2000), English is the language widely used in conversations to convey the speaker's objectivity, detachment, alienation, warning, dislike, criticism or conflict of interest on the part of the speakers in what

they are saying or hearing in an exchange. This may be directed to the ruling class, who are mostly educated and thus among the elite. This attribute is what Bourdieu (1991) calls anti - dominance. The elite mostly use English and thus are addressed in English when they are being criticized. Most of these artists sing about teenage life in modern Kenya. However, they are not blind to the evils of the society and they show their dissatisfaction about the government of the day. This is shown in (4.7) with the songs **Hamwezi Toboa**, by K-South **Freaky** by Kleptomaniacs, and **Nairobierry** by K-South.

(4.7) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-south	Hamwezi Toboa	Ndio naishika kama pombe ndani ya mkebe Juu mi ni black boy	That is why I hold it like beer in a can Because I am a black boy.
b) K-south	Nairobierry	Throughout Nairobi are different people some are living well but most of them live small No substantial income Some of us would rather break laws and pay the bills Not keeping your mouth shut lest you make noise. Corrupt cops scheming on chics with drop tops Imports and exports KICC building under poisonous greed Serious pollution from these factories	...

In (4.7) a) he talks of beer in a tin in Kiswahili and asserts that he is a black boy. The use of Kiswahili here is symbolic. It is the language of brotherhood. In most cases Africans live a simple alife hence the words *beer in a tin*. In (4.7) b) the

artist criticizes the government on the escalating poverty and corruption and uses English to express anger, dislike and conflict of interest between the government and its citizens.

To counter this domination by English as used by the elite and ruling class, the artists are observed to use Kiswahili to educate, warn and encourage the ordinary man in society. This shows solidarity and neutrality. The switch to Kiswahili shows a sense of anti- dominance. Examples are shown in (4.8) in the songs **Nairobi** and **Pata Pata** by K-south and **Shujaa** by Necessary Noize.

(4.8) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-south	Nairobi	Kuishi Utamwaga jasho Nairobi kuna machizi Chunga mafisi Watakudishi ukiwa mbichi Kisha utawekwa kwa booty ya <i>mistubishi</i>	To live You will sweat in Nairobi there are mad men Beware of hyenas who will eat you raw And throw into a Mistubishi boot.
b) Necessary Noize	Shujaa	Ningetawala, Osama bin laden Ningemweka bomb mdomoni. Nihakikishe mtoni atafika. Wanachi msije sumbuka	If I would rule I would get hold of Osama bin Laden I would place a bomb in his mouth And make sure that he lands in hell So that citizens, you don't suffer at all.
c) K-South	Pata Pata	Eee Makarau na mawalkie talkie Hodi! hodi! Hodi! Na utabisha, mimi sitoki juu siogopi Nina chapaa na sichoti Mimi nipeleke kwa koti	Yes, the cops with their walkie talkies Knock! Knock! And you will keep knocking for I won't come out Since I'm not scared. I have money but I wont budge Take me to court.

In all these examples Kiswahili is used to warn the citizens and encourage them to resist domination. After criticizing the ruling elite on corruption in the first part, the artist switches to Kiswahili to warn the citizens on these matters (c.f 4.8 (b)). He calls the government machinery *mad men* and *hyenas* that feed on poor citizens and put them in a car boot. This is used metaphorically to mean arrest. This criticism of the cops is seen in (4.8) c) where the artist talks of baseless arrests in the estates. The boy being referred to in the song had just been with his girlfriend and hence had done nothing wrong. So he says he will not bribe the cops and would rather go to court. The use of Sheng words *Nina chapaa na sichoti* shows that the target audience is the youth. This may be an encouragement to young citizens who fall victim to this kind of harassment. In (b) the artist switches to Kiswahili to talk to ordinary citizens who at times are helpless victims of terrorists.

From these examples that involve symbolic domination we do observe that the artists switch to English to show anger, disapproval, authority, persuasion, and sophistication. In the last examples in (4.8) we see the artists switching to Kiswahili to criticize the ruling class even though these rulers belong to a high class. This concurs with Mesthrie (2000), concerning the view that there is competition between English and Kiswahili in Kenya. Mesthrie (Ibid), says that though English is associated with high social status, it is also resented by those

who see it as a threat to those in the lower economic and cultural capital group. Kiswahili is then used to convey messages to them especially about oppression.

The dominance of Kiswahili in these songs may be associated to the fact that it is viewed as the language that cuts across all socio-economic boundaries and it is understood by all. It is used to talk to the rulers and the ruled who occupy different positions in the social space. In the data Kiswahili is observed to be used when referring to day-to-day issues like disease, poverty, and culture. All this shows that it is a neutral language that is used to reach all and to affirm identity. It is also the language of trade and the most natural choice for urban areas like Nairobi which host a wide range of ethnic and racial groups. Hence its dominance in the songs is expected. This explains why over all, the ML is Kiswahili in all the twenty songs. Thus Kiswahili's dominance is seen in its neutrality. For instance whenever the artists want to refer to issues that affect all it is used. For instance the AIDS pandemic affects all groups in the society and whenever it is mentioned Kiswahili is used to reach the wider community. For example in the songs **Kwa Maboiz**, by Kleptomaniacs, **Monalisa** by Deux Vultures, **Tension** by Necessary Noise in (4.9).

(4.9) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Kleptomaniacs	Kwa Maboiz	Moto tuliwashow unatekeza Nifazidi kubariki  Watazidi kufariki Bado tunazidi kuhubiri Wakilisha utokako Na kazi imekucapture	We told them that the fire is consuming.  I will keep on preaching, They will keep dying We are still preaching Represent your area You have work to do.
b) Deux Monalisa	Monalisa	Natena nimeapa Ni wewe ndio nataka Wengine mimi sitaki magonjwa ni mengi	And again I have sworn That it is you I want I don't want others because there are many diseases.
c) Necessary Noise	Tension	Baba aniforce tena nikapimwe ukimwi  Mimi naogopa sijui itakuwaje nikikutwa na ukimwi.	My father is forcing me to have an AIDS test  I'm scared and I don't know what will happen if have AIDS.

In (4.9) a) the artist is talking about how the killer disease continues to kill many people despite them singing about it. However, he urges his fans to continue with the good work of preaching against it. In (b) the artist is passing the message that promiscuity is a major factor in the spread of AIDS. In example (c), there is the expression of fear of an AIDS test among the youth. Many feel uncertain about the future if they are found with the virus.

According to Bourdieu's capital hierarchy the people in the lower part are those with low cultural capital and low economic capital like farmers, small shopkeepers, casual workers and the jobless. Most of these people have little or

no education and skill. Kiswahili is used by the artists to reach these people because as earlier mentioned, English is meant for those who have gone through the education system, the elite. The artists address issues like poverty in Kiswahili as exemplified in (4.1

(4.10) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Necessary Noise	Tension	Nyumbani wageni wamekuja na sina pesa Mwenyewe nina njaa na sina hela Hata sijakula	Visitors have come home and I have no money I am hungry and I don't have a coin. I have not eaten
b) K-south	Hamweza Toboa	Uliza manzi yangu saikati Kwa nyumba yangu ya mabati Sijawahi mbuyiya roseflower.	Ask my girlfriend Saikati In my tin- roofed house I have never bought her a rose flower.
c) K-South	Pata Pata	Nimechoka na chai ya rangi na maziwa ndani Kila siku nisukuma, kabiji na ugali.... Njaa ni kitu sitaki pesa ziko, zimejificha wapi sijui. Ama natafuta kando na iko katikati Ama sina bahali	I'm tired of black tea with milk Every day I eat kales, cabbage and ugali I don't want hunger. There is money but I don't know where it is hidden Or I'm looking aside when it is at the middle or may be I'm not lucky.

The three examples are about poverty. In (4.10) a) there is mention of poor housing and luxuries like rose flowers to girlfriends do not arise. In (b) the artist addresses issues about the very poor who do not even have food to eat. The artist in (c) talks of poor diet among the poor people in the society who do not understand why there is that gap between the haves and havenots. Again the

government is criticized indirectly for this inequality. In all this Kiswahili is used to show anti-dominance.

Sheng is the other code that is used in these songs. In Kenyan urban areas the use of Sheng' by the youth is the natural choice in informal or in-group interactions and they only use Kiswahili or English as a show of co-operation with out - group members, who are more conservative. Sheng can be viewed as what Gumperz (1982) calls the 'we' code which is meant to show solidarity among in - group members and informal activities. This is one code which enjoys very little dominance and seems to be only effectively used among the youth. Kiswahili and English heavily dominate it and the youth only use it among themselves and switch to the other codes when talking about general issues. In all the songs, Sheng is used in several lines to refer to those things that concern the youth. Whenever the artists specify the addressees as fellow youth then they switch to Sheng. For instance in the song **Kwa Maboiz** and **Haree** by Kleptomaniacs, **Pata Pata** by K-south, **Tension** by necessary Noise as represented in (4.11).

(4.11) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Kleptomaniacs	Kwa Maboiz	Niko na swali kwa wasee wa mtaa Wathii niaje mnanyamaza Tukiwashika mshikike Kwa nini msikatike Microphone tukikamata	I have a question to his fellow youths Guys how come you are so quiet. When we touch your hearts Why don't you dance when we hold the microphone.
b) K-South	Pata Pata	Dame kwa moti CD kwa koti pamoja na manoti Ndio dame anoki Atapiga magoti Aanze masnogi	Dame in the car And a condom in the coat together with money notes So that the girl falls in love she will kneel down She will start snoging.
c) Necessary Noise	Tension	Ni kama chali wako akinoki your best friend  Huna chapaa na unataka haree kila weekend.	Its like when your boyfriend falls in love with your best friend  You don't have money and you want to go out every weekend.

In (4.11) a) the artist appeals to his fellow youth to support him in music. In (b) the artist talks about sexuality. He mentions girls and condoms and how men use money to lure girls into sex. This is meant to serve as a warning to the youth in this era of AIDS. In (c) the artist takes the position of one who understands the problems of fellow youth who want to have fun every weekend but have no money. She could be advising them to be content.

What is noticeable about symbolic domination is that a linguistic market endows linguistic products with a certain value. One must produce an expression that is

highly valued on the markets concerned. So we have observed that in those contexts where status and sophistication needs to be portrayed English is used. This is because in this context English had the highest value. However, according to Mesthrie (2000), the codes that have the most value are those that are most unequally distributed. For instance English is acquired through education and majority of low status groups have no access to good mastery of English. Hence it is reserved for the elite. Kiswahili then becomes the language that unites all those groups hence gaining higher status as the language that knows no barriers. Sheng is the language of the youth and they are the only ones who use it thus takes the lower position.

Thus, what is depicted here is a classification of languages symbolically in the linguistic market. Artists seem to switch to the various codes relevant in the market concerned. It is only in one instance that an artist uses a word from a vernacular language. That is in the song **Hamwezi Toboa** by K-South in the line *Omundu strong ndio mimi* the artiste here wishes to assert his ethnic identity.

The target audience in general in all these songs is determining the linguistic market. It generally goes around the notion of social class and the symbolic domination of the various codes. English dominates only among the elite who still revert to Kiswahili to show neutrality and brotherhood. Sheng' is observed to be only for the youth while Kiswahili seems to be more dominant in all contexts. All

these choices are based on the economic situation of the linguistic market. This is explored below under the notion of communicative economy.

#### **4.2 Communicative Economy**

The Symbolic Power model applies a systematic analogy of the discipline of economics. It observes that communication is part of the economics of everyday living. Language use is looked at from the perspective of the economics of linguistic exchanges. To Bourdieu all linguistic interaction is organized around a linguistic market. Some of the questions that interlocutors ask themselves when interacting linguistically with others are: What are the elements of this exchange? On what market is it exchanged? What is its value? What are the linguistic investments made? What capital accumulates? In other words code choice and code use is in essence an issue of economic gain or loss. The code deemed to be more productive economically is thus the most prestigious. The language of production is one that is essentially used in areas of education, administration, politics, business and so on.

In Kenya, Kiswahili is now used as a language of instruction in the lower levels in primary schools in urban areas and in administration. It is the main language of business in Kenya. The artists in our data are aware of this and thus are using it as the Matrix language. They have assessed the market situation and the consequences of their choices.

Scotton (1993) says that a major motivation for using one variety rather than another as a medium of an interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker. So speakers base their choices on the consequences of such choices. In a combination of English and Kiswahili, English is almost never a preferred choice over Kiswahili for these interactions. This can be observed in our data where the ML in most ML+EL constituents is observed to be Kiswahili. In all contexts the speakers aim at communicating maximally and still maintain good relationships with their interlocutors.

Bourdieu (1991) outlines four types of capital available to human beings. These are economic capital, that is wealth in form of cash or assets; cultural capital in form of knowledge, skill and education; social capital based on connections and group membership, and finally symbolic capital in form of accumulated prestige and honour. Individuals are distributed in the social space according to the total amount of capital they possess the composition of their capital and how a person's initial capital is transformed through out his or her life history. The linguistic interactions between interlocutors depend on the social relationship between them in the social space. These interactions are in linguistic markets, which may include markets like the labour market, high society, and ordinary daily interactions between people. The artists fall in the category of those who have social and cultural capital and limited economic capital.

Favoured patterns of language are conceived as symbolic assets, which can receive different values depending on the markets they are offered. From our data we can observe that the artists are using CS in proportion to the message they want to pass.

This is based on the social symbolism of the codes as discussed in 4.1 above. Various songs are based on themes that in some instances dictate language choice. When the artists aim at reaching the whole society, then Kiswahili is dominantly used. This is observed in the song **Tabia Mbaya**, which talks about general misconduct in the society among the young and the old. The artists talks of how people misbehave in various situations like public service vehicles, in parties, lying to their neighbours, adultery and so on. Kiswahili is the most economical choice here, as it will reach all. Sheng is used to refer to aspects that the singer thinks are more common among the youth. This is exemplified by the following texts.

(4.12) Song	Text	Gloss
Tabia Mbaya	a) Nilikuwa nasikiza tenje yangu	I was listening to my radio.
	b) Ati kumbafu jaribu kuzusha kwenye matatu, nitadunga hiyo pua iwe na shimo tatu	'That', Silly just try to raise trouble in this matatu and I will punch three holes into that nose.
	c) Najua beste mmoja anastay kangemi Ikifika weekend anakopa mapeni Friday mpaka Sunday Anahanya Mahoney	I know a friend of mine who stays in kangemi When the weekend comes, he borrows coins From Friday to Sunday He seduces girls.

In the three texts, the artist uses Sheng. In (4.12) a) the artist uses the word *tenje* to refer to a radio. Normally, youth like to listen to music. Probably this message would only interest the youth. In (b) it is apparent that Public Service Vehicle touts being mostly in the youth age group the use of Sheng when referring to them is in order. Example (c) talks of how the youth waste themselves in clubs on weekends with girls thus spending a lot of money. When referring to other out-group members, the artist switches to the more economical code, Kiswahili, which in this case is the neutral code. He uses it to reach the young and the old. This is exemplified in (4.13).

(4.13) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
K-South	Tabia Mbaya a)	Watu wengi, wazee na watoto	Many people both the old and the young
		Na wengine Wamefika bila kualikwa	And others came uninvited.
		b) Naomba unisikize juu ni mambo nakupa	I beg you to listen to me for I'm giving you good information
		Ndio mfurahi ama mkasirike na mpasuke	That you may be happy or get angry and burst out
		Si kuna watu aina tatu kwa hii nchi...	Aren't there three kinds of people in this country?

In these texts Kiswahili is used as the language that communicates to all. In (4.13) a) the artist is ridiculing those who go to parties uninvited. In (b) when he

begs them to he switches is from Sheng to Kiswahili probably to show seriousness. He does not want to loose his audience.

The linguistic market here is a normal Kenyan society comprising both low and high individuals, young and old, educated or not. The two examples, that is, (4.12) and (4.13) show that CS is more for the benefit of the youth and Kiswahili for the benefit of all. John Wachai, a DJ at Carnivore Restaurant, Nairobi, concedes that the contemporary artists mix codes in order to sell their music more especially among fellow youth. That is the reason why in (4.12) the artist uses CS while in (4.13) he does not switch. Kiswahili is used here as a means of production in that the aim is to sell their music more. It is enhances national identity. The artists are observed to also use it to produce wealth because they reach a larger audience.

In the song **Hamwezi Toboa** the artist uses a lot of CS and this is an indication that he addresses the youth. According to Scotton (1993), the more potential a group has for upward mobility, the more likely its members are to use CS in interactions allowing for status-raising in the social space. Such persons are characterized by possessing whatever social identity qualities the community sets as prerequisites for mobility such as youth, high educational level or the 'right' ethnic group membership. The artists in the data are young and educated. As earlier mentioned, they possess high cultural but low economic capital and

have the potential for upward mobility towards high economic capital. This means that their skill and knowledge in language allows them to switch and the potential for status raising motivates them to use English as a sign of status.

This is observed in most of the songs where the artist is targeting fellow youth as his linguistic market. For instance, the messages in the songs *Hamwezi Toba*, *Mafans*, *Wananitaka*, *Nairobi*, *Katika*, *Monalisa*, *Destiny*, and *Kwa Maboiz*, specifically target the youth. In these songs switching between English, Sheng and Kiswahili is rampant with almost every line having code switches. Youths are very innovative and their linguistic behaviour is characterized by a lot of CS. The artists are aware of this character since they are also young and thus the songs targeting the youth involve a lot of CS.

In the song **Mafans** by Prezzo switching is rampant. For instance it has a total of 27 intra-line switches. The song relates to the artist's success in music, a major attraction for the youth. But he also wants to sell his music to all members of the society so there are lines that he sings in Kiswahili. In (4.14) c) below he uses English to talk to the elite who he says have degrees and to the media elite.

(4.14) Artist	Song	Line	Gloss
Prezzo	a) Mafans	Mafans mi nawapenda wote na maautograph nitasign siku zote	I love you all my big fans and I will sign autographs all the time.
		Na kwa hii rap game sitawalet down	And in this rap game I won't let you down
		b) <i>Wakiuliza nani anaroga sema</i> Prezzo.	If they ask who is entertaining, say its Prezzo.
c)	Siwahitaji nyie wala hamnibabaishi mie nazidi kuzipokea tele Baraka zangu nikisonga mbele And now nakushow you are right And if you don't believe Then the show will be tight...	I don't need you people And you can't scare me I'm getting my blessings as I move on. ... I'm telling you ...	

All these choices are based on communicative economy. The linguistic market determines the choices. The artists choose the language according to the group for whom the message is meant. These examples show that the choice of code depends on its value in the linguistic market. One must produce the expressions that are highly valued in the market concerned. All this is based on the symbolism of the code concerned that actually classifies the linguistic market. The use of language is dictated by the norms of the given speech community, which is discussed under habitus below.

### 4.3 Habitus

Language acquires important social meanings when it is associated with certain social groups of speakers and contexts of use. Habitus refers to a system of norms arising from the conditions of existence of a particular class or group in society. According to Galfarsoro (1998), individuals tend to adjust through habits to the social space they inhabit (linguistic market). The habitus here refers to the social environment in which we live which is a product of the practices that social beings who inhabit it carry out. This is what gives us our social identity and character. It gives us a key to a social net of solidarity that defines our social capital in terms of connections and group membership.

In the data this is particularly observed in the use of Sheng' as well as instances where the artist just seems to switch in every other line. This can be explained in two ways; One, the artists occupy the social space of the educated young in the society hence too much switching. Secondly youths like to detach themselves from the main society and innovate their own codes or styles. This leads them into their own habitus.

Sheng is hence an important code to the youth in their linguistic interactions. This refutes Echessa's (1990) view that Sheng does not serve a communicative need since its speakers have English and Kiswahili as the main languages. Sheng has an important role in communication in that it is used by the youth to isolate the

other members of the society and to show disapproval to conservative norms. It is their language of intimacy and denotes shared values. It shows brotherhood among them. According to Mathooko (2004), young people tend to conform to peer group pressure in many ways including in their linguistic behaviour. They modify speech as a quest for linguistic identity and because they would like to identify with their own age mates. Their increased use of non-standards in their speech has the purpose of distinguishing them from the established prestige groups. Young speakers are highly innovative and will adapt to new ways of speaking while their older counterparts are conservative. This explains why Sheng' as a linguistic code has the character of evolving every now and then through the coinage of new terminologies and a word is in a use for a relatively short time. A case in point is Sheng words referring to a girl. It has evolved from *manyanga* , *dame* , *supuu*, *manzi* then to the more current word *kinyaunyau*.

According to Bourdieu (1991) language as a habitus then refers to certain ways of speech providing for membership of particular communities. Such forms of speech symbolize the particular group and they carry with them the group's particular interests and psychological orientations. This results from the practices that we carry out in our habitats. This is exemplified by the use of Sheng when referring to other artists or other youth. For instance in the song **Hamwezi Toba** by K-South, the artists use a lot of Sheng in almost every line (see Appendix, song 09). The songs **Freaky** and **Tuendelee** by Kleptomaniacs show

the use of Sheng when the artists are criticizing other artists and when entertaining fellow youth. Examples of some of the texts in these songs are in (4.15).

(4.15) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-south	Hamwezi Toboa	Maproducer wa K-South wakishakutuma kama mkuki... Unaloose wasee.... Mnaget maprof kwa radio station...	When the k-south producers leave you far behind...  You are loosing young fans you people get professionals from the radio station.....
b) Kleptomaniacs	Freaky	Juu mi ni noma, sivyo? Mungu moja atangoja kunicheki Nikibreaki, nikiseti Huku beti nikirhyme mtachekei kwa gazeti Jina Klepto ikidraw Mind zote zikiblow vichwa zote zikicrack	Because I'm tough isn't it? I swear to God you will watch as I break through As I rhyme verses you'll see in the newspapers The name Klepto on the charts, Making people crazy.
c) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelee	Rap naifanyia chapaa Si kuchukia wathii juu wanatawala industry	I rap for money Don't just hate the other artists just because they lead the music industry.

According to Mesthrie (2000), habitus is acquired through a gradual process of inculcation that is socially differentiated and comes to denote a style of living. These artists are talking of a certain culture associated with rap songs. Most of the rappers in Kenya are young and are therefore able to acquire a foreign culture and adapt to it. They have developed a particular style of articulation that has become associated to them (Bourdieu 1991). This is their Habitus. They use

Sheng to communicate among themselves. These songs also have CS instances between Kiswahili and English. Scotton (1993) calls this use of CS a strategy of neutrality that prevails in uncertain situations. Scotton notes that for this kind of switching to take place the speakers must be bilingual peers who have the same socio-economic status. The aim must be to symbolize the dual membership that such CS calls for. This is what according to Bourdieu characterizes a certain habitus.

The artists featured in this study live in Nairobi where code choice is a complex matter when one has to reach a large audience, as do the musicians. CS as is observed in this data, according to Scotton, occurs among the more linguistically innovative groups who also have the potential for upward mobility. The artists fall in this category. They aim to reach a wide society and therefore this becomes a ground for conflicting norms. This is because different groups from different habitus are involved. Artists like Prezzo in the songs **Mafans** and **Wananitaka**, K-South in **Hamwezi Toboa**, Necessary Noise in the songs **Ni Sawa Tu**, **Destiny** and **Tension** and the artists Kleptomaniacs in the song **Kwa Maboiz** seem to switch in almost every line.

These songs target the youth whose speech is highly mixed. The use of mixed variety among them is an accepted way of using language in this habitus. Most of these artists' main audience is their fellow youth. They are bilingual peers who

belong to the same social space. Examples of rampant switching characterised by a lot of interjections and intra-sentential switching are in (4.16).

(4.16) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Deux Vultures	Katika	Ewe sister, yule brother na uncle  Sasa ni wakati sote twende dance floor Tuicheze super mpaka tupate jasho Lets go its for our return.... Nasty Thomas na Mustafa tunawapa rhymes ah	You sister, brother and uncle  Its time for us all to go to the dance floor We dance well until we all sweat  ...  We Nasty Thomas and Mustafa are giving you Rhymes ah!
b) K-South	Hamwe zi toboa	Hata sina time na nyinyi Nipe Microphone a bit Relax and takes seat Nizicombine zote niwape black beat Mbona unataka Kuswim ndani ya basin	I don't have time you people Give me the microphone abit. Relax and take a seat I combine all of the them and give you the black beat How is it that you want to swim in a basin
c) Necessary Noise	Shujaa	Ningewakumbusha zenu roots Ningemake nation nzima I wonder Juu ningemake mapromise za kujaza city na brothers ningedo rights instead of bombing	I would remind you of your roots I would make the whole nation to wonder Because I would make promises to fill the city with brother s I would do rights instead of bombing.

In the data the artists are observed to use Kiswahili or English when reaching the out-groups. Those two codes are then identified as the "they' codes that Gumperz (1982) highlights. They are the languages of the other Habitus. Even in

their particular habitus the speakers are expected to adhere to societal norms such as euphemism.

#### **4.4 Euphemism**

Most linguistic expressions that interlocutors make in their interactions are euphemized. Certain topics are not mentioned, not because they cannot be, but because if and when people talk about them they do so in round about ways. In other words, they are euphemized. In this case the interlocutors talk about those issues indirectly (c.f. Wardhaugh, 1986). Such topics include sex, death, excretion and bodily functions.

According to Bourdieu euphemism is based on symbolic domination in that these expressions are modified by a certain kind of censorship, which stems from the structure of the market. Politeness and tact then become the capacity of a speaker to assess market conditions accurately and produce expressions that are appropriate to them (c.f. Mesthrie 2000). Interlocutors according to Bourdieu (1991) are viewed as rational actors who assess the effect of code choice and act accordingly. Language in this case is used to avoid saying certain things as well as to express them. The use of euphemism is a linguistic universal because no speech community uses language uninhibitedly. Each group sets constraints for its use of language.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speakers use certain structural strategies to mitigate potentially face-threatening acts which they wish to form. Bourdieu (1991) argues that the rules of politeness presuppose acknowledgement of the sociopolitical hierarchy. As already observed the society is divided into classes and habitus, which have certain norms on language use. The use of particular codes at times defines these habitus. In the text we find the artists using euphemism when referring to the out - groups either in Kiswahili or English. They employ Sheng when euphemizing topics to other youth. Euphemism involving the use of Kiswahili terms is used when the artists are targeting all groups. This is exemplified in the songs **Tabia Mbaya** by K-South, **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo and **Kinyaunyau** by Deux Vultures as shown in (4.17) below.

(4.17) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) K-south	Tabia Mbaya	Halafu kitu saa tatu niko kwa njia Yaani barabarani Saa zile najisaidia	And then at about nine o'clock when on the way. When I was answering a call of nature.
b) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Wee ni manzi yangu wacha nikupatie matunda Fungua mdomo usiulize kaa ni ngumu wee uma Vile utashiba najua utanikumbuka.	You are my girlfriend let me give you fruits Open your mouth don't ask if its hard just bite The way you will be satisfied you will remember me.
c) Deux Vultures	Kinyaunyau	Mimi ni simba najua kile nawinda Mvumilivu hula mbivu Ngoja ifike usiku Utakiona cha moto wee mtoto Apewe anachotaka ndio usiku nikitaka Pia mimi nitapata kile ninachokitaka	I'm a lion I know what I hunt Patience pays Let the night come You will see fire you girl Let her get what she wants so that when the night come I will also get what I want.
d) Kleptomaniacs	Haree	Okota kahoney Mpeleke gizani Mwambie wamtamani vipi? Hadharani He he jamani! Mchezo kasarani Moto pale ndani Aaaa samahani!	Get a girl Take her into the dark Tell her you desire her How? Openly. Hey Hey----- Game in Kasarani. It is hot there Ooh I'm sorry.

The artists here use Kiswahili to show euphemism. In the Kenya society issues of sexuality are taboo topics. Kiswahili offers the medium that expresses these messages in a more hidden manner. It is also acceptable to all because it does not invoke ethnic feelings. In (4.17) the artists address sexual issues and they use terms that are appropriate in their linguistic market, that is the Kenyan

society. In (c) the artist even uses Kiswahili proverbs and metaphor to dress his sexual message to the girl.

However, in some instances when the youth speak Sheng they seem to defy euphemism. They express sexual matters explicitly probably because they are talking to their agemates to whom the topic appeals. According to Wardhaugh (1986) speakers may violate euphemism in an attempt to show their own freedom from such restrictions. They can also do it to draw attention to themselves, be provocative, mock authority or as a form of verbal seduction. The artists in the data seem to just aim at defying the norms for verbal seduction and draw attention to themselves from fellow youth. For instance in the songs **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo, **Tuendelee** and **Haree** by Kleptomaniacs, **Pata Pata** by K-South, in (4.18).

(4.18) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Hakuna rules kwa hii game hata kwa kichaka Nakutana na wewe Supermarket hapo hapo nataka  Bora wee ni manzi mpoa na huna kiraka	There are no rules in this game even in the bush... I meet you in the supermarket and I want it there and then. As long as you are a good girl and has no patch.
b) Kleptomaniacs	Tuendelea	Ni heri sisi wao wamejaa mavirusi  Kumangana kila mahali kama mambuzi	We are better because they are infested with the virus 'Eating' each other everywhere like goats.
c) Kleptomaniacs	Haree	Tuko wapi? Kengeles Mamanzi hapo mbele Sura nzuri na nywele Tumeshikwa na nyege	Where are we? Kengeles Girls are there in front Beautiful with good hair. We are aroused.
d) K-South	Pata Pata	Msee anaota Kwa trou amesimama Aaaa! Nishamwaga  ...Akuje kuhanda  Ajipanguse na pamba Kisha atupe kwa shamba	The young man dreams That he erect Oooh! I have already ejaculated Then he will have sex And wipe himself with cotton wool, Then throw i into the garden.

These examples show the artists violating euphemism. They are even aware that they are violating. For instance in (4.18) a) the artist cautions those who may think he is talking dirty to cover their ears just before he utters those words. He says, *kama naongea mbaya funika masikio na pamba* (if I am talking bluntly just cover your ears with cotton wool). In this word of caution he uses Kiswahili

the neutral language and then switches to Sheng to talk about sex. The artist in (d) is also aware of the violation. So after the words above he says, *Usijali ndivyo mambo hukuanga* (Don't worry, that is how things normally are). Again he uses Kiswahili to soften the effect despite the fact that he was using Sheng.

The artists only use English minimally and in combination with Kiswahili. In the song **Vile Nitafanya** by Prezzo, the artist uses this combination to show euphemism and as long as English and Kiswahili are used then no violation on euphemism is made (See (4.19) below).

(4.19) Artist	Song	Text	Gloss
a) Prezzo	Vile Nitafanya	Mimi na wewe tutafika mpaka	You and me will get up to the
		penalty	penalty.
		Mimi na wewe juu hadi mbinguni	Me and you will go up to heaven
		Cloud number tisa wee utafika tu	You will get to cloud nine
		What! wee poa utafika tu	What! Just hold on you will get there.
b) Deux Vultures	Monalisa	No need four you to worry we can	...
		keep it under cover	
		For you should never	
		Mind a battle with a lover	
		Karibu kitandani halafu ndio	Welcome to the bed and
		utadiscover	then you will discover.

In these two examples, sex is not explicitly discussed. For instance in (a) he talks of sexual climax while in (b) he refers to sex as *a battle with a lover*.

According to Bourdieu (1991), euphemism is determined by symbolic domination. From these examples in (4.17), (4.18) and (4.19) we can see that the language being used determines the level of euphemism. Kiswahili has been used to

enhance politeness and English though minimally used is euphemized. On the other hand Sheng, which is the language of the youth habitus, is more explicit and seems to be used whenever the artist wishes to violate euphemism. Thus, the artists are weighing the consequences of the code choice by considering their linguistic market. Languages of the higher social status like English and Kiswahili demand politeness while the in- group code gives freedom. This is confirmed by the artists themselves like in the song **Tuendelea** where they say ,

*Matamshi yanafaa kuwa lugha ya kujali*

*Kukubaliwa na wananchi na hata mababi*

(All talk should be acceptable to all citizens even the rich).

## Conclusion

This chapter has focused on addressing the social functions of CS in the data and the motivation behind the switches. The main aim was to show that code choice does not only rely on individual goals as shown in the previous chapter but is also dictated by the norms of the wider society.

The chapter has addressed these aspects of CS using the Symbolic Power Model by Bourdieu (1991). The social symbolism accorded to the three codes by the general Kenyan society has also been addressed. The four tenets of this

model of Symbolic Power were used to discuss the use of these codes. These are symbolic domination, communicative economy, Habitus and euphemism.

From the analysis we find that the artists recognize the fact that they are operating in the realms of a linguistic market that is organized symbolically. The Kenyan urban society is also stratified according to the amount of capital that members possess. This includes cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital. The Kenyan artists in this study are fairly well educated and therefore possess the cultural capital. They belong to a certain social group speaking Sheng as their language of habitus. They recognize the symbolic capital associated with the codes like accumulated prestige and honour, which they employ whenever they make choices.

As far as symbolic domination of the codes is concerned, English has been observed to maintain the high status and prestige among the elite is concerned. English maintains its status as the language of the elite and the youth mainly due to the innovativeness of the youth as well their potential for upward mobility. It is however competing with Kiswahili for status. This is seen in the use of Kiswahili to show identity in the sense of honour, and challenge the government of the day as well as to express the normal every day trivialities shows that it is the more dominant code. It is no wonder then that the dominant language in these songs is Kiswahili. Overall it emerges as the ML in the songs. Kiswahili is the language

of production in most of the linguistic market. Sheng in these songs is exclusively for the youth and they use it the way they choose, to insult, be vulgar, encourage and even educate the youth about drugs and AIDS. In the data it is used to violate euphemism because in that case the target is the in-group.

The elite's habitus involves the use of English, and it is the habitat for the well-off, the learned and the ruling class. The artists are young and seem to put their foot in all the habitats and this explains their rampant code switching. The youth are innovative, they want to raise their status by using English but at the same time show neutrality and brotherhood by using Kiswahili. However, they feel the need to maintain their identity and to belong hence the use of Sheng in the data. From this analysis it would be in order to say that Kiswahili has continued to raise its status in the linguistic market.

Thus, CS depends on the codes involved since each code has its own value in the linguistic market and the social setting in which communication takes place which may be formal or informal. The identity of the speakers, their social role and status as well as the social distance between the interlocutors are also observed to influence CS. This is because speakers belong to a particular habitus that has its own set of norms. In this study the codes divide functions among them.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## THE CONCLUSION

### 5.0 Introduction

This study set out to identify, interpret and explain various structural and functional aspects of CS. The aim of the study was to show that CS is constrained by specific principles. In other words, CS has rules or conditions governing it and serves certain functions in the society.

This study was undertaken based on two main strengths. One that CS is a prevalent feature in Kenyan contemporary popular music. Secondly, previous studies have looked at CS in ordinary conversation. It seemed important to find out if song, a poetic genre, would bring out different aspects of CS lacking in previous studies. Two major theoretical paradigms, the Conversation Function Model by Gumperz (1982) and Symbolic Power by Bourdieu (1991) primarily guide the study

This study has addressed patterns and constraints of CS in the songs using lines in the data as the unit of analysis. It proceeded to examine stylistic strategies of CS used by the artists were identified. Finally, the study has analysed the motivations behind CS in relation to the symbolism of these codes. The social functions of CS have been analysed bearing in mind that each code has its function in the society. CS takes place with a certain communicative aim, and is

motivated by certain factors. In this chapter the summary, the findings of the study, the conclusions drawn from the study and the recommendations for further research are discussed.

## **5.1 Research Findings**

From the analysis in the foregoing factors various findings are drawn. The structural aspects that have been examined in this study were patterns and constraints regarding CS in the songs. One of the aims of the study was to show that CS is organized systematically. From the analysis, CS is observed to occur in a given pattern that is governed by certain structural and grammatical constraints. Various switching patterns are identified in the data. These switching patterns are switching between lines, switching within a word, switching within major constituents and switching between verses. Rhyme, featuring at the end of the line, was also identified as a switching site. All these switching sites are classified into four categories, which include tag, inter-line, intra-line and inter-verse switching. Intra-line switching is the most prevalent form of switching taking 82% of the total switches in the data. Tag switching is the least common type taking only 2% of the switches because utterances only occur when situation demands.

Patterns of CS in the songs observed are constrained by various grammatical aspects in the sense that grammatical rules of the codes involved dictate the

switch sites. Various constraints are seen to control this switching. Some of these constraints are based on the notion of matrix language. They include the ML hypothesis that has two principles: the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. The other constraints are the Blocking Hypothesis; the EL trigger hypothesis and the EL hierarchy hypothesis.

Constraints that are not specified by the matrix language and which are believed to be universal are observed to control the switches and in some cases are defied. Switching is seen to take place in the preposition phrase frequently in the data with a frequency of 25 occurrences.

The System Morpheme Principle is regularly adhered to. Kiswahili is the ML in most cases and thus dictates the morphosyntax of the switched elements like the verbs, nouns and clauses. Most of the switched verbs are morphologically blended taking the Kiswahili morphology. This is notable in the use of Kiswahili inflection morphemes. The Morpheme Order Principle is at times defied in the data to satisfy rhyme needs or create emphasis.

Other grammatical constraints, observed in all the data, include the EL trigger hypothesis and the Blocking Hypothesis, which are adhered consistently. Kiswahili seems to block the occurrence of English content morphemes. EL islands' occurrence is explained through the EL trigger hypothesis.

The Matrix Language (ML) and the embedded language (EL) in the data are identified based on the frequency of morphemes in either language. The ML is observed to be dynamic in the sense that any of the three codes would be the ML if single lines were analysed. Overall, Kiswahili is the ML since it has the highest number of morphemes in all the data. One major pattern is observed; that where there is a mixture of Kiswahili and English, Kiswahili is the ML with only one or two instances of English emerging as the ML. Sheng' is prevalent in the songs which are predominantly in Kiswahili. In such songs with English as the ML, Sheng' appears in very few morphemes. This is due to the fact that morphologically, Sheng' is derived from Kiswahili and artists using Kiswahili will use it concurrently with Kiswahili. This mixture is the natural choice for them.

Communicative aspects of CS are also evaluated in this study. Stylistic strategies that speakers employ when engaging in CS were identified. These strategies are used by the artists to achieve certain personal intentions based on interpretive consequences. The strategies employed by these artists include quotation, mimicry, reiteration, interjection, message qualification, addressee specification, and personalization Vs objectivization. All these strategies are an aspect of creativity and are used by the artists show that artists to communicate metaphorical information.

Some strategies are seen to have symbolic value. For instance an artist could qualify a certain message in his/her song for clarity. He/she could specify an addressee to ensure proper message delivery. The artists also seem to add flavour to their music by mimicking the original speaker other than just explaining what the person said. Thus, they pass the message and add an aesthetic element.

Some strategies are observed to overlap. For instance, quotation and mimicry may not be easily differentiated, except through change of tone. In transcribed data this may not be noticed yet the speaker used it. In this case mimicry would appear as quotation. This is because the two strategies are the same except in the element of tone variation. Reiteration and message qualification also seem to overlap, showing a very small difference. In giving personal opinions or facts the message qualification strategy overlaps with addressee specification but not in all cases as the data shows.

By looking at CS as a strategy that individual speakers employ, individual choices based on personal intentions are interpreted. However, an individual is part of a wider society that has its norms of interpretation and interaction. In order to capture this societal side another communicative aspect of CS has been evaluated. This is the motivation of CS based on the social symbolism of the three codes. Using Bourdieu's paradigm of Symbolic Power this motivation is

examined. The three codes are observed to be used symbolically. English has continued to maintain a high status and prestige. Kiswahili is observed to show brotherhood and solidarity and the artists use it to reach all; the common man, the elite, the young and the old. This is more explicit in the songs addressing sociopolitical issues. It is seen to cut across all social classes in the entire linguistic market. This explains why in the data the ML is observed to be Kiswahili. The switching in these songs is seen to depend on the symbolism and the role accorded to each code by the society.

The notion of symbolic domination is also seen in the use of codes in discussing certain topics. This is because the topic under discussion in any given song is also observed to dictate the use of CS. A topic like poverty is generally discussed in Kiswahili. Sheng is used in most cases to discuss sexuality. It is observed to be the language exclusively for the youth which they use to insult, be vulgar, encourage and even educate the youth about drugs and AIDS.

The criticism of the ruling class is addressed in English when directing the message to the target group itself. Kiswahili is used in the songs when educating the general public about the ills directed to them by the ruling elite. Due to the fact that English is viewed as the language of prestige and status symbol, the artists are observed to use English whenever they wished to show their experience in music and when challenging other artists.

The linguistic market that the artists are operating in is the Kenyan main cities. This market comprises different habitus whose members use language differently. The artists seem to recognise this and are using these codes appropriately. The artists are thus observed to use English to raise their status in the social space and Kiswahili to show neutrality and brotherhood. To maintain their identity and sense of belonging they use Sheng. Kiswahili and English seem to demand euphemism while Sheng being the 'we' code does not involve much euphemism. The artists are thus observed to switch to Sheng' when defying euphemism. The norms of the Habitus are observed in the rampant use of CS in the songs. This is characteristic of the youth in their Habitus. From these findings we can draw various conclusions of this study.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

In the previous section, 5.1, we have seen the findings of the study that lead us to make several conclusions. The patterns exhibited by CS in the songs are explained in terms of switching sites or where within the data that switching occurs. Three types of CS namely, tag, inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching have been identified in most CS studies. This study came up with four types of CS in the songs. These are tag, inter-line, intra-line and inter-verse switching. Interverse switching adds another category of switching that is observed in the songs. The fact that switching takes place frequently in the prepositional phrase in defiance of Pfaff's constraint shows that the data exhibits

its own patterns of CS different from what is viewed to be universal. In effect this is viewed as a contribution of this study since it represents a unique aspect

The stylistic strategies identified in the study lead us to conclude that speakers are capable of making choices not necessarily based on societal norms. The artists are observed to make choices to reach certain intentions and this is an aspect of CS that cannot be ignored. In poetry artists use strategies like reiteration and message qualification to add aesthetic aspect in their work and this was observed in the data.

We can safely conclude that the ML in these songs is Kiswahili which emerges as the more symbolically dominant language in the songs. It does not show social-economic status of its users and the artists used it as the common code among all members of linguistic markets. The use of Kiswahili even in songs, which are predominantly in English, shows that it is continuing to gain status at the national level. Though English is enjoying higher status and prestige Kiswahili seems to be gaining ground both official and ordinary use. The artists use Kiswahili to assert identity, create solidarity and brotherhood and generally to reach all members of the various habitats. This confirms Bourdieu's notion of habitus. The switches are motivated by factors like the topic of discussion, the social symbolism of the code, the norms set by society like euphemism and other norms of the given habitus.

In view of the available information in CS, research this study can make a claim to new knowledge. It is evident that there is a strong connection between structural and communicative aspects of CS. One new structural aspect found in this research is rhyme as a pattern of CS in song and interverse switching as another category of CS. In conclusion it is important to say that though the aspects raised in this analysis are significant aspects of CS in the contemporary rap song, they can be assumed to be of relevance to CS in other songs and poetry as well as in other forms of literature.

We conclude that, using the two theoretical paradigms, the current study has been able to explain the occurrence of CS in the songs under investigation. It is a contribution to language studies, more so sociolinguistic aspects. The hypotheses of the study have been confirmed since CS has been observed to occur in a certain pattern and is seen to perform different interactional and communicative functions.

### **5.3 Recommendations for Further Research**

This study embarked on the analysis of language use among the artists who belong to the same age group. All the artists examined in this study have at least ordinary level (fourth form) education although some such as Nazizi of Necessary Noise and Collo of Kleptomaniacs are university graduates. This translates to the fact that these artists may be having similar linguistic abilities

and attitudes. A study of CS involving older artists using other music styles like benga, reggae, rumba and so on and who have different educational backgrounds would yield a rich comparative study to the findings of this study in relation to CS. A comparative study between artists of different ages and educational background would be even richer.

A recommendation of this study is an investigation of CS in songs involving other African languages to determine the patterns of switching involved. Most of the current musicians code switch in their music. This would help to determine the syntactic similarities between these languages and their interaction in CS.

There is need for further research on CS in the poetic genre to verify and enrich the findings of this study. For instance cases of deviance of constraints like the switch between a noun and a determiner or within a prepositional phrase, noted in the study could be investigated in poems and lyrics.

The theory of critical discourse analysis could be used to investigate language use in Kenya in a more sociological sense. This could give an insight on language policy in Kenya, which was beyond the scope of this study. This theory could also be used to analyse data in other CS situations such as ordinary conversations and classroom teaching. The symbolism of the codes in terms of the dominance of language is an important consideration in language planning.



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INTERNET:

WWW.freemuse.org/sw  
 WWW.all africa.com  
 WWW.nationaudio.com

## APPENDIX

### Songs and Artists' Profile

This section contains the songs used in the study. The name of the group of artist is given before the four songs composed by the group. The names of the individual artists are given in brackets after the group name a brief profile is also given where possible.

### DEUX VULTURES

This group comprises of two musicians, Thomas Konzanga (aka Nasty Thomas) and D. Moustapha. Little is known about these coast- born musicians based in Nairobi who continue to cause a stir with their music.

#### 01. MONALISA

Teremka x10  
Hadija vipi?  
Niaje nikifika  
How was the day?  
Nimejua this was the deal  
Mimi nimecome na kama nimekukosea samahani  
Mimi na wewe tuishi kwa amani  
Nami nikubusu, japo uko mbali pokea hili busu  
Kesho Carni tukutane bila swali  
My dame mimi nimefika club imeshona nashindwa kukuona  
Eeh Hadija uko wapi?  
"Niko hapa!"  
Nimekupata sema unachotaka  
Pata au teremka faster  
Kiuno kata teremka mama  
Usiogope kiuno chako mama  
Teremka x10  
Once again Nasty na Mustafa  
Like I told you jua hutasuffer  
I'm your number one lover  
Ebu sikiza never pain you

Never pain me  
Mambo vipi? Si tuwatch DVD  
Hadija nakuita kila siku, baby  
Nataka uwe number moja kwangu, lady  
Mbona wanitry kila siku, pretty  
Teremka x10

Naamka kumekucha  
Naita Mama Ngina nasikia kukukuuu! x4  
Baada ya kula naona dame wa kishua  
Yeye amelala hapo kwa kitandani ametua  
Wacha nikwambie dame alikuwa amevaa  
A black stretcher  
Blue silk top  
And a pair of black sketchers  
An African queen  
A kind of sophistication none of you has ever seen

Ako masafa, jina ni Mustafa  
No need for you to worry we can keep it under cover.  
For you should never mind a battle with a lover  
Karibu kitandani halafu ndio utadiscovers.

#### CHORUS

Cheki Monalisa anavyotingisha  
Nami nimebaki nimejazika  
Wazee kila siku wanauliza  
Dawa gani ulifanya mpaka akajua

Mikasa, kipusa mbona unakaza  
Mara ya kwanza nikupeleke Cassablanca  
Mombasa, Roasters  
Sasa ni Mavulture, ngoja!  
Jua hautasuffer  
Siwezi kukuchapa  
Na tena nimeapa  
Ni wewe ndio nataka  
Wengine mimi sitaki magonjwa ni mengi  
Wacha nikupe raha mtoto wa Kikenya  
Mimi nishasema, nishasema  
Cheki monalisa anavyotingisha  
Nami nimebaki nimejazika...  
Njoo, baby cool  
Nishow kile kitu nitado

Na kama unapenda Nasty sema ooh!

## 02. KATIKA

Nasikia makelele next door  
Kumbe kuna party mimi sijui oh!  
Nasty amka wacha kulala bro  
Si tufae fastener  
Here we go!  
Huko ndani naona kuna watoto  
Wamevua nguo ati kuna joto  
Aah ! rumba sakata, kamata madada, tamu kama kashata  
Sababu leo ni fiesta, forever  
Mambo vipi utaweza?  
Basi tutacheza, together  
Mpaka asubuhi hakuna kuenda  
Ok! Mr. D.J. zima taa,  
Sasa kila mtu ameshikwa na furaha  
Get up x2 everybody  
Stand up x 2 kila mtu x2

### Chorus

Tupate katika sakata rumba, all night long  
Katika kata kata tupate katika  
Sakata rumba all night long.

Ewe sister, yule brother na uncle,  
Sasa ni wakati sote twende dance floor.  
Tuicheze super mpaka tupate jasho  
Usibaki nyuma shika manzi yako,  
Lets go! Its for our return.  
Nasi Thomas na Moustapha tunawapa rhymes ah ah x2

### CHORUS

Nasty Thomas niko kando nimeshika champagne  
Mustafa na mabblingbling cheki chungu nzima  
Na wewe DJ kama parking imejaa tuma bima  
Je una shida? Una shida  
Nikicheki Rolex inaniambia saa tisa  
Sijuti nilibuy the watch ngiri tisa  
Perfume zinatupa nywele zinawaka  
Aah sister nakutaka.

### 03. KINYAUNYAU

#### CHORUS

Kinyaunyau hawa

Ndogo ndogo

Wanataka nini

Moto moto

Wape yitu zao

Onyango shika dame ,kamata ,haaa! lye mama!

Manze huyu manzi anapenda kunitoanisha

Nikisota hataki ni fujo kwa nyumba

Wee! ndogo ndogo anataka kwenda shopping

South Africa, Germany, na SC Nairobi, aah.

Wacha basi nikupe ngiri kumi nyoo,

Shika kwanza ni ya matumizi .

Dada sitalala siku mbili ila kinyau nyau

Unapenda kunitesa tu

Dot com. Phone mpya na vitu za bure

Zote hizo unataka ununuliwe tu

Na usiku unataka kwenda out too

Nitangoja hapo mpaka round two

Na ikifika nitaimanga tu kwa hamux2

Chorus.....

Kinyau nyau anasema apewe gari

Na nyumba ya gorofa kule pwani

Okay, shika basi pesa si shida

Mimi ni simba najua kila nawinda .

Mvumilivu hula mbivu

Ngoja ifike usiku

Utakiona cha moto, wewe motto.

Kinyaunyanyau wa Mombasa anapenda sana raha

Lakini wa Kisumu anapenda kunywa beer.

Wa Nairobi anapenda kunipitia,

Kila time ananiambia nitoe mpango

Wakati wa baridi anapenda kunywa chai

Na wakati wa joto anapenda kula ice

Apewe anachotaka ndio usiku nikitaka

Pia mimi nitapata kile ninachokitaka.

Ansema anataka mali yangu

Anasema anataka vitu zangu

Anasema anataka phone na anataka gari, halafu ndio awe wangu.

#### 04 TWENDE MOMBASA

Si wajua hii sauti ya mavultures wakiwa na Redsan

Watu wa Mombasa tingisha rasa sema

Sasa sasa sasa sasa.x2

Jambo

Jambo sana bwana

Unatoka wapi?

Mimi natoka Mombasa

Mambo?

Poa

Vipi?

Freshi

Mombasa kuna joto so navaa vest

Nakaa kwa nyumba kisha ninarest

Na robbery hapa inarest

Jua ni kali kutoka huko juu na Mtwapa

Tunatoka Jamvi

Ah! Basi chakula kinapikwa

Mbaazi na mahamri

Pembeni kuna kaimati

Nakula lunch tunakwenda beach

Nachana mabeach

Nakwambia tunashika wembe

Naona watu wanaogelea

Huku wengine wanatembea

Wasichana wazuri wamevaa buibui

Wananukia udi, wananukia udi.

#### CHORUS:

Twende, twende twende

Twende kazi.x2

Toka kwenye beach hadi Nyali

Oh oh oh kwa wahuni

Mabeach boy wote

Want to make it better, rougher

What's my name, say

Redsan.

Kumepambazuka jamaa umeshika



## KLEPTOMANIACS

This group comprises of twenty one year olds Roba, Collo and Nyash (aka Nakiri, Munkiri and Depicto) whose real names remain obscure. They started singing while still students in Nairobi School and released their first song *Freak it* featured in this study while still in school. Other songs by this group are *Maniax anthem*, *Tuendele* and *kwa Maboiz*. The group is yet to release an album.

Collo studied International Baccalaureate at St. Lawrence School in Kampala and is currently studying Bachelor of Commerce degree at Kenyatta University.

### 05. Kwa Maboiz

Chorus

Na kwa maboiz, masisters, wote mtaani

Kwenye pub, kwenye bar, kwenye club

Making noise

Representing our roots in around the crazy boys

If you are feeling high

If you are feeling good

Put your hands in the air

Represent your roots

Say aaah! Say oooh!

Tingisha hizo vitu, chakacha

Tingisha zaidi mpaka watacheka, ha ha ha

They gonna give you the beat

Wakidrop lyrics moyo wako utapiga vile do,do

Tingisha basi waseme wazi wasikushike basi

Sasa manzi kamata makasi

Basi wacha nafasi wazi

Niweze kukamata the rhythm of the Farizi family

Come on

Twendeni na Klepto

Rusha rusha mikono zetu hewani, hewani

Chorus

Mabibi na mabwana songa kando kabisa  
Niweze kuangusha the greatest lyrics  
Rap is the vision of the entire universe  
Kleptomaniax tumefika  
Ruka ruka juu kama unasikia zimeshika  
Sababu sisi Farizi  
Tukiwakilisha kwenye dance floor  
Kila mtu hana budi kukatika  
Kukatika  
Nakujazika  
Nawacha za Mungiri niweze kuharibu  
Nikupe mix mpaka usonge karibu kwenye speaker  
Na rhymes ziko kama miujiza  
Ogopa Djs, Djs  
Wanang'ara kwenye giza  
Roll to the anthem  
Here it goes, Klepto

#### Chorus

Kama unapenda Nakiri wee sema maa!  
If you feel high sema Walahi!  
Kama unapenda Nakiri we sema maa!  
Kila wakati wakilisha sema Haaa  
Ili tufike usukani kama tumechanua sote afro  
Na mikono zetu zimeshika ankle mpaka chini  
Wakati tumewaburudusha na ngoma zimewarudisha  
Mwaka tisini na tisa kabisa  
Na kama tulianza kubatiza  
Kuroga hizi wazazi  
Walirhyme from the giza  
Tuliza iza sikiza tunaeneza  
Moto tuliwashow unateketeza  
Nitazidi kubariki watazidi kufariki  
Itabidi si Farizi family tumewasiri tayari  
Lakini tunawapima karate in Kiswahili  
Bado tunazidi kuhubiri wakilisha utokako  
Tingisheni viuno  
Na kazi imekucapture  
Sasa basi wika  
Klepto!  
Chorus

Niko na swali

Kwa wasee wa mtaa  
Wathii njaje mnanyamaza  
Tukiwashika mshikike kwa nini msikatike  
Microphone tukikamata.

## 06. Freaky

Bamba hiyo volume  
Nakiri na Mungiri waweze kusikika  
Na ngoma zao zote zipate kusifika  
Popote tuendapo sifa zetu zinaspread  
Popote tuendapo tunaroga na maparables  
Nikifafanua in simple terms nakushow  
Kuwa sisi tutapanda in the charts tutamake  
Na jina yetu 'Klepto' yaani ongeza ' Maniacs'  
Forever itabaki kama legend ya Luanda Magere  
Ama kama leader wa Revolution Army  
Huku tukipanda tunafash maMcs kama lazer  
Lyrics tunamix kama Dexter  
Twamake wajipoison  
Too obligated for the people who wanna be like us  
Na mimi sina budi ila kwenda kwenye Kora  
Ngoma ikibamba nifanyie favour moja  
Ongeza sauti!

### CHORUS

And we are here our masisters, Freaky  
And we are here our mafalas, Freaky Freaky  
Na kwa maboys kuna baridi sema, Freaky  
Rusha mikono zenu hewani sema

Sasa lete, Malaika wamenishow niko hapa nikirhyme  
Nikiwapa devastation, reality na hizi wafufuka  
From the dead tukispread our black gospel  
Tukirhyme kwenye darkness  
Mamikes zinafall from the sky  
Manna toka heaven  
Na maboiz toka Peace of All Academy  
Tuma letter to a manze called Damaris  
Dance to the sound  
Put your hands on the ground  
Na ukilike the floor  
Let me see you shake to the rhyme

Chorus

Mc nimeroga like the lyric pambazuka  
Wazee wote wamestuka  
Kunicheki narauka  
Tamu in the remix  
Though invisible like the spirits  
Basi ni noma like the crucifix  
Na kutoka sitatoka nitazidi kubomoka  
Nitakata kaa makasi, msumeno ama shoka  
Mungu moja atangoja kunicheki nikibreaki, nikiseti  
Huku beti nikirhyme mtacheke kwa gazeti  
Jina Klepto!  
Ikidraw  
Mind zote zikiblow  
Vichwa zote zikicrack  
Tukiitwa Kleptomaniacs

Chorus

One, two  
Kila mtu sema, aaah!  
Wote wanajua kila mtu wika, aah!  
Nitawapa remix mtabaki mko aah  
Nasi basi kuroga nika rrrrrrhaa  
Inafanya mwende chini kwa chini kuchizi  
Na kusema, Freaky! Freaky!  
Omundu strong, ndio mimi  
Nitaleta rhymes ninatenda wanacrack  
Kwenye mike nibamba ninaleta pure rap  
Under the rhymes zinatoka chapu chapu  
Ninawacha competition ikiwonder what's up  
Mcs wakiniona wanastumble  
Nikishika microphone na kurumble kama thunder  
Au speaker, vibaya sana  
Na kama huku wanastumble  
Nikipeleka wasee wote to the next level  
Na kwa hiyo level  
Hurukaruka kama Legio Maria  
Wakiwika, Oh yeah  
Sababu dakari nabring rhymes.

Chorus

## 07. Tuendeleo

Kaa ningekuwa msanii wa sanaa ya silaha

Ningekuwa na jamii ya masadamu kama wasaba  
Na mabunduki na makofia kaa filauni  
Bidhaa za kujijali tu hali mashati  
Sikia sauti kutoka Kenya mpaka Saudi,  
Arabia maajabu ya Musa na Filauni,  
Huyu kijana anafanya vipusa wa tauni  
Wavue mashati mapantie kama wao ni,  
Wenda wazimu  
Na sasa sikiza hii story jamaa,  
Rap naifanyia chapaa,  
Na mafans wanaonipenda,  
Sasa hata ukinichukia siwezi jali hata,  
Kama wewe ni MC stick to the works  
Unafaa kuweza kutumia hip-hop na other tracks  
Si kuchukia wathii juu wanatawala industry  
Na wee bado uko huko chini  
Kabla jina yako igrow jipe miaka kaa nane  
Kaa lazima nikutukane ndio ujulikane  
Hip-hop ni lugha ya love usisahau  
Pole kukwambia sikuchukii nakudharau.

#### CHORUS

Tuendeleo ama tusiendeleo x5  
Niajje bro, vipi beste  
Niaje sistey, vipi dada  
Tunawacheki, mnacheki  
We got mad mad love for you x2

Nasikia kuna MCs fulani wametutusi  
Ati malyrics zetu manze ni za upuzi,  
Ni heri sisi wao wamejaa na virusi,  
Kumangana kila mahali kama mambuzi  
Na ningekimya ningenyamaza singejali  
Ni vyenye rap nilianza uchangani  
Ukalimani, ukaliyani, uhaligani  
MC lengo la kuroga ni kupata mali  
Matamshi yanafaa kukuwa lugha ya kujali  
Kukubaliwa na wananchi hata na mababi  
We wacha kujido msee hatari  
Kusema na mimi nasema lakini tu nisifae  
CHORUS

Nina track ni mstari swahili stahili

Mkono wa kushoto ni mike, bota na bangili  
Tema na mimi kaa una rhymes kaa mia mbili  
La sivyo risasi kwa shingo, macho na akili  
Lakini kabla nijaze nafasi ya pili  
Lazima nirudishe matusi ya hao makafili  
Barabara na gari nawaacha mkiwa chakari  
Kazi ni usafiri  
Nasi Mamc wachakari  
Kabala single yako ipite yangu kwa chati  
Geuza jina, geuza floor, geuza trouser na sharti  
Ukitoboa kunigusa ni bahati  
Naroga na Kihindi tena Kigujarati  
Kutema na mimi lazima utupe mbao  
Yule jamaa amenidharau sana  
Nina speed kama bunduki  
Hatucheki na wathii  
Mafans zetu wamesema ndio  
Ama sivyo  
Chorus...

## 08. HAREE

This song goes out to wasee  
Wanaopenda kuparty wasichana tuhanye  
Haree haree haree  
Lets go!  
Tuamke, haree  
Tukatike, haree  
Tutingishe, haree  
Vueni hizo mamini na mashati  
Uchi kwa floor,  
Haree haree haree  
Wacha niseme story ya haree na mashody  
Maparty lovers Johnie  
Niko kwa kundi  
Na sasa twende chini  
Michezo iko na mimi Nakiri na Munkiri  
Chorus  
Tukatike mpaka chee  
Haree haree haree  
Tuamke.... Haree  
Tukatike ...haree  
Tuchizike ....haree



## K- SOUTH FLAVA

This group comprised Bamboo (aka Timberman), Kantai and Dennis Katembo (aka Jerry Doobiez). They started performing in 1998 under different names and they are the pioneers of Hip-hop in Kenya. Their first song was *Gakondo Gakwa* while their first album was *Nairobi*. Other albums are *Dot Com* and *Nairobizm*. Currently the group is trying to rebuild itself after Bamboo went into Gospel music. Twenty six year old Jerry is the one trying to keep the group together. Their songs featured in this study are presented below.

### 09. HAMWEZI TOBOA

#### CHORUS

Hamwezi toboa, toboa

Hardcore tunaikoa

Homeworks next to be Eswazi boy tunaibomoa

Tunageuza Hispaniacs tuache amekondoa

Kisha mchezo tunaifunga vile ndoa x2

First of all nacommence

Kufanya maMCs kuwa tense

Unarap everytime lakini unarap nonsense

In real sense

Pande ya rap songs wee ni mdense

Ukikosa CDs kutumia microscope bila lens

Na suggest tu ukae mbali kaa huwezi ondoka

Ah! Usibishane nasi socks zenu imebomoka

Size yenu iko huko kwa street zile za hawker

Lakini trip ni nani?

Kijana mchafu toka East

Kama jigsaw puzzle anafix rhymes piece by piece

Experience jo, inamatter

Tukichapa show tuko fiti

Mike naikunja kaa mti ya kiberiti

Nikikushow utadhani mimi ndio John Kiriamiti

Kata tikiti

Uingie kwenye club nakupa kiti

Tunacause town riots  
Kisha unaingia, manze running battles  
Jo, tuna hassles  
Siwezi acha rap niende roadworks na sakato  
Mwulize Rokato kwani hiyo sample iko badcore  
Sasa unaget comfort kuliko capture hardcore  
Natest your styles  
Nataka kukuspoilia mood  
Nafanya kimaksudi hujui  
Unataka nidamage you career  
Nikuचे critical condition  
Nikuache hali mahututi  
Utakuwa ukicheza isikuti  
Unakodisha nyumba ya makuti  
Kufanya rhymes zako zianze kupass kama routine  
Kwa hii rap game asante ya punda ni booty  
Ma producer wa K- South wakishakutuma kama mkuki  
Lakini sasa nitakufungia huu mchezo vile ndoa  
Nispread Kenya nzima kila mkoa  
Ndio mnaweza kuprounce Swahili rap poa  
Kusafisha rap vile Omo hutoa madoadoa  
Toboa toboa

#### CHORUS

Yeah, kuna rumours zinaspread  
Ati mnasema "its true true"  
Ati tumeloose maskills  
Ndio maana tumechill  
Hauwezi move the crowd ikufeel  
Hauwezi break the mike  
Hauwezi check the Mic  
Unatease wa KMC  
Wee mwenyewe ni wa KMC  
Unaloose wasee  
Unaunderstand hauwezi kuspore  
Unarap ama haja yako ni kushare  
Nitawaambia mara mbili  
Hata sina time na nyinyi  
Nipe microphone a bit  
Relax and take a seat  
Nikizicombine zote  
Niwape black beat  
Sawa!

Mnaget maprof kwa radio station  
Unaget utakacho  
Mbona unataka kuswim ndani ya basin  
Wee nitakufelisha niaje umelearn your lesson  
Round ya pili utakuta track zako zikiwa kwa X files  
Lakini outfit ziko na noma  
Unachafua na any ziende faster kama mdomo  
Inafaa utrust sonny siwezi oleka  
Look natamani ikiwa moja tunaipass kama mpira  
Lyrics on the ready hazipatani na hizo  
Check it sonny

Chorus

Microphone breaker, breaker  
Check your setter  
Tunaweza leta kutoka Holy city of Mecca tumerudi  
Na style za kushida moodi  
Na malyrics tunatupa  
Mimi sivunji mifupa  
Nitavunja microphone kama pale ziko  
Juu mimi ni noma au sivyo  
Mimi na microphone kama baite na veve  
Hatuwezi achana ni kama mjaluo na sembe  
Ndio naishika kama pombe ndani ya mkebe  
Juu mi ni black boy x2  
Napenda microphone vile mtoi hupenda toys  
Ndio unasikia ngoma zangu nazimix na Homeboiz  
Mkubali msikubali msikubali ndio sisi wakali  
Uliza manzi yangu Saikati  
Kwa nyumba yangu ya mabati  
Sijawahi mbuyiya rose flower  
Hapana humpigia maromantics namwambia tukutane kwenye shower  
Mafake mcs wakiniona wanasema yawaa  
Nikishika microphone ninafeel the power  
Kwa maana mimi napagawa  
Kama Makarona  
Ndio naona  
Hukosi smokies kwa kila corner  
Mpaka mafake MCs wanauliza mbona  
Hawa wasee ni wanoma kutushinda  
Hauwezi kubreak the mic  
Hauwezi break the mic  
Wote ni mafake MCs ama aje sema double DIC

Chorus

## 010 NAIROBERRY

In the beginning now God created Adam Eve  
Then Adam took Eve and Eve conceived and bore a son by the name of Abel  
But before him there was born Cain  
Both of whom the blood of Adam flowed through their veins  
The first Brothers on earth  
Brothers by birth  
The first of whom became jealous, the other was slain  
Because of the pain that Cain felt  
He made his brother die  
His mama cried  
This was the first homicide  
Before this when Adam and Eve were with God  
And then satan came calling on them begging upon them  
He asked them what the master said of the tree  
Then she replied, that if she would try then she would die  
He said it was a lie  
The he made the woman desire  
He said, "the day you eat of the tree then you'd be wise  
The woman believed  
Then she took of the tree and had been deceived  
This explains a lot about the human being brain  
What we need to do is break this shame  
So we can change  
Through out Nairobi are different people on the shoal  
Some are living well but most of them live small  
No substantial financial income at all  
So some of us would rather go round than save us all  
Some of us would rather break laws and pay the bills  
Not keeping your mouth shut incase you make noise  
This makes full-grown men cry like little boys  
Nairobierry  
Wake up with the TV missing  
The party is on Mrs. Wake up or they will make you the next victim  
Anza na Kenya Cinema into the 20th century in a movie  
On some dubiousness like some Buddhists  
In hard drug deals  
If I had dreadlocks I would be Lucky Dube  
So let's do these for rappers  
Concentrate those shillings and cents  
Let's send the Kenya shilling to the ceiling  
Corrupt cops scheming on chies with drop tops  
Miniskirts and what not  
Toys and all sorts of goods for sex sports

Imports and Exports  
The constitutional forces  
Beyond this Kenyan coastal sea shores  
KICC building under poisonous greed  
Serious pollution from these factories  
And now the music industry is in catastrophe  
This is a tragedy

Kuishi  
Utamwaga jasho  
Nairobi kuna machizi  
Chunga mafisi  
Watakudishi  
Ukiwa mbichi  
Ubaki uchi  
Kisha utawekwa kwa booty ya Mitsubishi  
Maombi  
Kisha mazishi  
Na makasisi  
Wale wakunionyesha jinsi  
Njia vipi  
Nini maana ya dini  
Ndio niamini  
Yaani nikiona dame na mimi ndio nisizini  
Si mzima, nifanye nini Billy man  
Sina bima  
Sina jembe na pahali pa kulima  
Ni kutoshanishwa ati mvua itawaka na jua itanyesha  
Kunywa kumikumi na macho zitaonyeshwa  
Kwa hospitali wenye vidonda vitaponyeshwa  
Maskwota watapewa maplot kileleshwa  
Ni kuteswa teswa, kuteswateswa.

## **011. TABIA MBAYA**

### **CHORUS**

Watu wengine wana tabia baya x 2 baya sana

Nilikuwa nimepoa  
Bila kwanza kutoa  
Nilikuwa nasikiza tenje yangu  
Ile huweka kwa nyumba?  
Ndio ndio.  
Na nikasafisha  
Nyumba safi kabisa

Mpaka dirisha  
Kazi kwisha  
Halafu kitu saa tatu niko kwa njia  
Yaani barabarani saa zile najisaidia  
Anahaya, ni tabia mbaya  
Je, huu ni ungwana?  
Mambo kama haya  
Sasa kufika bila kupitwa  
Nauliza change kwa matatu  
Ala ! kuuliza wapi !  
Vile tulifika hiyo change tukanyimwa  
Na kaa tungepigana tungeshindwa  
Ati "kumbafu jaribu kuzusha kwenye matatu  
Nitadunga hiyo pua iwe na shimo tatu."  
Saa kufika kwa party saa nne na robo  
Watu wengi, wazee na watoto  
Na wengine wamefika bila kualikwa  
Chakula imepikwa  
Sahani zimeshikwa  
Haraka  
Kisha kuwaka  
K uzusha mawe kurushwa  
Na party ikaangushwa

#### CHORUS

Hiyo tabia ni baya ukweli wewe  
Mabeste wana mambo jo  
Kufanya mchango  
Ati wanaenda nga'mbo  
Mmmh ,kidogo beste huyo  
Na nyumbani ha yuko  
Na pesa kwa mfuko  
Ngoma  
Nyama choma  
Kulewa mpaka chee  
Wee na pesa za harambee  
KC ana tabia mbaya  
Njoro ana Njeri , I eo Amina na kesho Shiro  
Yaani hata wife ya kimani  
Anamtamani  
Najua beste mwingine  
Anastay Kangemi  
Ikifika weekend

Ana kopa madeni  
Friday mpaka Sunday  
Anahanya mahoney  
Ikifika Monday  
Mfukoni hana any  
Akipelekwa kwa afande sababu ya madeni  
Madeni ,madeni.

## CHORUS

Ukitupa timber  
Basi ni mbao umetupa  
Ni kama kuacha nyama na kukula mifupa  
Naomba unisikize juu ni mambo nakupa  
Ndio mfurahi ama mkasirike na kupasuka .  
Si kuna watu aina tatu kwa hii nchi?  
Kuna waongozi ,  
Watu kama sisi hata kama kupata doo haikuangi rahisi  
Na waibaji  
Wale wa kuvuta nganja  
Watakunyanga'nya  
Kazi yao ni kusanya  
Na kuna wale wamekosa kitu ya kufanya  
Sana sana wao hupenda kuhanyahanya  
Tudame tudogo ,wamama hata manyanya  
Kati ya hizo tatu, je we uko wapi ?  
Uko nyuma ,mbele ama katikati?  
Ama hujui?  
Juu we mwenyewe hujitambui  
Hujui kama wee ni rafiki ama adui  
Hujui kama unakuja ama unaenda  
Pia hujui kama unachukiwa au unapendwa  
Ama hujali unasikia tu marap kali  
Na maswali  
Lakini nisikize tafadhali  
Mimi sikutesi  
Na kupa tu vitu freshi  
Usimind tuko pamoja kama majeshi

## CHORUS

Kujisaidia barabarani ,ni tabia baya  
Kulewa ukaharibu mali ,ni tabia mbaya  
Kuenda party na kujialika lunch , ni tabia baya

K ulewa ovyo mpaka chee , ni tabia baya  
Kushinda ukidanganya wasee, ni tabia baya  
Kula pesa ya Harambee, ni tabia baya  
Watu wa siasa kundanganya watu , ni tabia baya  
Na unawakanyanga kama viatu, ni tabia baya  
Kukuwa na hiyo roho chafu , ni tabia baya  
Kutolea afande kitu kidogo, ni tabia baya  
Magazeti kuandika maurongo, ni tabia baya  
Kusema unampa real na wewe bore, ni tabia baya  
Kutamani bibi ya wenyewe , ni tabia baya  
Na una bibi wee mwenyewe , ni tabia baya  
Na hiyo umalaya , ni tabia baya  
Kuvuta ma-sh –sh-sh, ni tabia baya

## 012 PATA PATA

Niaje siku hizi kila mtu ana simu?  
Si ni muhimu  
Watu watakuheshimu  
Watadhani una elimu  
Kama waalimu  
Wanafundisha watoi  
Usiwe tothi  
Kuwa mdosi  
Ndio upeleke benz  
Kama Bruce Odhi  
Amm body , amm body,  
Dame kwa moti ,  
CD kwa koti,  
Pamoja na manoti ,  
Ndio dame anoki ,  
Nitamake noti  
Atapiga magoti  
Aanze masnogi  
Kupiga kelele kwa ploti  
Na kuamsha madoggy  
Na kuita mawatchi  
Wakuje na matochi  
Eee makarau na mawalkie talkie  
"Hodi! Hodi! Hodi!"  
Na utabisha mimi sitoki  
Juu siogopi  
Nina chapaa na sichoti  
Mimi nipeleke kwa koti

Uliza landlord bado sijalipa kodi  
Na suppose nimeripoti na macopy  
Na madame na wadanganya na coffee  
Usiku waingie kwa office  
Huna coffee?  
Hapana nina doo piga tochi  
Unoki  
Upige snogy  
Na mavitu kutoka nyuma kama snoopy doggy  
Shuka zimechafuka? Peleka dobi  
Tumkwapa tunatupa ,kwani huogi ?  
"Wachana na mimi!"  
"Wee iko nini?"  
"Weka dame chini"  
Inua mini  
Toa kipini  
Una trust lakini ?  
Hee ! amka basi, toka hapa dada ,  
Nimeshasare badala ya kujimurder  
Macho mekundu lakini ngumu kuninata  
Juu macho zake zimefunikwa na maviraka  
Chunga dame yako jo,namcheke hapa  
Akicheza mahaba  
Mzee anaota  
Kwa trou amesimama  
Aaaah! Nishamwaga  
Aaaah! Nishanyamba  
Anandanganya dame asipompa number  
Atajikata au ajinyonge na kamba  
Ama akamange kukumanga  
Akishamanga  
Akufe kuhanda  
Ajinguse na pamba  
Kisha atupe kwa shamba

#### Chorus

Usijali ndivyo mambo hukuanga  
Kaa Wakamba, K-South wanaroganga  
Wanaporoga MCs  
Wanaporoga wanachizika kwa kichwa  
Hâlafu wanatoboka  
Sisi tunaokoka  
Madame tunawaokota  
Masaa mpaka kesho tunafika

Ili tuwazushie wasiotaka tupate tupate  
Mpaka kesho ngware itabidi tuwazushie

Ndio mimi nataka nikamate  
Wakiongea matope niwachape wote wajikate  
Eeh watunate  
Wakija kunitafuta wasinipate  
Ama niakatekate  
Style ya karatewateme mate  
Kwenye shirt ziwe dirty dirty  
Nguo ziwe dirty dirty  
Manze nguo zichafuke  
Eeh nguo zichafuke  
Ee nguo zichafuke  
Eeh nguo zichafuke  
Yaani tusumbuke  
Tukumbuke  
Rhyme zikidead itabidi zifufuke

## CHORUS

Basi kwa hii kazi sisi ni mbwa mkali  
Nasi swali na hatujali  
Kama wewe ni MC au buda fulani  
Hata kama wee ni mister nani  
Na gari gani  
Mambo ya mabustani  
Yalitujaza tangu zamani  
Nimechoka na chai ya rangi na maziwa ndani  
Kila siku ni sukuma ,kabiji na ugali  
Afadhali nibaki  
Kachakula simangi hata kama siwaki  
Njaa ni kitu sitaki  
Pesa ziko, zimejificha sijui wapi  
Ama naitafuta kando na iko katikati  
Ama sina bahati niko na shimo kwa shati  
Na nimepigwa mapicha na mapaparazi  
Mapaparazi basi papasi  
Tuwape nasi rap ya machozi ya tissue na makamasi.

## NECESSARY NOIZE

This group started performing in 1999 and consisted of three members; Nazizi Hirji (aka Kenyan gal), Bamzigi (aka African Superman) and Kelvin Waire (aka Kenyan boy). Their first album was *Necessary noize* in 2001 which was a major hit. Bamzigi left the group to study abroad and on return he decided to go solo. The group now has two members, Waire and Nazizi. Nazizi who is known as the queen of Kenyan rap, holds a psychology degree from University of Malaysia. Waire did an internship in music production with Ted Josiah, a renown events organiser. Their other album is *Necessary noise II*. Both have however done solo tracks. For instance, Nazizi did *Ni Sawa Tu* while Waire did *Usuhuba*. They have done collaborations with other artists like Tanzanian rapper, Jaymo, in the song *Tension*; Prezzo in *lets get down* and Waire has done tracks with Nanoma, Tequilla, Wayo Wayo, Hakikisho and Redsan. Below are their songs that are featured in this study.

### 013. NI SAWA TU

Kila siku naenda shule kama nimelate  
Nafika huko feet kama five hundred kutoka kwa gate  
Na nikifika all I saw, napiga punishment  
Ati exam nimefail  
Oh God! Headmaster again,  
'Tena saa kumi ulikuwa ukiwasumbua wasichana  
Wengine kwa gate. Oh what a shame!  
Lakini wao walianza wakisema madam wangu ni chizi  
Mimi sitaki wananistress  
Cheki sasa, siku imekuwa baya,  
Haijapita hata morning na niko tired!  
Everytime nimefika yule bully  
Atanishika  
Itanibidi nimkwepe kila dakika

Wacha niende toilet nijifiche huko ndani  
Nakupass time, nitabuzz marhymes  
Na hata wakinicheka ni sawa tu  
Nitakuwa famous  
Nitashika Mic huku nikicheza chakacha  
Na nitamix ma culture  
Na tena huyu bully nitamtoa kama bouncer  
Even tighter  
Lyrics zangu zitawaset kwa fire  
Na tena siku hizo nitakuwa mawire.

Chorus

Mtoto: Mama! Mama! Nataka kuwa rapper  
Mama: Mtoto wee umenishinda  
Mtoto: Nataka kuwa famous kama Kalamashaka  
Mama: Je, ukishindwa?  
Mtoto: Please, nitakupa kile unachotaka.  
Nataka tu kuwakilisha hip-hop culture.  
Mama: Acha Kuwa Mjinga  
Mtoto: Ni sawa tu  
Mama: Pesa tutaiba?  
Mtoto: Si hata hiyo ni sawa tu

Mtoto: Baba! Baba! nataka kuwa rapper  
Baba: Mtoto wee umenishinda  
Mtoto: Nataka kuwa famous kama Kalamashaka  
Baba: Je, ukishindwa?  
Mtoto: Please nitakupa kile unachotaka.  
Nataka tu kuwakilisha hip-hop culture.  
Baba: Acha Kuwa Mjinga  
Mtoto: Ni sawa tu  
Baba: Pesa tutaiba?  
Mtoto: Si hata hiyo ni sawa tu

Everyone there shake your body  
Throw your hands high in the air  
Say: open up round and around  
Up and down and back to the ground.

Mimi siko bottom wala katikati  
Namake trial first number moja kwenye chart.  
Nikimake malyrics kama kimbo na chapati  
Nami siamini  
Basi subiri, Listen to these rhymes

And you have them mbili mbili  
Mkapa leo mimi natabiri hujaelewa  
Aa ah, mimi husikiza beats na kujaz kama tumbili  
Kwa ajili 1999 nimezuka

Chorus: Mama, Mama ....  
Check mike x 2  
Mara ngapi?  
Mara ya kwanza mara ya pili, mara ya tatu  
Namake rhyme kaa kiatu  
Chini kwa chini kaa siafu  
Na nampenya kama safu  
Nikirap nyimbo kaa tatu  
Mnamjua Nazizi ama mnamsikia tu  
Cheki, cheki naleta vurugu  
Kama master sugu.  
Ni msichana from the pride kama press  
Nasikia anapossess some of moves  
Kama wacheza,  
Kweli yeye ni mbest.  
Angalia,  
Marhymes ninatoa kama foam ya beer  
Nikichange style kama gear  
And if you say, Je, huyu Nazizi, Oh dear!  
Ningemwambia msome lable lakini lable sina  
Iliraruka nikistrive kwenda Mecca  
Hata sikufika  
Wacha ujinga, nilikushinda!  
Chorus  
Mama! Mama!

#### **014. TENSION**

Situation ziko nyingi  
Zingine ziko poa na zingine hazishiki  
Mbona drama tu kwa wingi  
Kila safala na sijaishi miaka nyingi  
Nikienda mjini look like a suspect juu hadi chini  
Situation ni nyingi x 2  
Mama ameninyima dinga manze na any sina  
Superstar kwa mathree na mafans kwa dinga  
Nimebambwa na karau na chapaa sina  
Stima sijabamba nimevuta shada mzima  
Tension  
Hata nimetoka bila sima

Ni kaa ufike stage halafu speaker zikazima  
Na uwanja una mafans chungu nzima  
Ni kama drought ikivisit wakulima

Tension

Ni kama chali wako akinoki your best friend  
Huna chapaa na unataka haree kila weekend  
Umeiba gari ya buda tena ni benz  
Umeibamba na huna ends  
Chali mzuri anajidai ati he can't be mine coz sina dime

Tension

Nimeshikwa nikidish Ramadhani  
Tena nimebambwa live kwa sahani  
Tension  
Nimefanya balaa huko nyumbani  
Na kila nikisema hawataki samahani  
Tension !

Chorus

Tension

Situations ziko nyingi  
Zingine ziko poa na zingine hazishiki  
Tension!

Mbona drama tu kwa wingi  
Kila safala na sijaishi miaka nyingi  
Tension

Nikienda mjini  
Look like a suspect juu hadi chini  
Tension

Situation ni nyingi  
Tension

Yes you want me drink more in ice  
And you don't even ask  
Yet me can't afford even ice  
Gal me I am lonely say  
Tension

Seventeen weeks me i wait  
Not a word from her not even a phone call  
Tension

She wants my wallet and not me  
Tension

Me go to visit to her house  
I knock at the door find her with another spouse

Tension

Me find her with arms around him  
Physically kissing at your best too arousing .

Tension

Me turn around in anger want to leave  
Little did I know that I was gonna meet her father

Tension

Oh no, what a blunder

Tension

Oh no what a blunder

CHORUS

Naandika rhymes naona zina mistari  
Kila mistari naona sio mzuri  
Okey,  
Niko maskani napata majani  
Nashangaa kuona polisi wanakuja kama ishirini  
Nina data sijui nitafanya nini  
Na nikikamatwa na bangi miezi sita nawekwa ndani  
Nyumbani wamekuja wageni  
Na sina pesa, hiawezekani

Tension

Yaani hata soda nitashindwa kunywa  
Mwenyewe nina njaa na sina hela hata sijakula  
Nashindwa kuelewa, naweza lalaje bila kula  
Manze nina deni  
Nilipe vipi na pesa sina  
Nadaiwa hilo deni nilipe leo  
Pesa leo nitapata wapi

Tension

Nimempatia mimba kwa bahati mbaya  
Nyumbani kwao kafukuzwa, mamake adai ni malaya  
Kila nikimwambia aitoe hataki  
Anasema nikisema si mimba yangu atanishtaki  
Mimi nitakuwa rooster, hoi hoi  
Kila siku sina raha  
Lini siku nitafurahi  
Baba aniforce tena nikapimwe ukimwi  
Mimi naogopa sijui itakuwaje nikikutwa na ukimwi

Tension

Chorus

## 015. DESTINY

Sijawahi noki chali vile nimekunoki  
Uko moyoni natena hautoki  
Nitakupenda walahi mi sichoki alhamdulillah njoo nimefurahi  
Vile macho zako zinanibamba  
Kwako nimefika  
Sitawahi randa  
Kukufurahisha  
Mimi nimeapa  
So, tafadhali mpenzi kuja hapa  
Oh! I need you  
Diamonds and pearls  
No trips around the world  
You are my king  
So its you I will serve  
Give you everything  
That your word deserves

Kokote  
Popote  
Kuja twende sote } x 2  
Nianganie  
Milele tuwe sote

### CHORUS

Baby come to me  
Coz you are my destiny  
I see my world in you  
Forever  
Baby stay with me  
For all eternity  
You'll be my everything  
Forever  
Oooh

Nakutamani  
Nimo moyoni mwako  
Moyoni mwako  
Kimya, takwa langu  
Ushaukata nao x2  
Ni kilele cha hisani kweli  
Nimeona toka wewe  
Kukutumikia ni heri  
Lazima nikamilishe

Wazo langu kila siku na mchana wee  
Ni tabasamu yako  
Tabasamu yako

Chorus : Baby....

I love the RESPECT  
The way you kiss and caress me  
Your eyes glitter like some fantasy  
Your touches are killing me  
So Safi, tell me if i stand and you will see  
That you and me were meant to be  
Tell me how blind can you be  
I'm craving your love  
Nakwambia nakutaka  
Oh, tell me what to give you  
Diamonds and pearls  
No trips around the world  
You are my princess  
So it is you I will serve  
Give you everything  
That your world deserves

Kokote  
Popote  
Kuja twende sote  
Niangalie  
Milele tuwe sote

#### 016. SHUJAA

Ningetawala,  
Ningewafanya watu wote rasta,  
Kutoka baba yangu, mtoto wangu mpaka pastor,  
Kama huna locks kwanza ngoja mpaka jela,  
Ningewaibia matajiri na kuwapa maskini hizo hela  
Ningemmake ex-president chief neighbour worker kwa siku moja  
Aone ninavyofeel kuosha choo mwisho wa mwezi mshahara kuningoja  
Ningewafunga city council bila sababu  
Na kuwaepusha watoto wa ghetto na taabu  
Baada ya hapo,  
I would kill all rapists  
Hang the racist  
Leave the freedom fighters  
That is the place for us.

Ningetawala,  
Kungeharibika  
Osama bin laden ningemshika  
Ningemweka bomb mdomoni  
Nihakikishe motoni  
Atafika  
Wananchi msije sumbuka

CHORUS

Wangapi wanaweza kujiita  
Shujaa  
Ni nani anayedhani ana uwezo wa  
Shujaa  
Ako wapi anayestahili hilo jina  
Shujaa  
Twataka mashujaa peke yao  
Shujaa

When i rule the world  
Every boy and girl will have a part  
Kwa safari with the rivals and friends  
From Monday to Friday  
And even on weekends  
United in the fight  
Every boy and girl will have a part  
In that fight against the evil  
And imagine there was peace  
And respect for life every one among you  
If he was thirsty  
No strife no hunger  
Imagine a world  
Without STDs, no AIDS, not even drugs  
Making it easy to be alive  
And imagine  
Yes Imagine,  
That is the question  
Necessary noise oh!

Chorus .....

Ningetawala,  
National anthem ingekuwa na A R & B  
Na tena number one on the charts ingekuwa hii  
Na ingechezwa wasee wangejaz



## PREZZO (Jackson Makini and Cash Money Brothers)

Jackson Makini (aka Prezzo) is the lead artist in this group. The 25 year old was raised in Eastleigh estate and is a graduate of Braeburn School. He has a certificate of aviation from Wilson CMC Flying School in Canada. However, he is currently running his father's Herbal Clinic alongside singing. CMB (Cash Money Brothers) comprises of Robert, Kelvin, Pheroze, Oscar, John and Opkidi. Some of their album includes *Naleta Action*. Some of their collaboration are *In Da Club* with 50cts, *Mimi na wewe* with Talia; *Leo ni Leo* with TID; *Vile Nitafanya* with Nonini and Jua Kali; *Kamilisha Fraction* with Edu G; all in the album *Naleta Action*. Four of his compositions are presented below.

### 017. MAFANS

#### CHORUS

Mafans ninawapenda wote  
Nawapenda wote  
Mahaters kama hamnipendi  
Kuleni sembe  
Meza wembe  
Nawapa live kama Saida Kalori  
Na wenye wivu wajinyonge  
Mafans ninawapenda wote  
Nawapenda wote.

Mafans mi nawapenda wote  
Na maautograph nitasign siku zote  
Nawashukuru walionihold down  
Na kwa hii rap game sitawalet down  
I promise  
Ninawapa promise tu  
Album yangu itakuwa hits tupu  
So, you better act like you know  
Wakiuliza nani anaroga  
Sema Prezzo  
Oh ready? Njoo

Once again here we go  
Mr. Jackson na akina Kinono Joe  
Nawapa vitu  
Haters, nawapa mambo  
Nawapa vidonge wakitema shauri yao  
Mimi nacount blessing zangu jo  
Na mpende msipende ndivyo ilivyo  
Omba tu, we are still moving strong  
Waliodhani sitamake,  
Then you are dead wrong  
Na kama uko down basi sema so  
Na kama hukufLOW hizi rhymes,  
Manze, I cant be right  
Na kama uko down basi sing along  
Kama hukufLOW hizi rhymes  
Manze, I cant be right.

#### CHORUS

Prezz Two  
Naidedicate kwa mafools wenye PhDs  
Maplayers having degrees  
Wanataka kumvuta Prezzo down  
Lakini mimi nawashow haiwezekani  
Down all these kwa sababu ya madame  
Wao wanasema nawadrive insane kwenye membrane  
And now nakushow you are right  
And if you don't believe  
Then the show will be tight  
And if you know you can't  
You better take a hike  
Coz i got my fans and with that i won't rest  
So,  
Siwahitaji nyie  
Wala hamnibabaishi mie  
Nazidi kuzipokea tele  
Baraka zangu nikisonga mbele  
Everyday napokea baraka zangu nikisonga mbele  
Kila siku napokea baraka zangu nikisonga mbele

#### CHORUS

Sasa thanks to mafans  
Nimekuwa superstar

Thanks to the radio presenters  
Waliopiga ngoma zangu  
Even the selectors, DJS, DJ Szars  
In general want to shukuru the media  
From making a brother like me get even bigger  
CMB, my family nawaona  
Forget the haters, lets make this even bigger  
Adam and the whole staff of insider  
Thanks for holding me down  
Mi nawapenda wote.

### 018. WANANITAKA

Oooh! Wananienda, wananitaka x3  
Slow down Prezzo unaniroga  
Umehit mbona najihisi nakutaka

#### CHORUS

Madame wakiniona, wote wanawika  
Mamanzi wakinicheki, wote wanakatika  
Majamaa zao wakiniona, wanababaika  
Hawaniwezi,  
Madame wananienda x2

Madame wakiniona hawawezi kuresist  
Kama nakupenda nakupromise nitakupa tongue twist  
Sitakudismiss  
Sitareject your case  
Na siku tutakutana tutado it like this  
Zima taa  
Washa mshumaa  
Vua hiyo long, anza kukatika.  
Anasema,  
Slow down Prezzo unaniroga  
Umehit najihisi mbona nakutaka

#### CHORUS

Wananienda manze  
Wananitaka manze  
Madame wananienda kweli wananitaka  
Na wakiniona mara ya kwanza wanataka kunata  
Pata pata potea x2  
Wata watapotea x2  
Kwa kweli mimi madame tutazidi kupendana

Ndio maana ninasema madame wananipenda  
Ndio maana ninasema madame wananitaka  
Ndio maana ninasema wakijipa wanapogawa  
Niite Mr. lover, lover  
x3

Chorus  
Sasa poeni jo niwape story  
Nilikuwa kwenye street  
Naenda shopping  
Hapo dinga ingine ikacome  
Nikamwona dame fulani na fala fulani  
Wanaroll down down down my way  
Nikasema,  
Okey, alright this is my day  
Wacha niwaonyeshe jinsi  
Nikatuliza kusudi wapite  
Kupita, dame akanikonyezea  
Nikasema " dame kwako unaweza  
It is just a shame, mko pamoja  
But may be next time tutaonana"

## 019. LEO NI LEO

### CHORUS

Ooh manze club imebamba  
Bro nakwambia leo ndio leo  
Oooh, madame huku wamemwagika  
Wote nawaona wakikatika  
Oooh! Ngoma imetushika mpaka sisi wote tunawika x2

CMB na Prezzo tuko kwenye club  
Looking fresh and clean  
Kwa hizi sports  
Wachizi wamejaa pia mamanzi  
So take your match across straight to the dance floor  
Wacha zako so sio mchezo mimi nataka tight and tight bila vikwazo  
Sisi tumewabamba na mahaters wote tumewapiga rocket and draw  
Wenye wivu wote wajinyonge  
Ninazidi kupokea baraka zangu tele  
Basi, basi wacha niendeleo kupiga makelele  
Haree kama Klepto  
Steam zangu ni kali

Sio uwongo mamanzi wakisikia wanakata viuno  
Mahaters bado niko kwa floor  
Bado nazidi kuroll  
Bado nazidi kuvaa  
Bling bling kwenye neck na mikono  
Mimi nametameta ninareflect kama kioo

Chorus

Ooh kwani leo ndio leo  
Msema kesho ni mwongo  
Oh pamoja na collabo  
Pamoja na Prezzo, ooh Nairobi mpaka Bondo  
Oh, Oh my lady  
Kwa mamanzi na mabeste na madame wote wamekuja leo  
Kusikia ngoma imebamba club all the house  
Bling bling inabamba ni kali tu  
Kwa kuwa huku anakubalika  
Nairobi na Dodoma anawakilisha  
Kama unabisha mwulize Magadula  
Ooh can you dance with me tonight  
Ooh can I drive you home with me tonight

Chorus

Ngoma imetubamba like whoo!  
Madame wanatembea na mahaba like whoo!  
Si unajua wanapenda attention  
Na kama uko curious mimi naitwa Prezzo  
So lets go  
Mpenzi njoo  
Twende kwenye dance floor  
Lets go, tukajirushe  
Lets go, tukakatike  
Kwani hapa ni mpaka chee  
CMB, TID ndani ya VIP  
Tupozeshe pain tunapo man in the pain  
Mafire drums tumedraw, drumming in the pain  
Picture me in rolling in the draw forcing in the pain  
Mwulize PT  
Ama mwambie style za kuleta Cassa B  
Maisha mazuri guarantee ya CMB  
Prezzo ni collabo rolling with TID  
Tumewashika jo  
Tumewabamba jo  
TID this is it

## 020. VILE NITAFANYA:

Vile nitafanya X5  
Nikikupata, Vile Nitaafanya  
Nikikuwacha, Vile nitafanya  
Nikikutaka, Vile nitafanya  
Nikikuwaza, Vile nitafanya

Kwa room yangu nimebandika picha zako kwa ukuta  
Nimepewa madawa kadhaa na mganga kukuvuta  
Hukumbuki juzi kwa salon ukishukwa  
Nywele zako kwa mfuko kila siku nazinusa  
Nguo ukianika hivi tu kwa kamba mimi hapo hapo kwa nyumba  
Luckily, usiulize nguo iko wapi mimi ndio najifunga  
Hata siwezi kukwambia nini hapo kwa bus nilikuwa nagusa  
Mimi kwa corner nakunja uso hata konda hawezi sumbua  
Hiyo siku tu ungefreak tu kidogo nasikia kujiua  
Mimi nakwambia Valentine ikifika sitakununulia maua  
Wee ni manzi yangu wacha nikupatie matunda  
Fungua mdomo usiulize kaa ni tamu wee uma  
Fungua mdomo usiulize kaa ni ngumu wee uma  
Sio baya hata ukinimalizia ukifika kwa nyumba  
Vile utashiba jo, mimi najua utanikumbuka  
Jua kali! Lazima juu chini utanikumbuka.

### Chorus

Nawapenda wote x2  
Wakitaka wote watapewa mate  
Kama hautaki sema nikuhandle  
Mimi na wewe tutafika mpaka penalty  
Chunga goal, wee kamu zima hiyo taa  
Nikupe tamu tamu  
Nikikuride kwa lift, tayari kuna uhondo na tamu  
Hata sio chungu  
Cheki manze nilivyompoa, matunda yetu walahi sio sumu  
After all its good for you  
Niamini because its true  
Mimi na wewe tu hadi juu mbinguni  
Cloud number tisa we utafika tu  
What! Wee poa utafika tu  
Cloud number tisa wee utafika tu.

Chorus .....

Awe mkonde au mnono bado anatoa

Awe Nduku, Wambui bado nitamwoa  
Nataka yule anaflow na awe na dimes  
Hata kama umeolewa tuko operation fagia  
Hapana kitu kama hiyo hapa ni operation ang'amu  
Kaa una watoi waleta bado tutawang'amu  
Usiogope tunararua kuku na vifaranga  
Hatutaki zile hazina vitu tunataka zile zinabamba  
Kama naongea baya funika masikio na pamba  
Na akikuuliza, nataka kulambwa  
Nakuonyesha, utataka?  
Hakuna rules kwa hii game hata kwa kichaka  
Nakutana na wewe supermarket hapo hapo nataka  
Bora wewe ni manzi mpoa usiwe kiraka  
Na una kifua ndogo na nyuma mahaka  
Usijali hizi lines nazitandikia mashada  
Sheets zangu jo hata ukizichafua  
Hizo sheets na ngotha hatutachafua  
Nitakuwa nazipeleka wapi, white maua  
White rose, White maua

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