

# THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

## The Linguistic Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity in Kenyan Rap Music

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### **Abstract:**

*This paper explores the ways heterosexual masculinity is discursively negotiated, performed and depicted in Kenyan rap music. In particular we investigated whether the Kenyan male rappers articulated the dominant conceptions of masculine heterosexuality or changed such conceptions. The formal linguistic aspects of five Kenyan lyrical texts were analysed using pragmatic resources. The analysis revealed that rappers actively constructed their heterosexual masculinity through evaluating women's bodies, talking about their sexual adventures with women and lastly, emphasising their heterosexual male function.*

### **1. Introduction**

Scholars widely acknowledge that gender and sexuality are neither neutral nor biological. On the contrary, they are products of social practices. Van Zoonen (2005) adopts this social constructionist standpoint in her theorisation of language, gender, sexuality and the media. She argues that language plays a particularly fundamental role in articulating the divisions between the genders inside and outside the media. Van Zoonen also contends that contemporary media in both subtle and direct ways reconstruct our sexual identities in a manner that closely reflect how we privately feel. Van Zoonen's arguments not only help us view gender and sexual identities as products of linguistic actions but also guide us to think of mass media content including rap music as quintessential in the construction and representation of heterosexual masculinity.

In line with the arguments that 1) heterosexuality is an indication of masculinity (Connell 1995), 2) rap discourse is underpinned by sexism and homophobia Pareles (1994) and 3) demographically hip hop (rap music) is a male dominated genre (Ntarangwi 2009); the enactment of heterosexual-masculinity in rap texts can be perceived as crucial to the production of gender identities and sexual subjectivities. This paper seeks to explore the ways heterosexual masculinity is discursively negotiated, performed and depicted in Kenyan rap music. In particular, we explore whether the male rappers perform the dominant conceptions of masculine heterosexuality or challenge such conceptions.

The paper is organised as follows. The second section presents the literature review. This entails a critical examination of the work done by both contemporary and pioneer scholars in the field of gender and sexuality. Section three outlines the theoretical framework. This part discusses the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992 and 1995). The fourth section is a presentation of the methodology. This section explains the techniques used to do the research and specifically to collect data. In the fifth section, a sample of five rap texts are analysed using the qualitative method of Critical Discourse Analysis to unravel the discursive practices that inform heterosexual masculinity. The formal linguistic aspects of the rap texts are analysed using the pragmatic resources of presupposition, implicature and transitivity. Lastly, section six is the conclusion.

### **2. Literature Review**

Many scholars argue that masculinity is inherently linked with heterosexuality (see, Cameron: 2005, Norman: 2001, Cameron and Kulick: 2003, and Connell: 1995). The relationship between masculinity and heterosexuality culminates into an understanding that a man must sexually desire women and not other men. This argument is bolstered by Butler (1990, p.151) through the 'heterosexual matrix'. In this matrix, masculinity and femininity are oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the mandatory practice of heterosexuality. Within the 'heterosexual matrix', for bodies to cohere and make sense, opposites attract: males are strictly attracted to females whereas females are strictly attracted to males. Deviants of this norm are considered to lack masculinity and femininity. Reflecting on men who are attracted to fellow men, Connell (1995) notes that 'our patriarchal culture has a simple interpretation of gay men: they lack masculinity.' the problem with Butler and Connell's views is that they make gender and sexuality virtually synonymous. Another issue is that they point to a hegemonic kind of masculinity which is antithetical to the existence of homosexuals. In response, poststructuralists have maintained that gender and sexuality- and by extension masculinity and heterosexuality- must remain analytically distinct categories because they constitute distinct subject positioning. They reason that in some instances gender and sexuality may work in tandem to constitute the identities of some

people in non-contradictory ways (as Butler and Connell maintain), while in other instances, human beings clearly experience these subject positioning in contradictory ways.

Cameron (1997) examines the discourses of young heterosexual American college students and analyses these as performances about and of masculine gendered identities. In the analyses, she emphasizes the codes of understanding that inform the uptake of conversations. She demonstrates that these codes are themselves constructed and relate to a more general discourse on gender difference. Consequently, any specific instance of behaviour and of associated patterns of talk is directly interpreted through conventional filters that are coloured by partiality of shared assumptions *Vis a Vis* gender differentiation. In the study, Cameron concentrates on the question of heterosexuality and its relationship to gender. She concedes that a performance of heterosexuality is a performance of gender since heterosexuality by definition requires gender difference. In the examples she gives, she shows that men affirm their heterosexual masculinity by contrasting themselves with men who they take to be insufficiently heterosexual and masculine. In another example, it is shown that a performance of heterosexual masculinity can revolve around the sexual objectification of women's bodies. Cameron's study is advantageous since it adopts a social constructionist paradigm. The study reveals that indeed, language can be used to construct sexual and gender identities. The study broadly analyses a series of conversations to demonstrate the relationship between gender and heterosexuality. In contrast, we examine the relationship between masculinity and heterosexuality in Kenyan rap music.

Norman (2001) and Fitzpatrick (2005) have studied the hip-hop genre and particularly rap music. Norman (2001) studied the identity politics of queer hip-hop. He contends that one of the major ways by which rappers can establish themselves is by professing to align themselves with thoughts and actions normally associated with heterosexual men. These are such as promiscuity, flamboyance and aggression. In an analysis of the discourse practices of battling in hip-hop language, Fitzpatrick (2005) shows how rappers establish their heterosexuality in the Hip-hop language. He gives an example of rappers in the USA who repeatedly assert their heterosexual masculinity through lexical items such as 'bitch' or 'faggot' or through narratives describing their sexual exploits with women. Fitzpatrick rationalises that these behaviours can be prompted by the desire rappers have to construct status for themselves. Our study is similar to that of Norman (2001) and Fitzpatrick (2005) in that it examines the discourses of misogyny and heterosexuality in rap music. However, our study is broader in that it connects the two discourses with masculinity. More so, our study explores rap music in a Kenyan context while those of Norman and Fitzpatrick (ibid) examine American rap music.

In yet another study of the Hip-hop genre, Nelson (2000) identifies the 'pimp' or promiscuous man as a primary role model according to the values of the code of the street. He indicates that this is corroborated by the audio and visual images in rap music, which often depict men in positions of power over their environments. Nelson suggests that in order for this power dynamic to exist, it requires the oppression of women. In Hip-hop language, the dynamic is often reinforced by the popularity of public discourse glorifying promiscuous behavior by men while simultaneously decrying that of women. This line of thought is taken up by Fitzpatrick (2005) who describes a 'whore', a derogatory term of describing women, as one of the many women serving a 'pimp'. This labelling serves to characterize women as sexual objects in line with dominant ideologies expressed. The scholars reveal how rap lyrics glamorise sexism. However, they fail to consider how sexism contributes to the articulation of heterosexual masculinity.

Summarily, since the performance of heterosexuality is the performance of masculinity, men struggle to align themselves with thoughts and actions normally associated with heterosexuality. Achieving and claiming to have had heterosexual experience(s) therefore becomes an avenue to accruing a status of masculinity among male peers. This status can be achieved through heterosexual topic talk (talking about girls, what they feel for them and what they would like to do to them), demonstration of sexual interest in women, reports of (hetero) sexual activity, innuendo, sexism and homophobia.

### 3.Theoretical Framework

This research is based on the theory of heterosexual masculinity as propounded by Herek (1986, 1987). According to the scholar, heterosexual masculinity is the cultural ideology that sanctions the belief that masculinity and femininity incorporate two bipolar sets of behaviours, traits and social roles. In this sense masculinity (and femininity) is measured largely in terms of gender attributes. In line with this research paper, Herek (1986) asserts that the contemporary society deems heterosexuality a crucial attribute of masculinity. Owing to this view, individuals have come to perceive homosexuality as a threat to their gender identities. This anxiety leads many males to engage in homophobic behaviour such as insulting gay men in order to reaffirm and defend their masculinity (Herek 1987). Men also ward off threats to their masculinity by overtly displaying heterosexual behaviour.

### 4. Methodology

Purposive sampling technique was used to select a sample of five Kenyan rap songs from the accessible population of fifty Kenyan rap songs. Only cases with the required characteristics were selected. The Kenyan rap songs were purposively sampled and chosen on the basis of particular characteristics. To begin with, they were performed by male artistes only. An additional criterion for selection was that the performers whose music videos were included had a Kenyan heritage. This was judged from their biographies posted on [www.kenyanlyrics.com](http://www.kenyanlyrics.com).

As the selected rap songs were in sheng, a language mostly associated with the Kenyan youth, the analysis began with translating the lyrics of the songs from sheng to English. The next step was reading through each chosen lyric and in the course, noting salient sub- discourses concerning heterosexual masculinity. This was followed by rereading of the texts at minute levels of analysis (from text level to sentence level to word level). After this, sections of possible interest related to the guiding themes of masculinity and heterosexuality were marked and highlighted in each of the lyrical texts. The various highlighted sections were

then separated and grouped together under similar relevant themes. Lists of examples to illustrate arguments related to the given objective were then compiled and analysed using the qualitative method of discourse analysis.

A formal analysis of the data using discourse analysis was guided by fundamental pragmatic tools namely presupposition, implicature and transitivity. The concepts were applied to linguistic levels of the rap texts ranging from singular words and phrases to entire sentences. The concepts are briefly outlined hereunder.

#### 4.1. Implicatures

The term 'implicature' is crucial in pragmatics and derives from the work of Grice (1975). Implicatures are the kind of meanings conveyed implicitly rather than through an utterance. Grice pointed out how utterances in conversation mean much more than what they say. He reinforces his argument by proposing that conversation proceeds on the basis of a fundamental principle: the co-operative principle. Summarily, Grice (1975) presents four basic maxims (ground rules) which conversationalists tacitly follow:

- **The maxim of quality** states that speakers should be truthful and should not say things that they believe to be false or for which they lack sufficient evidence.
- **The maxim of quantity** requires that speakers should be as informative as is expected for the purposes of the conversation. They should say neither too little nor too much.
- **The maxim of relevance** states that whatever speakers say should fit in with and relate to the purposes of the conversation at that point.
- **The maxim of manner** requires that speakers should avoid obscurity, prolixity and ambiguity.

These maxims outline what participants are required to do in order to converse in a maximally efficient and co-operative manner. Grice further points out that the maxims can either be observed or not. He distinguishes three ways of failing to observe a maxim: flouting a maxim, violating a maxim and opting out of a maxim. Crucial to our analysis was flouting of a maxim. When a maxim is flouted by an utterance, a hearer is forced to look for the intended or additional meaning that will leave both the maxim and co-operative principle in place. This inferred meaning is called a 'conversational implicature' (Grice 1975, p.49).

#### 4.2. Transitivity

Transitivity is a way of describing the relationship between participants and processes in the construction of clauses, basically, 'who (or what) does what to whom (or what)?' (Halliday 1985). Halliday proposes that transitivity relations are dependent on the kind of processes encoded by the main verb in the clause. He distinguishes four main types of processes: material, mental, verbal and relational.

The material action processes (realised by verbs such as break, wipe, dig) are associated with inherent roles such as **agent** (someone or something that does an action), and an **affected (entity)** someone or something on the receiving end of an action (Halliday, 1985). Thus:

Mireille / hurt / the cat  
AGENT PROCESS AFFECTED

The mental processes (realised by verbs such as know, feel, think, believe) are associated with inherent roles such as **senser** (the one who performs the mental processes of e.g 'knowing') and **phenomenon** (that which is experienced by the **sensor**). Thus:

Mark / understood / the topic.  
SENSOR PROCESS PHENOMENON

Verbal processes are processes of saying. They are realised by verbs such as suggest, promise, inquire, tell and inform (Hartley, 2002). The participant roles include **sayer**, **verbiage** and **recipient**. Thus:

Warren / said / it was expensive.  
SAYER PROCESS VERBIAGE

Lastly, the relational processes involve an entity that is identified by reference to an attribute. The processes are realised by verbs such as be, seem, appears and have and the typical roles are **Identifier** and **identified**. Thus:

The car / is / blue  
IDENTIFIED PROCESS IDENTIFIER

Another typical role is of **possessor** and **possessed**:

Andrew / has / money  
POSSESSOR PROCESS POSSESSED

#### 4.3. Presupposition

Yule (1998:25) defines a presupposition as 'something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance'. This is in line with Saeed (1997:3) who states that when we presuppose something, we assume it. In broad terms, presuppositions can be said to be 'implicit meanings which are subsumed by particular wording in the sense that its interpretation is conditional upon the tacit acceptance of the implicit meaning' (Hosney, 2011, p.30). These implicit meanings that Hosney mentions are pragmatic inferences 'based more closely on the actual linguistic structure of sentences' (Levinson and Brown 1989: p.167).

Yule expounds on the types of presuppositions in the following ways: a potential presupposition is that which is triggered by some part of an utterance such as a subordinate clause taken in isolation, but may or may not be a presupposition of the whole utterance. For example the utterance 'John says that the president of Kenya is old' have two potential presuppositions: 1) there is someone identified as John and 2) there is a president of Kenya. An existential presupposition is generally found in definite noun phrases. For instance, the sentence 'The tribal clashes in Kenya ended' presupposes the existence of the entities it refers to; in this case 'the

tribal clashes'. A factive presupposition is triggered by factive verbs including know, regret and realise. For example 'I regret having done that' presupposes that 'I did it'. In the lexical presupposition, the asserted meaning of one form is conventionally interpreted with the assumption that another non asserted meaning is understood. In the sentence 'she managed to come' it is presupposed that she 'attempted to come' Structural presuppositions are defined as those that use specific sentence structures (such as a question) so that it is expected that the information given in the sentence is true. For instance, 'who is coming?' presupposes that 'someone is coming.' 'A nonfactive presupposition is one that is assumed not to be true' (Yule, 1998:29). Here, verbs such as dream, imagine and pretend are used. An example is 'she imagined I was sick'. The presupposition of the sentence is that 'I was not sick.' Lastly, the counter-factual presupposition is one that represents structures from which it is understood that the given information is the opposite of what is true (Yule, 1998). 'I am ill' is the presupposition drawn from the statement 'if I were not ill.'

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## 5. Analysis

In line with the argument that heterosexuality is an indication of masculinity, this section deals with the discourse practices by which rappers through music routinely produce themselves and others as heterosexuals. Words, phrases and sentences related to sexual activity are analysed with the aim of identifying how the selected rap artists portray their own sexuality.

The texts analysed in this section are drawn from the songs 'Nyundo', Joto Wangu, 'Mtoto Mzuri remix', 'wee Kamu Remix and 'Banjuka Remix'. These songs were performed by Flex ft Jua Cali, Circuite ft N2K, Nonini ft Bobby Mapesa, Nonini ft Jua Cali and lastly DNA ft Big Pin, Jimwat, Bishop, DNG, Prezzo and Kaya. The rappers index, allude to and reproduce their heterosexuality thus masculinity by evaluating women's bodies, positioning themselves and women as sexually affecting each other and by calling attention to their erectile function.

In the first song 'Nyundo', the rappers actively reproduce themselves as heterosexual males by using linguistic and visual resources. Two artistes, Flexx and Jua Cali, rap the two verses of this song. The first verse and part of the second verse is rapped by Flexx whereas part of the second verse is rapped by Jua Cali. The video of the song is shot in a workshop where the two rappers are surrounded by several young women. The two rappers sing about their sexual desire for young women and what they would like to do to them. Flexx introduces the chorus of the song while holding a hammer in his hand. In the first verse of the song, Flexx explicitly leads us to presuppose his heterosexual orientation by evaluating the body of a young woman whom he refers to as 'mtoto' (baby [slang]). In the second song 'Mtoto Mzuri', the rapper Nonini also evaluates the body of a young woman. This is illustrated in table 5.1 hereunder:

ARTIST/ SONG	DATA SET	TRANSLATION	PRESUPPOSITION
<b>Flexx ft Jua Cali: Nyundo</b>			
	6 Wacha tu niseme uko fiti	Let me just say you are <i>looking good</i>	The words 'looking good' trigger the presupposition that the girl is sexually alluring
	7 kwanza vile umesimama mtoto	And the way you are standing <i>baby</i>	The reference term 'baby' is an endearment which presupposes that the woman is beautiful and romantic thus the rapper loves her.
	9 Kwanza nikicheki hiyo kifua 10 nasikia karibu kujua	First, when I check out that chest (breasts) I feel like <i>killing myself</i>	The rapper's exaggerated reaction (killing myself) trigger the presupposition that the woman's breasts are shapely and sexually exciting
	11 Lips zako soft zinasema	Your <i>soft</i> lips say	The word 'soft' presupposes that the lips are appealing and kissable

	13 hizo teke zako zanikwachu	Your legs <i>excite me</i>	The rapper's excitement prompted by looking at the woman's legs presupposes that the legs are shapely
<b>Nonini: Mtoto Mzuri</b>			
	1ushaona mtoto amesimama ka Range four point sita	Have you ever seen a baby (young woman) <i>standing like a 4.6 Range (rover)</i>	The posture of the woman presupposes that she is physically well built. The rapper's question regarding the woman's posture also presupposes that he loves such kind (well built) of women.
	1 Ingozi yake ni laini	Her skin is <i>smooth</i>	The adjective 'smooth' triggers the presupposition that the woman is beautiful
	12 macho ukimcheki ninawish ningekuwa ndani	When I look at her eyes, I wish I was inside them.	The rapper's reaction on looking at the woman's eyes, trigger the presupposition that the eyes are sexually attractive.
	36 mtoto mzuri ana sura nzuri 37 nywele nzuri	A good baby 'young woman' has a beautiful face /beautiful hair	The description of the face and hair as beautiful leads us to presuppose the kind of woman the rapper finds sexually stimulating: beautiful woman.
	45 wana mahaga mdogo mdogo	They have shapely buttocks	The adjective 'shapely' triggers the presupposition that the girl is beautiful. (at least by African standards)

Table 5.1

In the above data sets, the rappers Flexx ft. Jua Cali and Nonini, strategically evaluate the female body parts including the face, lips, buttocks, hair, legs and breasts. The data sets reveal that a woman's beauty is measured in terms of her physical appearance. From the rappers' point of view an attractive woman has a beautiful face, soft lips, shapely buttocks, full breasts, desirable hair and legs. This suggests that women are evaluated largely in terms of the degree to which they conform to men's sexual needs and desires. This evaluation of women reflects a male centred view of the world and serves men's interests more than women's. By complimenting the women's physiques, the rappers seem to communicate that they are good at interacting with women. In a way, this leads us to believe that the rappers are likely to have casual sex or strike relationships with women.

In other data sets, heterosexuality thus masculinity, is indexed when rappers emphasise their heterosexual male function. This heterosexual male function is achieved through the rappers positioning themselves as being 'affected' by women or as 'agents' who affect women. Potts (2002, in Vares, 2005) reasons that this display of heterosexuality is a surveillance of the self and others or an articulation of 'phallic anxieties'. In this frame, it is argued that the rappers fear being perceived anything less than heterosexual males thus call attention to their heterosexual function. This is enhanced through the process of transitivity (Halliday :1985) and specifically material action processes as illustrated in table 4.5 below:

ARTIST/SONG	DATA SET	TRANSLATION	PROCESS OF TRANSITIVITY
<b>Flexx ft Jua Cali:Nyundo</b>			
	7 kwanza vile umesimama mtoto/ unafanya nashikwa na joto	First the way you are standing baby/ you make me feel hot.	<u>You</u> <u>make</u> <u>agent</u> <u>process</u> <u>me</u> feel hot. <b>Affected</b>
	9 kwanza nikicheki hiyo kifua/ nasikia karibu kujjua.	First when I look at that chest (breasts)/ I feel like killing myself.	<u>I</u> <u>feel like killing</u> <u>Agent</u> <u>process</u> <u>myself</u> <b>Affected</b>
	13 hizo teke zako zanikwachu	Your legs excite me	<u>Your legs</u> <u>excite</u> <u>agent</u> <u>process</u> <u>me</u> . <b>Affected</b>
	14 unafanya beste atupe mbachu	You confuse a man	<u>You</u> <u>confuse</u> a <u>Agent</u> <u>process</u> <u>Man</u> <b>Affected</b>

<b>DNA, Big Pin, Jimwat, Bishop, DNG, Prezzo, Kaya: Banjuka Remix</b>			
	13 mi niko tayari ku-ba-ba kujibamba vinasty/ na kuchanganya msichana kiasi	I am ready to excite myself and confuse a girl to an extent.	I am ready <b>agent</b> to... <u>confuse</u> a <b>process</b> <u>girl</u> to an extent. <b>Affected</b>
	35 ananimesea na mimi natabasamu tu	She is admiring me and I just smile.	<u>She</u> is <u>admiring</u> <b>agent</b> <b>process</b> <u>me</u> and just smile <b>affected</b>
	42 na-specialise na kufanya mamanzi waskie poa	I specialise in making girls feel good.	I specialise in <b>agent</b> <u>making</u> <u>girls</u> feel <b>process</b> <b>affected</b> <u>good</u> .
	73 nachanganisha madame alafu nawa.../ 74 nakwachu pointie mpaka ana-turn blue	I confuse girls then I do... I excite a half caste until I turn blue.	I <u>confuse</u> <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> <u>girls</u> <b>affected</b> I excite <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> a <u>half-caste</u> <b>affected</b> until I turn blue.
	120 madames wananipenda ladies adore me	Girls love me ladies adore me.	<u>Girls</u> love <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> Me. <b>affected</b> Ladies adore <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> Me. <b>Affected</b>
<b>Joto Wangu/ Circuite ft N2K</b>			
	1 Vile nilikucheki 2 macho zangu zilistammer 3 blood yangu ilifreeze	1 When I saw you 2 my eyes stammered 3 my blood froze	<u>You</u> ... (made) <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> <u>my eyes</u> stammer(ed) <b>affected</b> <u>You</u> ... (made) <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> my blood <b>affected</b> froze.(freeze)
	20 joto wangu nimekunoki over 21 nakupenda bila uoga	20 I have fallen for you 21 I love you without fear	20 I <u>have fallen</u> <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> for <u>you</u> . <b>Affected</b> 21 I <u>love</u> <b>Agent</b> <b>process</b> <u>you</u> without fear <b>affected</b>

Table 5.2

In the above data sets, the processes of transitivity reveal the heterosexual relationship between the male rappers and women. In the first examples drawn from Flexx ft Jua Cali, the display of heterosexuality is done in the service of the rappers positioning themselves as being sexually affected by women. As agents, the women effect the processes of confusing and sexually exciting the rappers. In 'Banjuka Remix', the rappers index their own hetero sexual masculinity, by positioning themselves as both agents

and affected persons of heterosexual processes. As agents, the women admire and love the rappers (35 and 120 respectively). On the other hand, as agents, the rappers affect women in that they confuse them (13), make them feel good (42) and excite them (74). All these processes carry some sexual connotations. For instance, Big Pin exaggerates that he can excite a girl of mixed race to the extent that she can turn blue. The word 'excite' exudes sexual connotations. Big pin chooses to rap about having sexual relations with a girl of mixed race because by local standards, such girls are perceived as beautiful and rare to come by. This association helps build masculine status for Big Pin.

In the song 'Joto Wangu', the rapper uses hyperbole to express how he is deeply affected by a woman whom he refers to as 'joto wangu' (my warmth). The woman affects the rapper in that she causes his eyes to 'stammer' (1) and his blood to freeze (4). The rapper also fearlessly discloses his love for the woman (20, 21). By openly declaring his love for the woman, the rapper constructs himself as vulnerable. This contravenes traditional notions of masculinity that require men to be unemotional and independent. In this way, the rapper articulates an anti hegemonic kind of masculinity whereby men do not feel threatened by the increasing gains in the power of women.

Besides rapping about both being sexually aroused and sexually arousing women, the rappers also articulate a normative version of heterosexuality whereby an erection and penetration are vital for female sexual pleasure. Since talk about matters to do with sexual intercourse is taboo in the Kenyan context, the rappers use metaphors and euphemisms to describe the phenomenon. The analysis of this subsection is done using Grice's conversational implicatures (1975). In the analysis, the existence of flouting or any other way of non-observance of any of Grice's four maxims is recorded. The inferences made from the flouting are also recorded as indicated in table 5.3.

ARTIST/SONG	DATASET/TRANSLATION	MAXIM FLOUTED	CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE
<b>Flexx ft Jua Cali- 'Nyundo'</b>			
	1 Nashindwa jo <u>nizame</u> wapi I wonder where to sink	By using the euphemism 'sink' (to go below the surface of a soft substance), the rapper flouts the maxim of quality.	The rapper communicates his wish to have sexual intercourse with a woman.
	<u>2Nyundo</u> yangu sasa itaua wapi? Where will my <u>hammer</u> now <u>kill</u> ?	The maxim of quality is flouted by using the metaphor 'hammer' (denotes a tool used for hitting nails). The rapper also flouts the maxim of quality by using the euphemism 'kill' (denotes the act of making a living thing die.)	The metaphor 'hammer' refers to the rapper's sexual organ. 'kill' refers to penile -vaginal penetration
	22 lakini chungu inaeza <u>rusha</u> But beware it can <u>throw</u>	The maxim of quality has been flouted by use of the euphemism 'throw' (send an object from wherever one is to a far place)	The euphemism 'throw' refers to 'ejaculate'
	natupa bure ukam mara sita. I 24 <u>throw</u> freely you <u>come</u> six times.	'the maxim of quality is flouted when the rapper uses the euphemism 'come' ( means, to reach a particular state)	The term means 'to reach orgasm'.
	27 hapa job kuna nyundo moja <u>itadunga</u> wapi Here at work there is one hammer where will it <u>pierce</u> .	The term 'pierce' means 'to push a sharp object into something soft'. It is in this sentence used as a euphemism thus flouting the maxim of quality.	We infer that the rapper's sexual organ (hammer) wishes to 'penetrate' the female sexual organ.
	28 Na <u>msumari</u> ni moja <u>itaingia</u> wapi And there is only one <u>nail</u> , where will it <u>enter</u> .	'nail' is a metaphor which denotes a thin pointed metal used to fix one thing to another. 'Enter' means to get in. Here, the term is used euphemistically. The	'nail' implies the male sexual organ whereas 'enter implies penetration.

		maxim of quality is flouted in both cases.	
<b>Nonini ft Jua Cali/ We kamu Remix</b>			
	28 Siku ya leo vile manzi yangu ana kuja kunicheki Today when my girlfriend comes to see me 29 lazima ni make sure ... I have to make sure  30 bado inaeza <u>ingiza</u> ata ka ameketi I have to make sure it can <u>enter</u> even if she is seated.	The pronoun 'it' refers to an obvious thing. The term 'enter' as stated earlier means 'to get in'. Both terms are euphemisms which flout the maxim of quality	'it' implies the male sexual organ whereas 'enter' refers to penetration.
	58 tulia nika fungue <u>mlango</u> kuna <u>mzungu</u> anangoja Be still I open the <u>door</u> there is a <u>European</u> waiting. 59 ana moto jo ananiambia anataka <u>kutoka</u> He is hot he is telling me he wants to <u>exit</u> .	The metaphor 'door' denotes a large flat object that is opened when one want to enter or exit a building. The metaphor 'European' denotes a white person of European origin.	We infer that the term 'door' refers to the zipper of the rapper's pair of trousers 'European' connotes the male sexual organ.
<b>DNA, Big Pin, Jimwat, Bi shop, DNG, Prezzo, Kaya/Banjuka Remix</b>			
	59 Naona umebeba <u>dishi</u> I can see you have carried a <u>dish</u> 60 mi nimebeba <u>kijiko</u> I have carried a <u>spoon</u> 61 si <u>tusosi</u> Let's eat	The terms 'dish' and 'spoon' loosely mean 'food cooked in a particular way' and 'an object used for eating food' respectively. They are used as metaphors thus flouting the maxim of quality. This maxim is further flouted when the rapper uses the euphemism 'eat' (to put food in ones mouth and swallow).	'dish' implies the female genitalia. 'spoon' implies the male sexual organ. 'eat' refers to sexual intercourse.

Table 5.3

In the song 'Nyundo' the rap persona expresses his wish to sink or immerse his body (or some part of it) somewhere (line 1). An initial association between the rap persona's body (or some part of it) and a hammer is made in line 2. Since it is not relevantly true that one of the rapper's body parts is a hammer which can 'kill', 'throw', 'pierce' and make a woman 'come', we are invited to search for interpretations of possible relevance. The most relevant interpretation is that the hammer refers to the male sexual organ which can penetrate the female genitalia and 'ejaculate' thus exciting the young woman to the extent of having orgasms. The rappers' reference to their sexual organs in tool terms as a 'hammer' and 'nail' implicates that it is erect and powerful. It also speaks of the active role of the male sexual organ in sexual intercourse. In essence, it is the female genitals that are 'hammered' and 'nailed'. This in a way illustrates the metaphorical link between sex and violence.

Apart from referring to his sexual organ, Flexx together with Jua Cali, fantasise about having sexual intercourse with the young woman 'mtoto'. In so doing, they discursively construct traditional notions of penetration as an exclusively masculine practice. Here, a man (penetrator) is represented as a heterosexual male and sexually active while the female (penetratee) is represented as feminine and sexually passive. In the chorus of the song, penetration is referred to using the words 'zama' (sink), and 'ua' (kill). In part of the second verse the terms 'dunga' (pierce), and 'ingia' (enter) are used. The rappers can be said to enact a hegemonic kind of masculinity as all the identified terms describing penetration presuppose some degree of aggression. To some extent, masculinity is constituted as having the capacity to please a woman sexually. This notion is explored by Flexx in an attempt to further accrue a masculine status when he implies that his sexual prowess results into female sexual pleasure: 20 'natupa bure ukam mara sita' (I throw freely you come six times). In this line, an active male sexuality and a passive female sexuality is presupposed. The female sexual pleasure denoted by the term 'come' (to have an orgasm), is assumed to be dependent on an active male sexuality denoted by 'throw freely' (ejaculate). In this frame, the man is positioned as powerful and dominant in the heterosexual relationship.



Lastly, in the song 'Banjuka Remix', the rapper, (Jimwat) completes his lines by aligning himself with the thoughts of a heterosexual man when he points out the beauty of a girl in the club (56 yule dame anakaa poa-[that girl looks good]). When the aforesaid girl states that she is called Shiko, Jimwat cleverly interjects that he begs to be held by the girl (57 mi naomba mshiko [I am requesting to be held]). The rapper observes that the girl has a dish (59). He suggests that since he has a spoon (60), the two of them could eat the dish (61). It is not true that the girl has carried some food to the bar since this is prohibited. A maxim of quality is violated and a deeper meaning of the sentence is invited. The implication created is that what the girl has 'carried' is part of her body. In the same way, since the rapper could not have carried a spoon to the bar in the hope of meeting a girl who would have carried food, we are led to the assumption that the spoon is part of the rapper's anatomy. These clues together with the opposing sexuality of the rapper and the girl lead us to the conclusion that the metaphoric words 'dish', 'spoon' and 'eat' are sexual in connotation. The girl is constructed as a sexual object since she is described in food terms. The rapper on the other hand constructs himself as an active heterosexual man as he possesses a spoon (male sexual organ) which will assist him to eat (penetrate) the girl's genitalia.

## 6. Conclusion

An analysis of a linguistic construction of heterosexual masculinity in Kenyan rap music presents several important results. First, such findings suggest a strong link between media messages and real life. The examples cited validate the hetero normative and hegemonic version of masculinity. The sexual aspect of masculinity indexes manhood as sexually dominant, active and controlling. As shown, the rappers actively indicate that they are heterosexual males through evaluating women's bodies, talking about their sexual exploits with women and emphasising their heterosexual male function. Women were shown to have been evaluated largely in terms of their physical appearance and how they conformed to men's sexual desires. Rappers were also shown to align themselves with the thoughts of heterosexual males by rapping about their sexual desire for women and narrating their past and present sexual involvement with women. In addition, the rappers positioned themselves as sexually affecting women and sexually being affected by women. Finally, the findings revealed that the rappers articulated a hetero-normative version of masculinity whereby an erection and penetration are vital for female pleasure. The discourse of heterosexuality is portrayed as completely inseparable from gender power relations as the sexual aspect of masculinity is depicted as active, controlling, powerful and dominant. This discourse is hegemonic because it reduces women to sexual objects.

It is suggested herein that such rapping about women may be a means of reinforcing a homosocial bond not only among the male rappers but also between the rappers and their male audience. Homosociality refers to social bonds between people. Kimmel (1994: 128-129) rationalises that the construction of masculinity is granted and given meaning in men's social circles. In such social circles, men compete to improve their status using markers such as heterosexuality. Therefore, it is argued that what might appear chiefly as heterosexual topic discussion in the analysed songs is in fact a policing of the rappers' homosocial commitment as they all portray themselves as having similar sexual desires.

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## 8. Appendices

### 8.1. Text 1

**ARTSIST: FLEXX FT. JUA CALI**  
**SONG: NYUNDO**

Sijui niseme...

#### **Chorus**

Nashindwa jo nizame wapi,  
Nyundo yangu sasa itauwa wapi,  
Usiwache endelea cheza nayo,  
Mpaka useme jina zote unazo

#### **Verse 1 (Flex)**

Sijui jo nianze kusema vipi,  
Wacha tu niseme uko fiti  
Kwanza vile umesimama mtoto,  
Unafanya nishikwe na joto,  
Kwanza nikicheki hiyo kifua,  
Nasikia karibu kujiuwa  
Lips zako soft zinasema,  
Nyundo yangu lazima itasema,

#### **Verse 2**

Hips zako zinanikwachu  
Unafanya beste atupe mbachu  
Hiyo mwili yako ikisonga kidogo,  
Nyundo yangu inaruka kidogo  
Come ubonge nayo inazusha  
Lakini chungu inaeza rusha  
Cheza nalo nine inch yote sista  
Natupa bure ukam mara sita  
Mara sita

#### **(Jua Cali)**

Hapa job kuna nyundo moja itadunga wapi  
na msumari ni moja itaingia wapi,  
Tulia nipe msumeno niigware vifiti  
Na ikiezekana niitengeneze hiyo kiti,  
Lakini kabati yako ni kubwa sana,  
Ilalisha hivi niipige randa,  
Na sandpaper ni kitu ya maana kusugua kitanda  
ya mtu mmoja sitaki wall unit  
ni mzito kusongeza  
We niandalie tu juu ya meza  
Tutaipima na tape measure  
niifupishe  
Niirefushe  
alafu niikate  
Rangi ile ya blue niipake,  
Lakini bado mpaka saa hii nashindwa niipake upande gani  
Usiwe na wasiwasi,  
Wewe ni mteja wangu nitaimaliza leo leo  
Ndio utajua kwa nini  
siku hizi naitwa  
nyundo wa komeo

## 8.2. Text 2

**ARTIST: Circuite ft N2K****SONG: Joto Wangu****CHORUS**

Wololo, wololo, hey, hey  
Joto wangu, hey nakutaka  
Kila saa mama,  
joto wangu hey, nakutaqka  
kila saa 'naongea na wewe mami'  
nakutaka kila saa mama

jo manze jo! Vile nilikucheki  
macho zangu zilizamama  
blood yangu ilisimama  
blood yangu ilifreeze, coz  
you walked in with a breeze, not  
to mention vile nitakupatia  
more attention ata kushiunda  
vile Kibaki yu pewa attention  
na bodyguard wake  
nta make sure tuko tight  
kama Congestina na gloves zake  
nta make suretuko  
tight kama chota na chupa  
ya keroro, popote unaenda  
i'll follow you, I'll even kiss your  
shadow,  
nimekunoki like ten mad men  
from Matharewa  
my luv fro you imeshika nare! Joto wangu

joto wangu nimekunoki over  
nakupenda bila uoga, my luv  
for you is deep  
so deep ata eternity is not  
long enough to measure it  
my luv for you ni mzito hata  
kushinda uzito wa hii dunia  
joto wangu come closer near  
joto wangu nta make sure  
you have a permanent  
smile on your face  
kila saa unametameta  
nta get stuck on you  
like a stamp to a letter  
what I feel for you cant be translated  
into an amount,  
ntakuwa faithful kwako hata kushinda  
the way I am faithful to my  
bank account  
skiza, skiza joto wangu  
come nibonge na wewe,  
mimi nimekunoki  
vijinga joto wangu  
mimi si ata fala no. 10  
about you  
mimi ni fala no.1  
about you! Joto wangu  
nimekunoki walai  
mama yangu,  
joto wangu.

Now that umenijua  
Wacha nikushow vile  
Ntakuhandle kama  
Maua instead of giving you the  
Red carpet  
I'll give you my ganji  
Wallet, chuna hizo zote  
Unataka coz usiku  
Moto itawaka,  
sema jina langu?  
Jina langu ni nani?  
Yeah circuite hapa.

### 8.3. Text 3

**ARTIST: Nonini and Bobby Mapesa**

**SONG: Mtoto Mzuri remix**

#### **Verse 1 (Nonini)**

Ushaona motto amesimama ka range four point sita  
Aitwa lima ama Anita  
Mrefu kidogo ameniacha ka kitu ka three metres  
Nimpande ka maji kwa tap ikitoka kwa mita  
Mdogo mdogo anaeza nikatikia  
Nikiwa nyuma yake unaweza dhani mi ni mkia  
Hii drink yangu amenifanya nikajimwagia  
Na anacheka niki mwambia nataka kumtiaaah  
Akaipita base kila mtu anamwita auntie  
Tabia tabia zake waeza dhani ye ni mlami  
Ngozi yake laini na ni rangi ya lame  
Macho ukimcheki nawish ningekuwa ndani  
Ndani ya jeans yake  
Anipeleke kwake  
Aishi kwa mamake  
Kila Monday nimuamushe ngware tusilale  
Mateeee aaaaah

#### **Chorus**

Mtoto mzuri kwangu asiwe ma...  
Hataki nimpeleke ka...  
Haoni...tukimaliza...twaruka...

#### **Verse 2 (Bobby Mapesa)**

Shida yenu madame wataka tuwe same  
Mkilemewa na shame wataka kutu-blame  
Hii ni kama game hatuwezi kuwa same  
Sitakutaja name unanipenda juu ya fame  
Kama wewe ni wakusalimiana na watu kwa barabara wee ni swara  
Kama wewe ni wa kuchekesha makonkodi usilipe kodi wee ni kugwara  
Hapana itisha mimi thao ya salon  
Shika mbao nyoa kicwa saf ka balloon  
Za lunch za noon, see you soon  
Usiwe kula kula kama baboon  
Siwezido kama hujaiwa, na pia  
Siwezi do kama sijaiva  
Kwanza make list ya watu washaku-feast  
Naskia ushachafua mpaka kwetu East kwa ma beast

#### **Verse 3**

Manze naeza like mtoto anapenda ma-rap sana  
Hata kama anapenda mablues pia ni sawa  
Mflexible kila kiungo  
By nature

Na amejibeba vimaja  
 Na usiwe wa kifalafala  
 Kuka tu ndee kimalamala  
 Zako ni kuflash na kungoja hala  
 Kwa maboys wa ki white collar  
 Jua kusaka dollar  
 Na usiniuliza Nonini huwaga na gari gani  
 Gari gani? Gari gani?..  
 Kwenda panda matatu usiniitishie fare tafadhali  
 Usijam nikakam home  
 Nikinukia madame after ku perform  
 Mtoto mzuri anavaa ka Origo Manduli  
 Tabia nzuri, nywele nzuri

#### 8.4. Text 4

**ARTIST: DNA, Big Pin, Jimwat, Bishop, DNG, Prezzo, Kaya**  
**SONG: Banjuka Remix**

#### Intro

Remix banjuka reloaded  
 Jomino tuna ba-ba-banjuka tu  
 Wanauliza kwani remix inatoka siku gani  
 Ba-ba-banjuka tu  
 DNA, Kaya Bishop, Jimwat  
 Wanauliza kwani remix inatoka siku gani  
 Ba-ba-banjuka tu  
 Wanauliza kwani remix inatoka siku gani  
 DNG, Big Pin, Prezzo

#### Verse 1 (Kaya)

Mi niko tayari ku-ba-ba  
 Kujibamba vi-nasty  
 Na kuchanganya msichana kiasi  
 Nimguse pale nimuuliza anaskiaje  
 Leo hatukukutana niaje  
 Ni shikamoo,  
 marahaba  
 nikimshika moo  
 marahaba  
 nikimshika moo ni mara haba  
 tukianza kazi  
 mina ye ni kinyume  
 anageuka maji mi nageuka chuma  
 ni ka magic na shtuka tu  
 dame anafanya thao zinageuka blu  
 ni machupa tu  
 za sambuka tu  
 mi nainuka juu  
 wakibanjuka juu  
 nacheki chupi dress ni ka kichungi  
 life ni fupi na mi sijifungi  
 nabeba take away asubuhi katatu mazee (ndani ya nyumba)  
 sijui nachagua je

#### (DNG)

Ni coca cola ka fresh kana nicheki tu  
 Ananimesea namimi natabasamu tu  
 DNG mi sina noma angalia tu  
 Madame na tishio wamekaribia tu  
 story tu ustaarabu tu unaingiana tu  
 si unajua vile mi hufanya mzeiya wembe tu  
 na wazeiya wakishindwa watabanjuka tu

(Jimwat)

Na-specialise na kufanya mamanzi waskie fiti  
 Madame wenye hupenda kuskiza zetu mziki  
 Wana-like  
 Vile si hutumia pesa kwenye bar  
 Inawafanya wawe generous kugawa  
 Hatujakuja ndio tuwalipie mamanzi nyumba  
 Swali ni, watakuja na sisi kwa nyumba  
 DNA, Kaya, Jimwat, Bishop  
 Guaranteed collab ukiskia utawika jo  
 Minaunda calif  
 DNA na weezy tuko gauge  
 Mpaka DNA kwa mwili ime-rearrange  
 Maze sioni poa  
 Nasikia funny  
 Yule dame anakaa poa  
 Anaitwa nani  
 Naitwa Shiko  
 Mi naomba mshiko  
 Naona umebeba dishi, mi nimebeba kijiko  
 Si tusosi  
 Na lights zako pozi  
 Venye uaba-ba-ba-banjuka tu

(Big Pin)

Bado mi nakam tu na chupa yangu ya malibu  
 Shida nimeweka chini mikono iko juu  
 Nina ba-ba-banjuka tu  
 Ndani ya track ya Jomino ninawakilisha tu  
 Ka kawaida si unajuanga vile mi hu-do  
 Nachanganyisha madame halafu nawa...  
 Nawakwachu pointie mpaka ana-turn blue  
 Bad man si mi ni Mwajabu

DNA

Ndani ya mdundo suppu na steam  
 All eyes on me dame yangu supuu wazim na  
 Wananifeel juu nakuwanga on point man  
 Mr. DNA future ex-boyfriend  
 Shida chini mikono ziko juu  
 Na enyewe leo lazima tudo  
 Si uchangamke mbona umekunja sura  
 Tumekam hepi hii ni party sio funeral  
 Lakini chungu ukinibo itabaki  
 Dame transform kakuwa Lucy Kibaki  
 Ushikwe vibare, maboy wako huku  
 Niondokee kabisa  
 Mavi ya kuku  
 Back to masupuu  
 Ngoma na maye  
 Juu ya track na feel good  
 Noma si usare  
 Na juu ngoma ni kali  
 Tupa mikono juu  
 Na ukiweza pia miguu  
 Na akisleki mshike...

(Prezzo)

Yeah  
 Prezzo, I'm still heavy up in this game  
 Bado nawakilisha  
 Jomino of course

On your mark, get set  
 Kuwa tayari ku go  
 Usiwe na wasi juu mko na mi Prezzo  
 Kama mnani feel feel free hit the door  
 Nimekam, kula hepi  
 Kama DNA ntabanjuka kiasi na  
 Ku\_ madame na ma-miniskirt  
 At the end of the night kitandani ni sarakas  
 CMB ndani ya nyumba ni other words nimetua  
 Nye mnajua mi nakamua kamua  
 Makamuzi ya hali ya juu  
 It does'nt matter what you do,  
 Just do what you do like me  
 I do what I do like I'm doing it on TV  
 Wengi wamejaribu but they can't test me  
 Na kunifikia mimi ni unlikely  
 Mi ni younger version wa Rama plosi  
 Madame wananienda ladies adore me  
 Ma-G wananiita mi generali  
 Shida kubanjuka siridhikangi

#### 8.5. Text 5

**Artist: Nonini ft Jua cali**  
**Song: Wee Kamu Remix**

#### **Intro (Nonini)**

Calif, genge remix!  
 Watu wa Kenya wana tabia mbaya,  
 Nonini ana tabia mbaya  
 Jua cali ana tabia mbaya

#### **Verse 1 (Nonini)**

Bado home leo utanipata sitatoka,  
 Hii ni remix yangu ya kwanza na nina hope imetoka  
 Nimekuwa kwa keja tuu nikipika nikishughulikia  
 Ngoma yako wee kamu si unaisikia  
 Vile iko poa jako yako na trao kila kitu toa  
 Kuna siri yeyote unaeza like kuniambia toboa  
 Ushawahi guzwa pahali ukasikia kukohoa leo mi na we au sio poa poa  
 Umesahau home ambia Yule concodi atakudondoa  
 Kwetu hapo nje na gate si ya blue  
 Kuna style mpya, ebu kwanza inua mguu juu  
 Ntainua polepole jo sababu mi nashuku  
 Shingo yako konda inaeza vunjika ka ya kuku  
 Na ikachemushwa jo na wasee wakunywe supuu  
 Naeza tembea kwa chupa zimevunjika mguu tupu  
 Niji fanya sugu sabu yako tu, sabu yako tu

#### **chorus**

leo niko kwa keja sabu yako tu  
 sitoki hapa sabu yako tu  
 kwa hivyo ukitaka  
 we we we kamu

#### **verse 2 (Nonini)**

jua Cali  
 ushaichota motto kwa haga

#### **Jua Cali**

Aa sijaichota motto wowote kwa haga  
 Lakini nakwambia jo  
 Hiyo ndio nimepanga!

Siku ka leo vile manzi yangu anakuja kunicheki  
 Kabla aingie keja  
 Lazima nimake sure bado inaeza steady  
 Bado inaeza ingiza ata kea ameketi  
 Kwanza zile tembe zangu za Viagra vipi?  
 Zime expire ama bado ziko fiti? (ziko fiti)  
 Zime tumiwa na mtu ama bado ziko chini ya ile kiti?  
 (hii kiti!!) achana nazo ikifika atani  
 Pigia magoti nimbariki  
 Na juala sitaki mtaani kuwe na mazishi!  
 Kwa hivyo we kamu  
 Wee kamu tu uongeze raha na watu kwa nchi  
 Bora leo uniachie nizame vimbichicheza kwa speaker!  
 Na leo usikuje poeke yako, kuja na beshte zako  
 Nikupeleke juu nikupeleke juu hadi utapike sukuma wiki  
 Elephant run, ningeiskia mbaka kwa coach  
 Akufe itakuwa ibidi  
 Unashutuka nini bana hii ni remix tu  
 Ka we ni manzi nakungoja kwa keja we kamu tu

### Verse 3

Kuna food poa hapa napika  
 Na usivae jeans imekushika  
 Ju ya meza leo lazima utakatika  
 Bila kiti vile utafanya katika kwa speaker  
 Na leo usikuje peke yako kuja na beshte zako  
 Leo nataka combi sikutaki we peke yako  
 Usi seme unaenda wapi, sitaki noma na masako  
 Sema unaenda laibu staki nama na budako  
 Unajua si ni mabeshte leo ni poa  
 Nikifunga mlango tu hivi nipate usha toa  
 Una kumba ile chakula nilikuambia  
 Haiwezi ngija ni tamu kwa ulimi na ukitake unaeza onja  
 Mdogo mdogo jo hajui inaeza kunyonga  
 Umejaza mingi mdomo utashindwa kubonga  
 Tulia nikafungue mlango kuna mzungu anangoja  
 Ana moto jo ananiambia anataka ku to to to ka

### (Nonini)

Nywele leo nimenyoa (sabu yako)  
 Pia chini nimenyoa (sabu yako)  
 Nimeoga baada ya wiki moja (sabu yako tu)  
 Baby boy lazima atruka  
 Juala nimenunua kibao (sabu yako tu)  
 Mabeshte nimewafukuza waende kwao(sabu yako tu)  
 Bed na keja zote ni safi (sabu yako tu)  
 Pia nimefukuza Gadafi (we we we kamu)  
 \*\*\*\*\* pia nimenunua (sabu yako tu)  
 Mbaka tenje nikaomba (sabu yako tu)  
 Tape za nyundo niko nazo (sabu yako tu)  
 Sa fanya hivi (we we we kamu)