

## Jambazi Fulani: Hip Hop Literature and the Redefining of Literary Spaces in Kenya

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In an article written in 2005, Dinah Ligaga deals with the development of the Kenyan literary journal *Kwani?*, founded in 2002 by the Caine Prize winner Binyavanga Wainaina. The title of her article, “Exploring New Literary Spaces in Kenya,” gestures towards the idea that the journal seeks to “transfer social and cultural meanings to literary texts” (46) and adopt a distinctly Kenyan perspective in order to shed light on the everyday experiences of Kenyans. The underlying aim of the journal is expressed on its website: “What we have found is that the literary intelligentsia, together with African publishers and founders of literary projects have lost touch with a new generation of Africans who are sick of being talked down to; who are seeking to understand the bewildering world around them” (Kwani Trust, “About us”). It seeks to position itself as a new agent within the Kenyan literary tradition, as a new forum for a new audience. Whereas previous literary journals such as *Nexus* or *Busara*, which flourished in the late 1960s, were products of the University of Nairobi and were written in English, *Kwani?* was born outside academia and seeks to displace or relocate the locus of literary production outside what could be termed established cultural institutions. The journal also organizes reading events, both for prose (*Kwani?* Sunday salons) and poetry (*Kwani?* Open mics) in Nairobi bars. The poetry readings offer a particularly striking example of the ways in which Kenyan youth have found a space to express themselves. A survey conducted during one of those readings shows that about 74% of the audience are aged between 18 and 25, and that the same percentage consider themselves as writers or poets, even if only a quarter of them have had their work published (Journo 2008). The aim of the reading events and the magazine, according to the staff of the Kwani? Trust, is to make literature “young” and comparable to other cultural products such as local hip-hop music. The symbiosis/overlaps between literature and hip-hop appears both at the readings (the members of the Kenyan hip-hop band Ukoo Flani were present on the night of the survey) and in the pages of the magazine where extracts of hip-hop lyrics can be found (Wainaina 2003; Mashifta namaCrew 2004; Ukoo Flani Maumau 2007). The latest issues of the journal, which focus on the post-election violence that took place in Kenya in early 2008, also feature pieces written in Sheng by Kenyan rappers (Mahungu, 2008; Kamanda 2008; Kitu Sewer 2008). Binyavanga Wainaina thus seeks to broaden the scope of Kenyan literature when he considers that the “influence of American

culture should [. . .] not be seen so negatively, as it has led to the development of Kenyan hip-hop in Sheng in the 1990s. I would say this movement was a proper literary movement that carried a culture” (Binyavanga & Journo 2008). The link established between a type of popular music (hip-hop) that is distinctively Kenyan and the endeavour to create a new literary space where local experiences can be explored in a distinctively Kenyan language (Sheng, the language of Kenyan hip-hop) necessarily puts into question the nature of the literary text produced.

This study focuses on two pieces written in Sheng by Jambazi Fulani and published in the second edition of the journal (Jambazi Fulani 2004a; 2004b). Both pieces are short narratives dealing with everyday life in Kenya. They represent the first occurrence of narratives in Sheng included in the journal, and an analysis of them may enable us to further explore the new literary spaces opened up by the journal, especially in terms of language. The aim of my analysis is not so much to show the way Sheng generally functions, but to explore how it is used in the specific context of literary production. The very nature of a text that feeds on the oral tradition and Kenyan hip-hop, and which has been placed within a written corpus that transforms it into literature, is what is at stake here. Indeed, although it is couched within a conscious intention of subverting pre-existing notions of literature (as embodied in the canons of oral literature and “high literature” or university-endorsed literature), hip-hop literature seeks to attain a similar degree of visibility and legitimation by drawing from these established categories of Kenyan literary culture. How, then, do the texts function to attain this visibility? How do they play with the borders between institutionalized literary productions and other cultural productions? What do they reveal about their very space of production, the urban cosmopolitan space of the city of Nairobi?

A great deal of research has been done on Sheng (Osinde 1986; Spyropoulos 1987; Sure 1992; Moga & Fee 1993; Shitemi 1994; Mazrui 1995; Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997; Nzunga 1997; Amisi 1997; Raymond 2000; King’ei 2001; Teng’o 2001; Samper 2002; Githiora 2002; Mutahi 2002; Ngesa 2002; Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003) which is believed to have developed in the 1970s in the slums surrounding Nairobi. It is a mixture of Kenyan vernacular languages and English; its grammatical structure obeys Swahili rules overall. Its emergence has been explained both as an invention of thugs, who attempted to communicate without the police understanding them, and as the innovation of siblings, who needed to converse beyond their parents’ understanding. Its status as a language has been debated, and as David Samper points out, “[it] does not wholly fall into any of the language varieties, jargon, slang, code, Creole and pidgin. It incorporates qualities of each of these varieties or social styles of language” (126). What is interesting here is not so much the debate on the nature of Sheng but rather the purpose it serves. Many have insisted on its function as “a representation of a new youth ideology” (Hillewaert 5) and as “the marking of a distinct youth identity by maintaining clear in-group belonging” (wa Mũngai 2007: 45). It seems to erase ethnic

allegiances, while at once rejecting Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's stance on vernacular language<sup>1</sup> and the insistence of the political status-quo on the centrality of English. The youth who use it thus "accentuate the importance, not of adhering to Western values, nor of the embodiment of an ethnic identity, but of the hybrid combination of both" (Hillewaert 6). Sheng seems to constitute a space where the complexity and the fluidity of contemporary urban experiences can be reflected. This fluidity, seen in Sheng's versatile incorporation of new words and coinages, reflects the way in which modernity (whether drawn from Western or other, more local, influences) is appropriated, modified and blended with revised pre-existing values.

This relatively positive image of Sheng, as it is described by researchers (for instance, Samper; Nyairo and Ogude), should not hide the fact that the debate around it within Kenyan society often emphasizes its negative effects. To quote but one example, J.O. Ogembo, in an article about language in post-Ngugi fiction, insists that "it is scaring to imagine the impact that 'Sheng' will have on English in the future, now that it is being used for fiction-writing in the country" (103). The qualification of Sheng as scary is not innocent here, given that it was first linked with the gangster culture of Nairobi, as a code-language aimed at evading the police. For the older generations and other figures of authority who occupy the role of cultural gatekeepers, Sheng is to blame for causing young people to forget their culture. Among affluent Kenyans, it is seen negatively as a potential threat to public order, especially for its association with the lower classes. In a society that values Western forms and English as social markers of education and power, Sheng is often rejected as a language of subversion. However, in recent years it has spread to mainstream society and has even entered political speech.<sup>2</sup> According to Chege Githiora, the development of Sheng beyond its original sites is due to its "increasing use in mainstream media, but more significantly because of music and popular youth culture" (174). Just as *Kwani?* seeks to blur artificial boundaries between high-brow and popular or low-brow culture, Sheng, in its recent developments, tends to move out of its original locus: Nairobi Eastlands, the poor suburbs of Nairobi.

The author of the two pieces under study here plays with these negative connotations, as he calls himself Jambazi Fulani. *Jambazi* is Swahili for thief, while *fulani* means "a certain." This nickname thus

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<sup>1</sup> Ngugi wa Thiong'o decided in the early 1980s to stop writing in English, and to write exclusively in Kikuyu, with the belief that African writers were only addressing a minority of Africans when writing in English and promoting cultural imperialism. His first essay on this question can be found in *Decolonizing the Mind*, Nairobi: EAEP, 1986.

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Hillewaert has studied the use made by the opposition (NARC) during the 2002 elections of the Sheng word "*unbwogable*" (unshakable). The use of the Sheng word reflected the will to adhere to an ideology of resistance embodied by the use of the youth code. She asserts that "the use of '*unbwogable*' moved beyond the categories cut out by mainstream society, it implied a modernizing of the traditional" (9).

seems to refer to the original reputation of Sheng, while emphasizing the collective image of the youth. The author does not wish to stand out; he remains anonymous, whilst also underlining his uniqueness. He could be any of the young gangsters from the streets of Nairobi and, by addressing himself in the dismissive way he might be addressed by adult figures of authority, anticipates and subverts the criticism he might attract. His self-description in the pages of the magazine is an important aspect of this ironic identity parade: “Jambazi Fulani—is a scribbler, a possible storyteller one who juad (S) long time that writing is a process he can’t brag about. Yaani haringi! He makes use of his time thinking what to write about . . . (He is thinking)” (Jambazi Fulani 2004a, 58).<sup>3</sup> In the description of the author, his status as a writer is understated and remains in the realm of potential. In one sentence, the paradoxical nature of his enterprise is underlined: at once a “scribbler,” someone who writes, and a “storyteller,” someone who tells, the sentence encapsulates the problematic nature of written Sheng. Should his pieces be seen as a mere transcription of oral tales told by idle youth or as written literature?

The two pieces under study are characterized by instability in many regards: instability of language, of style and tone, instability of the written text, always threatening to become a mere transcript of oral discourse, and instability in the content itself, with both stories depicting the aspirations and frustrations of young Nairobians faced with the unstable world they live in. The first story, “Nyof Nyof,” is about a young girl, Koi, and her failed love affair with Waf, a *matatu* driver.<sup>4</sup> The second one, “Nai Reloaded,” is more complex in its narration, and traces the parallel adventures of Nish, a girl whose boyfriend doesn’t show up for a date, and Mose, who is similarly stood up by his girlfriend. The brevity of the pieces could lead us to describe them as “vignettes,” short narratives that offer snapshots of urban life. In their use of images and idioms drawn from a pool of common experiences lived by Nairobi youth, they also resemble Kenyan hip-hop songs.

First I focus on the language of these pieces, analysing the way Sheng is used and new words created, and the way language serves the narration. Then I will focus on the content itself, and the way it reflects the fluidity of urban youth culture, described by wa Mũngai as “a culture whose matrix thrives [...] on the hybridization of semiotic codes as diverse media, languages and attitudes are brought to capture and express experiences and worldviews.” (wa Mũngai 2007: 29) The experiences of frustration shared by the characters of the two pieces reflect the experiences of Nairobi youth while putting forward the

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<sup>3</sup> “juad” is a Sheng word, formed with the Swahili verb “kujua”, to know, to which is added the English grammatical suffix for preterit -d. “Yaani haringi” can be translated as “indeed, he doesn’t brag”. The words or expressions in Sheng are indicated in the quotations by (S).

<sup>4</sup> A *matatu* is a small minibus used for public transportation in Nairobi and all over the country. The name comes from the Gikuyu “*mang’otore matatu*” (three ten-cents coins), the original fare when *matatu* started to operate in 1952. For more on *matatu* culture and history, see wa Mũngai.

complexity of relations between sexes.

### Hip-hop literature

One of the most striking features of the two pieces by Jambazi Fulani is the integration of non-Swahili terms into a Swahili matrix. In the pieces under study,<sup>5</sup> we find many such examples. In some cases, the English verb is modified, as in “*unitreatie* (S) *haka ka KAR*” (NN 57) (which means “Treat this little one for me like a KAR”<sup>6</sup> from “to treat”, with the Swahili prepositional suffix -i), or just used as such with Swahili prefixes as in “*akaunderstand* (S)” (NR 128) (meaning “he then understood”). What is interesting here is that this phenomenon happens equally the other way round, with Swahili words integrated into an English matrix. We thus find many instances of Swahili verbs treated like English ones: “*juad* (S)” (“knew”, NR 128; NN 57), “*fuatad* (S)” (“followed”, NN 57); “*washaad* (S)” (“lit”; NR 128-9). In the last three examples, the English suffix -d is added as such to the Swahili verb ‘radical’ to signify the past tense. These integrations point to a merging of the two languages, a kind of code-switching<sup>7</sup> that is done within words. It also hints at the fact that a complex grammatical process is at stake in the creation of Sheng, a process that follows some basic rules. The same applies to nouns. Sheng transforms words from Swahili and other languages by shortening them and adding a vowel. We find this process in the texts with Swahili but also with English words. For example, the Swahili word “*dereva*” (“driver”) is shortened to “*dere* (S)” (NN 57) and its plural form is borrowed from the English matrix (“*deres* (S)”, with the suffix -s signifying the plural form). Round-about becomes “*rounda* (S)” (NR 128) and cousin “*couzo* (S)” (NR 129). The shortening of words is in line with the common convention in Sheng according to which the ideal number of syllables in a word is two. The shortening of English words also seems to correspond to phonetic preoccupations, the word shortened ending with a vowel as is the case with most Swahili words.

The use of prefixes to add a certain nuance to the original meaning of the word also appears in the two texts by Jambazi Fulani. Swahili has a certain number of prefixes that change the meaning of the word. Ka- is used to describe something small, with a positive note: “*katoto*” (“small child, baby”) being a diminutive form of “*mtoto*” (“child”). It can also be used in a derogatory way to diminish the standing of the subject as is the case in “*kagirl*” (“small girl”) (NN 57). On the other hand, ji- (singular) and ma- (plural) are used as

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<sup>5</sup> The titles of the two pieces are rendered subsequently in short form as NN for “Nyof Nyof” and NR for “Nairobi Reloaded”

<sup>6</sup> KAR refers to letters commonly found on Kenyan motor vehicle licence plates at the time during which the story was composed. Given the sequence of licence numbering system, plates bearing KAR were being assigned to relatively new cars at the time.

<sup>7</sup> Code switching is usually defined as the process of speakers alternating between two languages in a conversation. See Winford, D., *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, MA, 2003.

augmentatives, “*majumba*” (“buildings”) being the augmentative form of “*nyumba*” (“houses”). To express the character’s fear of the waiter he is unable to pay, the narrator uses the augmentative “*mawaiter* (S).”<sup>8</sup>

A few key points pertaining to the use of Sheng emerge from this brief analysis. First, contrary to the common definition of Sheng as a language that integrates vernacular languages as well as Swahili and English, the Sheng in the two texts integrates Swahili and English only. Such a variety of Sheng has been described by researchers as “Engsh,” or as Nairobi slang (Abdulaziz and Osinde 125; Githiora 174) mainly used by more educated and more affluent youth. The characters from the texts come from Buruburu,<sup>9</sup> a middle-class estate located in Nairobi’s Eastlands. The housing estates of Eastlands are the birthplace of Sheng, but the kind of Sheng used in the two vignettes by Jambazi Fulani reflects the need to make the text accessible to as many Nairobians as possible, which implies a kind of “upgrading” of Sheng for the written form. It also corresponds to the reading public of *Kwani?*, which is mostly constituted of young university students who have undergone substantial training in English (Journo 2008).<sup>10</sup> Secondly, the grammatical operations at work in the creation of new words are interesting because they borrow equally from the English and the Swahili matrix, as if the English and Swahili vocabulary had been pooled together as a unique source of vocabulary. Sheng itself could be described as a space that brings together the two national languages (English and Swahili being the official languages of Kenya) in order to create a specifically Kenyan language. Indeed, as Sarah Hillewaert argues, “[t]he attraction of Sheng lies in the simultaneous rejection and embrace of English and the vernacular by allowing the usage of both in one code. It forms an alternative symbolic marketplace in which a value is placed on plural, heterogeneous language practices” (5).

However, English and Sheng are not used arbitrarily; another striking feature of the texts under study is the variety of speech registers used, with some expressions from very conventional English linked together with Sheng. For example, in “Nyof Nyof” we find the following sentence: “lately it was rumoured he [Waf] was courting some ka high school projo (S) which made Koi feel old and intimidated” (57).<sup>11</sup> The first and last part of the sentence are written in accordance with the standard rules of English grammar and the usual norms of literary English, while the sequence “ka high school projo (S)” clearly refers to another register of speech altogether. It is as if the

<sup>8</sup> In Sheng, the augmentative is almost always built with *ma-*, even when it is a singular noun.

<sup>9</sup> Although this is not said explicitly, it can be inferred from the *matatu* route number 58 (the route code for Buruburu) referred to in both texts.

<sup>10</sup> The questionnaires mentioned earlier showed that 70% of the respondents were university students.

<sup>11</sup> “Projō” in this context refers to “a project” as in “the target of a project of seduction.” The use of such strategic language is striking for its cynicism and perhaps for its expression of a macho sense of masculinity on the part of Waf.

author had inserted an item from oral discourse into writing. The description of the girl as a “projo” (a Sheng term for the target of a romantic “project”) is derogatory, and the contrast between the first and last part of the sentence and this sequence emphasizes this fact, hinting that those words might well be those of Koi, and not of the narrator. The stark contrast in the language used in the vignettes and the constant code-switching in the narratives is clearly not innocent, and might be read as a micro-reflection of the process at stake when a marginal, sub-cultural language encroaches into what was previously the domain of proper English: the intrusion of everyday speech into a literary space.

The relation between space and language is thus crucial, and on many occasions the texts play with the boundaries that restrict the use of a language (Sheng, English, vernacular, Kiswahili) to a certain space in the city. The narrative structure of “Nai Reloaded” is more complex, alternating between two parallel stories, that of Nish, a girl, and that of Mose, a boy. Nish is waiting for her boyfriend in a bar at ABC Place,<sup>12</sup> while Mose is taking a *matatu* to town. The use of Sheng and English is not distributed equally in the paragraphs dealing with Nish and those concerning Mose. The opening paragraph (Nish’s story) is written entirely in English, while the second paragraph (Mose’s story) contains only one word in English, the opening “Meanwhile.” The choice of language therefore signifies a particular context. Indeed, with Nish being in the relatively affluent neighbourhood of Westlands, the use of Sheng would be out of place. Even the waiter speaks to her in English, however broken it may be. Mose, on the other hand, is boarding a *matatu*, the ultimate locus of Sheng, and heading towards town. *Matatu* drivers and *manamba* (conductors) are indeed “culture brokers” (Samper 19)—that serve as mediators between the local and the global, and the rural and urban. As such, Sheng is their chosen language, where Swahili and English fail to serve their needs.

In “Nyof Nyof,” on the other hand, the division within the narrative between narration and dialogue accounts for the division between parts in Sheng and in English. If Sheng invades some of the narration it is, however, relatively contained to the dialogues. The dialogue takes place between Njoro, the waiter of the *nyama choma*<sup>13</sup> “joint” (NN 57) and Koi, who has come there to meet Waf, the *matatu* driver she is interested in, and between the same waiter and Waf when he arrives. *Nyama choma* places thrive in Nairobi and can be considered spaces of socialisation, where all generations can be found. If the food order is taken in Swahili, the discussion between the two young people about what is going on includes Sheng. The waiter thus asks Koi: “*hizi ndizo masaa za Waf mulikuwa nakadate (S) nini?*” (“this is Waf’s hour, you had a date or what?”) and Koi answers “*Zii (S) ni kuchance (S) tu*” (“No, it is just by chance”) (NN 57). When Waf comes in with another girlfriend, Njoro warns him in Sheng: “*We*

<sup>12</sup> ABC Place is a commercial centre situated in Nairobi Westlands, a middle to upper-class area.

<sup>13</sup> Swahili for roasted meat.

*ushaabambwa* (S) *si ucheki* (S) *one o'clock*.” (“You, you’ve been caught already, look towards one o’clock”) (NN 57). The latter example is typical of the code-language Sheng represents. Indeed, used by *manamba* to warn drivers of the presence of the police on the road, it is here used coupled with the coded direction indication (“one o’clock” is used to indicate where Koi is standing), to warn Waf that he has been caught red-handed. In a more ordinary situation, Sheng still appears as a secret code, used to escape the law (here the rule of monogamy). However, this function fails here, as Waf has already been caught—“Tongue tied and slightly embarrassed he stayed on guilty as charged” (NN 58)—and the warning is issued to alert Waf to Koi’s presence, even if Koi probably understands Njoro’s words.

In both texts, the use of language reflects a negotiation in identities and locations within the city. If the overall characteristics of the type of Sheng used point to a large audience that includes middle- and upper-class Nairobi youth, the choice of English, Sheng or Swahili is dictated by precise circumstances (location in the city, message transmitted, and so on). However, while remaining conscious of the boundaries that delimit the use of a certain language, the writer also plays with such boundaries. The common connotations of Sheng are played with: Sheng—normally associated with gangsters and marginalized figures—is defiantly and naughtily represented in the author’s pen-name as well as in the actual use of Sheng by the characters. As these representations are put forward they are also subverted: by getting his work published in a literary magazine, the author escapes from the category of “just another Nairobi thief” (“*Jambazi Fulani*”). The common view that Sheng is difficult to decipher, other than by a small coterie of its users, is equally undermined when Njoro uses Sheng to warn Waf of the imminent danger of Koi’s presence.

By playing with language as a space that is subject to several influences and whose boundaries can be blurred, the texts themselves are in nature unstable, playing with borders between orality, hip-hop and the written form. The texts I examine here are examples of a creative process that “does not seek to dismantle tradition, but rather preserves traditions through creativity” (Waita 116). Thus, the presence of structural elements and devices pointing to oral literature as well as those pointing to the hip-hop tradition should not be seen as contradictions but rather as signs of the fluidity of cultural innovation as it is enabled within the literary space *Kwani?* has opened up, a space where negotiations between tradition and modernity take place. In his study of Kenyan oral literature, Miruka underlines the three moments that constitute the oral narration of a story. First, there is a pre-narration phase in which an opening formula is used to create a “verbal contract between the narrator and the audience” (154) and to attract the listener’s attention. This phase is reflected in Jambazi Fulani’s use of the opening word “*ati*” in “Nyof Nyof.” “*Ati*” is a common Swahili word that is hard to translate, but that is used to ask someone to repeat an utterance, to report what someone has allegedly said, or to show surprise. The narration is, from its inception, placed within the oral



sphere of a story told and repeated, which is a feature shared with oral narratives.

The second phase put forward by Miruka is the narration phase proper, which he describes as a triangular relation between narrator, narrative and audience. During this phase, the narrator uses “creativity” and should employ “a multi-media approach to the delivery” (156). The interactive nature of oral storytelling is reflected in the texts in the use of interjections. In “Nai Reloaded,” we find the question-and-response formula of narration that mimics oral storytelling: in English “guess who comes,” “you guessed right”; and in Swahili “*nani anatokea*” [“who comes out?”], “*Steph na [and] Njoro*” (NR 128). The dramatization of the story could also be linked to the use of exclamations, such as “*haiya!*” (NR 128), that reflect Mose’s disappointment and resignation upon finding his friend’s telephone engaged. A closer analysis of the tenses used also reveals dramatizing effects in the narration. In the part of the text where Mose is thrown out of the restaurant by the waiter, we find an interesting repetition of the action. First, we read “*ameharakishwa*” (“he has been thrown out”) (128) and a couple of lines further, after we learn that people are coming out of the cinema, we find the phrase “*anaharakishwa na mawaiter*” (“he is being thrown out by that beast of a waiter”) (128). The change from past to present, as well as the use of the augmentative form “*mawaiter*,” serves to mimic the intensity of the action and of the emotions felt by the hero.

Finally, Miruka describes a last phase, which follows the narration stage: the post-narration phase is usually composed of a “closing formula” (Miruka 158) that brings the audience back to reality, and opens the stage for their reactions to the story. In “Nyof Nyof,” the closing line “it was seemingly a pretty *mbof storo* (S)” (“a pretty uninteresting story”) (NN 58), at once points to the fictitiousness of the tale told and opens space for criticism, for a meta-discourse on what has just been told. The presence of a moral also hints at the legacy of oral narratives as far as their social didactic function is concerned (Miruka 184). In “Nyof Nyof,” the narrator warns the reader that “Unbeknownst to her, Waf was not what she envisaged trust deres (S)” (“Unbeknownst . . . trust drivers” NN 57). This statement anticipates the ending of the story when, indeed, Koi realizes that she “had been taken for a ride” (NN, 58). In “Nairobi Reloaded,” no such hint is given, but the story closes with a moral, with both characters learning the lesson about Nairobi life.

Other common features of oral literature and hip-hop music that are evident in the texts are the use of rhyme and repetition. The word “*waacha*” (“wait” or “leave it alone” in Swahili) may be used to introduce a story. In “Nairobi Reloaded,” this word is combined with other devices linked to orality: “*waacha angoje, ilikuwa one, one thirty, two, two fifteen movie nayo ikaanza waacha ajam* (S)” (“Let him wait, it was one, one thirty, two, two fifteen, the movie started, let him become mad”) (NR 127). The parallelism and mirror effect created by the use of the same construction to open and close the sentence (*waacha* + verb in the subjunctive form) reinforces the orality

of the text. Indeed, repetition, rhyme and rhythm have been identified by scholars as major tools for memorisation in oral literature. For instance, Walter J. Ong stresses that:

[T]o solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence. Your thoughts must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antithesis, in alliterations or assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions. (34)

The enumeration of the hours and minutes going by in “Nairobi Reloaded,” with an acceleration towards the end, also serves to create suspense.

The same phenomenon is at work when the narrator describes Nish’s attitude in the bar: “*kanwaji* [sic], *kamozo kanywaji*, *kamozo* (S), then a sigh. *Kanywaji kamozo kanywaji kamozo* (S), then a sigh” (which means, “a sip, a puff a sip, a puff, then a sigh. A sip a puff a sip a puff, then a sigh”) (NR 128-129). The repetition, with the alliteration in ka-, and the acceleration reflected in the absence of commas in the second segment, all contribute to reflect Nish’s sense of boredom in a manner that echoes well-known oral techniques of narrative and poetic delivery. Rhyme and alliteration can also be linked to hip-hop, where rhyme is an important element of the conveyed message, such as in Ken Crazy’s *Ti-Chi*.<sup>14</sup> In “Nyof Nyof,” Waf tells the waiter “*unitreatie haka ka KAR*” (NN 57), and the alliteration in ka-, combined with the parallel drawn between the girl and a new car, makes the text closely resemble hip-hop lyrics. Even the shortening of words mentioned earlier could be viewed as a way to fit into the requirements of hip-hop lyrics, with the alliteration emphasizing the message conveyed. Multi-rhyming and internal rhyme are also features of what Alim refers to as “Hip Hop Poetics” (Alim 16). In both texts by Jambazi Fulani, the sentences often feature internal rhyme, whether it be assonance, as in “*hana feri hana manzi* (S)” (“no fare, no girl”, NR 128) or alliteration, as in “Waf’s voice seemingly inducing some concern” (NN 57). Thus, Alim’s description of “Hip-Hop Nation Language” as “the synergetic combination of speech, music, and literature” (Alim 126) accurately describes the nature of both texts, which use oral literature’s rhetorical effects and feature poetic and musical effects that link them to hip hop.

The common attitude of traditional oral artists and hip hop artists toward the issue of authorship also serves to establish a bridge between pre-existing oral genres and hip-hop. Oral genres are transmitted from generation to generation as part of common, shared knowledge. For instance, an oral storyteller cannot claim a story to be his or hers alone. If absolute authorship is not acknowledged in oral traditions, something similar could be said of rap/hip-hop, whose collective dimension is underlined by Tricia Rose:

Rap lyrics are a critical part of a rapper’s identity, strongly suggesting the

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<sup>14</sup> This song came out in 2007 and its title is derived from the English for “teacher” or “teach.” Rhyme is used to enhance the comical nature of the song, while the title and the content hint at a pseudo-pedagogical enterprise.

importance of authorship and individuality in rap music. Yet, sampling as it is used by rap artists, indicates the importance of collective identities and group histories. There are hundreds of shared phrases and slang words in rap lyrics, yet a given rap text is the personal and emotive voice of the rapper. (Rose 95)

In both texts by Jambazi Fulani, the musical notion of “sampling” can be seen in the use of references and phrases taken from common experiences shared by Nairobi youth: the *matatu* experience and cultures of mobile telephony. The widely-known messages users get when the telephone of the person they are calling is busy has thus entered everyday language. The message says, in both English and Swahili, “*Samahani, mteja wa nambari uliyopiga hapatikani kwa sasa*” (Sorry, the mobile subscriber [you are calling] cannot be reached [at the moment]), and in everyday conversation people often use a synecdoche to refer to the person they have tried to call without success as “*mteja*,” as in “he is *mteja*” (literally, “he is client”). This permeation of standardised messages into everyday language can also be seen in the use of the mottos and marketing slogans of local mobile telephone companies. Safaricom’s “The better option” and Celtel’s<sup>15</sup> “making life better,” echo each other and are played with in Jambazi Fulani’s vignettes. For example, in “Nyof Nyof,” Koi, who works for Safaricom, decides to leave Maish, her former boyfriend, after she discovers he lacks friends: “her discovery made her take *a better option* as far as she was concerned” (NN 57; my emphasis). The lexical field of the telecommunications industry—with its slogans and other marketing ruses—is used to describe her choice to change (to switch) from Maish to Waf: “Waf may not have been well *connected* but at least she was willing to enjoy for [sic] his *availability*” (NN 57; my emphasis). The reference to the Safaricom motto and the general use of the marketing vocabulary of the telecommunications industry is a way to create humour, based on common experiences shared by the readers and audiences. It also serves as an explanatory tool for comprehending the world and defining one’s identity and place within it.

In “Nai Reloaded” we also find references to the Safaricom message. Both characters are stranded and decide to call the person who has stood them up, and both get the automated Safaricom message. In a striking parallel, Nish, in her English-speaking context, gets the message in Swahili: “She picked up her Siemens again to call but *nasikitika mteja hawe . . .*” (NR 128), while Mose, in a story told in Sheng, gets the message in English: “*Akajaribu kupiga simu ikaingia*, the mobile subscriber cannot be . . .” (“He tried to call . . .”) (NR 128). Thus, despite their different surroundings, the youth share the same experience, which is epitomised in the Safaricom message. The mirrored image of their shared experience, with only the language inverted, points to the message as an embodiment of disappointment. Both are left alone as the modern device fails to connect them to their friend/lover, while at the same time connecting them to each other

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<sup>15</sup> Celtel was bought by Kuwait’s Mobile Telecommunications Co. (Zain) in 2005, and the network changed its name to Zain in 2009.

through the shared experience of the message.

The individuality of Jambazi Fulani's art is evidenced in the modification of the message in Swahili, but the quotations of well-known phrases resembles the process of "sampling" in rap music, a process that emphasizes a common identity, a shared experience, and enhances a certain sense of belonging that is linked to modernity and urban life. The interaction found in the use of oral devices stated above also tightens the space of reception, as the reader, like a listener of rap music, can see himself or herself as part of the text, and can identify with the writer, whose name reflects a relative anonymity and thus acquires a certain collective dimension. Unlike an individual author, whose name refers to his specific status as the sole producer of the text, the name Jambazi Fulani hints at a more collective creative process, linking the text to oral tales and hip-hop music. The use of those phrases are also close to what Stephanie Newell calls "quoting techniques," stressing the need "to redefine the concept of mimicry and replace it with the idea that local authors and audiences employ quoting techniques which are far more dynamic and culturally located than allowed for by theorists such as Hannerz" (2).

### Negotiating Identities

This last remark brings us to the question of the location of the texts themselves within the cosmopolitan space that Nairobi represents. If mobile phones and *matatu* images are used to create humour and describe common experiences, other modern elements also serve as references in the texts. The title of the second piece "Nai Reloaded" refers to a video game. Indeed, in common language, dating is often likened to a game. Here, both characters lose the game and end up alone. The text's conclusion hints at the notion of the video game while at the same time reflecting the hardships of the Nairobi urban experience: "For Nish and Moze [sic] they had learnt the hard way about the Nairobi Matrix—this was Nai Reloaded" (NR 129). Coded into the sentence is the idea that life in Nairobi is unreal (if we consider the reference to the Wachowsky brothers' movie *Matrix Reloaded*), that it is but a game that can be started over and over again ("reloaded"), and that the game is full of disappointment and hardships ("the hard way"). In one stroke, the difficulty of urban life is put forward and dismissed as being only a game. This ambivalence in the description of urban life can be linked to the way *matatu* drivers consider city life: "the many 'bragging' *matatu* names and witty stickers suggest that however else they might be understood, the culture's expressive practices can be viewed at one level as humour calculated to ease the severity of contradictions and adversities of everyday life" (wa Mũngai 2007: 31). In "Nyof Nyof," the identification of some characters by their occupations and not their names can also be seen as a way to distance the story from reality, thus transforming it into a more bearable reflection of reality for the readers. Sheng is thus not the only element linking these texts to what wa Mũngai calls the "*matatu* culture, this 'epitome of ambivalence'" (2007: 29). By referring to common cultural practices among the youth

in Kenya, such as video games, the writer reinforces the sense of identity and the community-building created by both the language and the content of the texts.

*The Matrix* is not the only Western intertext in “Nai Reloaded.” Not only does Mose go to town to watch an American movie, *How to Lose a Guy in Ten Days*, but on his way there, the song played in the *matatu* is an American song by Jennifer Lopez and LL Cool J, *All I Have* (Lopez 2002). At the time of the story’s publication, both the movie and the song were relatively recent productions, hinting at the speed with which foreign cultural products reach the Kenyan capital. Both deal with (failed) love stories, thus echoing the characters’ plight within the story. They are explicitly and implicitly used to explain or account for the characters’ behaviour. Mose, thrown out of the restaurant without a shilling in his pocket, stood up by his girlfriend and betrayed by his friend, explicitly links his experience to the movie: “*akaunderstand* (S) *hata hiyo movie ilifaa iitwe How to Lose a Guy in One Day*” (“He then understood that that movie should even be called *How to Lose a Guy in One Day*”) (NR 128).

The song also is paraphrased by the narrator in Sheng: “Jay Lo *anashinda akisema pride haiezi kumfanya arudie hilo lidude* (S), *nae LL anamshow* (S) *pride alikuwa nayo lakini sasa hana ene* (S)” (“Jay Lo defeats him, saying her pride cannot allow her to go back to that fool, while LL shows her that she might have had pride but not anymore”). The original lyrics are as follows: “(J.Lo) It’s such a shame but I’m leaving [ . . . ] (J.Lo): All my pride is all I have (LL Cool J): Pride is what you had, baby girl I’m what you have” (STLyrics.com). We can note that the meaning has been slightly altered in the Sheng translation. Nowhere in the song does the girl describe the lover she is leaving in a negative way, nor does she say she will not be going back to him. The Sheng version shows the man in a more negative light than the original English lyrics do, by stating explicitly that when it comes to the matter of a boyfriend, a girl has to give up any pride she might have had. Mose is biased against the girl in the song in a way the song itself does not anticipate.

Looking closer at “Nai Reloaded,” it is clear that the blurring of linguistic boundaries can be linked to the blurring of traditional gender boundaries, as if the writer of the text is mimicking the difficult negotiations taking place in everyday relationships between the sexes, as mediated by money and language itself. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, if the overall structure of the story links the wealthier neighbourhood (Westlands) to English, and downtown Nairobi to Sheng and Swahili, both spaces communicate with each other and previously discrete languages come to permeate all parts of the city. We thus find the term “Meanwhile” in the Swahili/Sheng part and “*juad*” (S) in the English part. The use of similar automated phone messages in both languages also hints at a shared experience. Moreover, the boundaries and traditional associations between certain symbols or stereotypes and gender are being played with, just as the connotations of Sheng had been played with. The female character, Nish, is associated with a wealthy neighbourhood, English (the

language of authority and power in Kenya), and masculine attributes such as the space of the bar, alcohol, cigarettes, and violence. She curses, almost crushes her phone on the bartender's face, threatens to "unlash a *kosovo* (S)"<sup>16</sup> (NR 128). Later, she silences the bartender with "daggers."<sup>17</sup> She also has money to pay for her drink ("picked up her *kabag* chunked some *kagee* and paid," (NR 128) unlike Mose, the male protagonist. In an interesting mirror effect, he is the victim of the waiter who throws him out of the restaurant because he is unable to pay his bill, and he swallows the humiliation of being thrown out in front of the exiting cinema spectators ("*Mose huku akijitengeneza, tengeneza asha wakolola na kumezea tu* (S)" ("As Mose was getting himself together, he saw them and just swallowed it in") (NR 128). His description, in keeping with hip-hop as well as *matatu* culture, in which clothes and ways of walking emit particular signs about youth identity, emphasizes certain exterior signs associated with masculinity, as in "*asha bounce na labo ya Sean Jean akang'arie manzi* (S)" ("he was bouncing with his Sean Jean label, shining out to impress the girls") (NR 128). In addition, he does not pay the fare because he knows the *makanga* (conductor), again drawing attention to the possibility that he is part of the in-crowd, the gang members associated with the *matatu* industry. He also links sentimentality with wealth "*marshy marshy*"<sup>18</sup> *yaani ubabi* (S)" (NR 128),<sup>19</sup> insisting on the hard-heartedness forced on him by street life, but at the same time he has to comply with his girlfriend's desire: "*lakini ilibidii tu aoblige* (S)" ("but he had to oblige") (NR 128). Does he comply with the girl or merely with the power that her wealth represents?

The fact that he is emotionally touched by the R&B song playing in the *matatu* further complicates the analysis and lays emphasis on changing attitudes and cultural and social negotiations that are at stake in contemporary Nairobi. If we turn to "Nyof Nyof," we find that men are described in an ambiguous fashion. Koi, the heroine, has decided to leave her former boyfriend, Maish, because of his lack of friends, and "because he was not focused" (NN 57). She is the one passing judgement and deciding she deserves better, which is a very modern attitude for women. When she catches Waf with another girl, he is incapable of defending himself and is "tongue tied" (NN, 58). Like Mose, he seems unable to stand up for himself. However, in other parts

<sup>16</sup> The expression, a typical case of global culture reappropriated locally, refers to the idea that she was ready to unleash her fury and turn the bar into a battlefield.

<sup>17</sup> The sentence "the daggers he was given [by Nish] froze him [the bartender]" refers to the nasty look she gave him.

<sup>18</sup> This expression, used instead of the conventional "mushy mushy," may be a good example of how the use of Sheng has led to deterioration in the use of standard English in the written form.

<sup>19</sup> The term "ubabi" is the Sheng short form for Babylon-ness, a condition of exile occasioned by the spread of Western economic and cultural imperialism. It is used by the Nairobi youth from the underclasses—following the example set by Rastafari in the diaspora—to describe affluent Kenyans and their uppity ways. The notion is also found in Kenyan hip hop lyrics, such as in "Majambazi" by Mashifta, where we hear "*System ya Babylon, system ya Majambazi*" ("Babylon system, system of thugs") (Mashifta, 2006).

of the text, Waf assumed a virile pose, which is common in *matatu* culture. Thus, the name of his *matatu*, “Western Bull,” conjures images of virility. His attitude before he is caught is virile and almost male chauvinist. The “*kagirl*” (NN 57) who accompanies him does not talk, she only giggles, and Waf likens her to a car, albeit a new one.

In both stories, we find the difficulties faced by urban Kenyan youth when it comes to defining their place in terms of gender. The assertive women do not get better results for their struggles than their male counterparts, whose sense of virility is based on modern images often conveyed by American hip-hop: the “bling bling” culture of men dressed up to go out hunting for women; reified women who, in hip-hop videos, perform the same function as the latest car—a peripheral role meant to put the man in a position of dominance. Thus, we can say with Hannerz that the increase in information flows around the world has resulted in the development of similar codes of self-representation, creating a “global ecumene” (44), a resource pool from which people appropriate cultural signs and modalities of self-representation. These images are “building blocks” (Appadurai 6) with which people re-invent their self-image. They are indeed incorporated within the Kenyan context, where male anxiety has been heightened by social changes brought about by formal education that has given women the chance to aspire for paid careers and property, thus competing with men and threatening their position and their monopoly of material wealth, which is the traditional basis of their authority (Silberschmidt). The stereotyped images of masculinity, used within a Kenyan environment, point to the difficult negotiations of power between the sexes in a changing social context. Manhood is depicted as a complex issue that is constantly being redefined. The hip-hop representational style depicted in both texts and linked closely to *matatu* culture lays emphasis on male centrality, which resembles but also replaces the centrality of “mainstream patriarchy” (wa Mũngai 2007: 38). The inclusion of foreign cultural influences such as hip-hop, far from reflecting mere mimicry, is used as a tool for redefinition and re-appropriation. As Mwenda Ntarangwi states in his analysis of East African hip-hop artists:

their ability to blend foreign cultural expressions with locally situated lyrics in a vernacular specific to their lives points not necessarily to a Westernized group but a reflection of East African cultural realities shaped by contact, conquest and redefinition. (Ntarangwi 300)

#### Conclusion:

This analysis suggests that the stories by Jambazi Fulani can be characterized by their instability, and are thus difficult to tag and to categorize; are they examples of literature or mere transcriptions of inconsequential oral stories? The various influences and subtexts, derived from American hip-hop, advertising mottos and so on, seem to point to the fact that this literature can no longer be restricted to an enclosed category but is rather a modern product of crossbreeding, the product of imported and re-appropriated forms, and influenced by the *matatu* and Kenyan hip-hop culture. The characteristic of this cross-

bred literary and cultural movement is its endeavour to be “bottom-up” (Wainaina 2008) and far-reaching. Thus, *Kwani?*’s enterprise should be viewed from this perspective.

Dinah Ligaga argues that “although *Kwani?* has managed to create new literary spaces, it has not been able to sufficiently transcend the formal gaze often associated with traditional forms of writing” (Ligaga, 2005: 51). I hope to have shown, to the contrary, how the two texts by Jambazi Fulani allow the magazine to move beyond the high-brow/popular literature dichotomy and open up a space where such categories can be questioned and where negotiations on the very definition of what is literary can be undertaken. The opposing and complementary impulses between the local and the global are reflected in the text, whether in the language used or in the inter-textual references, and they underline the cultural process at stake within Kenyan society, with the re-appropriation and absorption of foreign elements that contribute to the formation of a specifically Kenyan space and language. The space of the journal could therefore be described as one of dialogue between different conceptions of what literature is (from award-winning texts, such as Yvonne Owuor’s *Weight of Whispers*, to narratives in Sheng, or even picture-narratives), as well as a space that reflects on-going negotiations within Kenyan society between genders, and around the very definition of Kenyan identity.<sup>20</sup> Even if constraints of space make it impossible to discuss in-depth the complex issue of the readership of *Kwani?*, it can be stated with confidence that the magazine has contributed to the creation of a certain community that recognizes itself within the magazine’s pages: a young, educated, and urban population.

Thus, this new wave of literature is placed by its promoters within a new context, that of urban youth culture. The new evolutions in the Kenyan literary scene must thus be seen in relation to larger social and political issues that hinge around what wa Mũngai calls, following Jean-François Bayart (Bayart: 113), the “Rift Valley of the age gap,” (wa Mũngai 2008) which is the conflict, or opposition, reflected in politics, language and culture, between elders and non-elders. The youth in Kenya thus seem to use icons and representations from outside the country, in addition to their own unique coinages, as the values conveyed by the state and local sources of authority no longer correspond to their needs. In doing so, they create new forms of cultural practice that warrant further analysis.

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<sup>20</sup> In *Kwani?* 4, there are many pieces dealing with the notion of Kikuyuness.



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Annex 1: Jambazi Fulani, "Nyof Nyof", *Kwani?* 2, Nairobi:  
Kwani Trust, 2004, 57-58

*The following has been reproduced here as it was found in Kwani? 2.*

"Ati the makanga of the fifty-eight mathree was mbolox so Koi fuatad  
nyayo and placed herself in the admirable eyes of Waf (short for  
Wafula). Waf was the dere of Western Bull the mathree known for its  
bullish horn that attracted the choosiest of the bunch in Buru. She had  
dissed Maish because he was not focused; he happened to be bila  
chums and needed also to improve on perso. Lately it was rumoured he  
was courting some ka high school projo which made Koi feel old and  
intimidated. Koi was a typical Boma girl trying to organize her perso  
and recently employed as a marketer for Safaricom. In as much as she  
had at some point endeared herself to Maish and had said yes to him  
her discovery made her take a better option and as far as she was  
concerned Waf may not have been well connected but at least she was  
willing to enjoy for his availability.

Unbeknownst to her Waf was not what she envisaged trust deres. There was this afti when she happened to be marketing near Mesora and for some reason after calling the office established it was not necessary to go back. So she went like to look for some lunch. She remembered the kajoint where the deres normally buy their nyam chom and headed there just in case she could capitalise or perchance Waf would be there.

The joint wasn't really parked but the nyam chom was calling yaani the aroma was beckoning her to some lunch. Njoro happened to be the one running the joint on this day. He gave her that knowing look and asked her

“Kama kawaida?”

“Lakini usijaze” she replied she juad that if she kulad so much it would take some time before she shed of the kathreatening pot.

“hizi ndizo masaa za Waf mulikuwa nakadate nini?” Njoro asked

“Zii ni kuchance tu” she responded knowingly. The kiosk was another of those information agencies. Vibe must have gone round that something was cutting between her and Waf.

She thought she heard Western Bull mathree honk and brake. Then she heard the familiar voice Waf's

“Soja si unipigie roundi utapata ka nishaa beng kidogo?”

“Sawa Waf” Soja seemed to oblige

Then she thought she heard some kagiggle and Waf's voice seemingly inducing some concern like he was vibing some kagirl. She just tuliad and in came Waf. He was with some kasupu holding her compromisingly and as he entered he shouted,..... “Vipi Njoro nijazie kama kawaida na unitreatie haka ka KAR”.

Njoro tried to contain himself and pretended he was wiping the table then he whispered to Waf

“We ushaabambwa si uchekei one o'clock”.

He turned in shock in time to see Koi leaving. Tongue tied and slightly embarassed he stayed on guilty as charged.

Meanwhile Koi realised that she had been taken for a ride and begun to understand that he was a man of the industry and things had just gone Nyof Nyof. It was seemingly a pretty mbof storo.

About the Author:

Jambazi Fulani – is a scribbler, a possible storyteller one who juad long time that writing is a process he can't brag about. Yaani haringi! He makes use of his time thinking what to write about... (He is thinking).”

©Jambazi Fulani, 2003

Annex 2: Jambazi Fulani, “Nai Reloaded”, *Kwani?* 2, Nairobi: Kwani Trust, 2004, 128-129

*The following has been reproduced here as it was found in Kwani? 2.*

“Nish juad Malo was going to pick her up at Kengeles ABC, I mean that is where he said he would be after Pavements. She picked up her Siemens again to call but nasikitika mteja hawe ..., It wasn’t even over ‘Shit!’ She cussed and nearly crushed the poor thing in Raju, the bartenders face.

“Hey you are just being patient you are knowing him he is being very bijjy” she looked at Raju as if to say the guy did not know how she would have unleash a kosovo there. So she moved away and went to the ladies.

Meanwhile Mose alikuwa amepanda five eight, ameelekea tao kukutana na Steph hapo Kenya Cinema. Kulikuwa na hi movie ya sijui, How to Lose a Guy in Ten Days. Hizo stori zilikuwa zimemkwaza sana unajua tu Steph vile ukuwa marshy marshy yaani ubabi mob. Hi haikuwa movie poa lakini ilibidii tu aoblige. Sa ashaingia ndae, Njoro naya ka kawaida alikuwa makanga basi Mose akajua atapanda sare. LL Cool J , na Jay Lo washapandisia ile song yao eti Jay Lo anashinda akisema pride haiezi kumfanya arudie hilo lidude, naye LL anamshow pride alikuwa nayo lakini sasa hana ene. Hiyo song ilibaki imekwaza Mose sana sijui kwa nini?

Nish came back na bado Malo had not come neither had he called. She itishad two Pilis and washaad some five five five mozo from AFCO. She mused over her kanywaji, and her kamozi. Kanwaji, kamozi kanywaji, kamozi, then a sigh. Kanywaji kamozi kanywaji kamozi, then a sigh. She turned to watch Dstv but ilikuwa boring. Kanywaji, kamozi kanywaji, kamozi, and then the last sigh picked up her kabag chunked some kagee and paid. Raju was about to say something but the daggers he was given froze him. She started walking out.

Mose alibaki ameshuka hapo rounda ya bomblast, asha bounce na lebo za Sean Jean akang’arie manzi. Akafika Kenya Cinema. Waacha angoje, ilikuwa one, one thirty, two, two fifteen movie nayo ikaanza waacha ajam. Akajaribu kupiga simu ikaiingia, the mobile subscriber cannot be ... Haiya! akapanda Dodi’s kumanga ndiyo apige mpango. Ashaadishi ikafika alipe hiyo bill, kuweka mkono kwa mfuko hana ene, wallet inakaa ililapwa, ashaingiza baridi. Waacha ajaribu kuexplainia waiter, kukatokea na vuguvugu alibaki ameharakishwa na kubebwa bebwa juu, hizo vita zikafika huko nje, ilikuwa saa mbaya movie ilikuwa imeiisha, watu wanatoka na huku anaharakishwa na mawaiter. Nani akatokea Steph na Njoro wakibehave as if wamenokiana vinoma sana. Mose huku akijitengeneza, tengeneza asha wakolola na kumezea tu. Hana feri hana manzi. Song ya Jay Lo na LL ikamrudia na akaunderstand hata hiyo movie ilifaa iitwe How to Lose a Guy in One Day.

As Nish walked out guess who comes Pato the couzo, she asked for a lift and while at Waiyaki Way she asked Pato if she can pass just for a short while at Pavements he said its sawas so she went in. First she thought she was dreaming but she moved closer Malo had not seen her. She songead and got close sat down pole pole behind him and you guessed right ordered for some Pilis and washaad her AFCO, five five

fives the Kamozi, kanywazi, kamozi, kanywaji, then a sigh. She did it again kamozi, kanywazi, kamozi, kanywaji, meanwhile eavesdropping on Malo's vibe waiting just for the right moment and scheming on how to deal with this muhanyaji. For Nish and Moze they had learnt the hard way about the Nairobi Matrix – this was Nai Reloaded.

About the Author:

Jambazi Fulani – is a scribbler, a possible storyteller one who juad long time that writing is a process he can't brag about. Yaani haringi! He makes use of his time thinking what to write about... (He is thinking)."

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