

Trends and Development of the Swahili Drama Since 1957 to 2014

Tom Olali, PhD.

Division of African Studies
College of International and Area Studies
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Abstract: *This paper explores the historical development of Kiswahili Drama as a literary genre since 1957 to 2014. The Kiswahili play covers both Kenya and Tanzania and it incorporates translated works from English to Swahili. This may appear to be contrary with the title of the present paper. In a section of this paper, I briefly address this controversy. The paper's main objective is to mainly trace the historical development of the Kiswahili play which since 1957 has evolved and witnessed unprecedented growth, with some new writers coming onto the Kiswahili Drama scene and a few seasoned writers like Said Ahmed Mohamed and Kyallo Wamitila releasing more titles. This paper is not concerned with the discussion of different elements of drama and their role in the composition of a Kiswahili play. It is very significant in this paper to note the trends of Kenyan and their Tanzanian counterparts and see if there are any drops or rise in the number of titles. The paper isolates and discusses some Kiswahili plays that have left a significant mark in the history of Kiswahili drama. Some of these plays have shown maturity and greater complexity.*

Kiswahili drama is associated with the East African countries of Kenya and Tanzania. Kiswahili drama in its written form is fairly recent and came with the advent of the colonialists (Wafula 1999: 3). Graham Hyslop is credited for having pioneered the drama form in Kenya according to Bertoncini (2009: 222). Graham Hyslop arrived in East Africa in 1936 and begun producing Kiswahili plays from 1944. In 1944, he directed a play, *Akili Mali*. Later, he wrote two short plays in Kiswahili in 1957 namely *Afadhali Mchawi na Mgeni Karibu*. Indeed Hyslop prowess in writing Kiswahili play was further proved when he wrote two more plays in 1974 namely *Mchimba Kisima* and *Kukopa Harusi Kulipa Matanga*. In Hyslop's writing, the significant trend was to undermine the status and place of an African man and exalt the white man. The plays exhibited the notion of the white man as being divine and the black man to be a lower beast.

One of Hyslop's student Henry Kuria followed faithfully in his footsteps and authored *Nakupenda Lakini*.... in 1957. This play was staged by students of the Alliance High School four years earlier on in 1953.

Henry Kuria's *Nakupenda Lakini* served as a launching pad for budding playwrights in Kiswahili. Infact this epoch after 1957 laid a foundation in the writing of Kiswahili plays in Kenya and Tanzania. Gerishon Ngugi wrote *Nimelogwa Nisiwe na Mpenzi* in 1961. The period after 1965 witnessed a proliferation of Kiswahili plays and also the emergence of translated works into Kiswahili. For example, Morrison translated a Swahili play written by J.B.P Moliere. The translation was called *Mchuuzi Muungwana*(1966).

In 1967, Ebrahim Hussein published two plays *Wakati Ukuta* and *Alikiona* while Crispin Hauli published *Duniailiyofarakana*. *Wakati Ukuta* is a play interrogating generation gap and conflicts in traditions (Wafula 1999: 16). The following year, *Johari Ndogo* by Felician Nkwera emerged. During the same year, S.S. Mushi published *Makbeth*, a translation of Shakespeare play *Macbeth*.

There were a number of English translations to Kiswahili in 1969. Indeed S.S. Mushi is known to have contributed immensely on English plays by translating them into Kiswahili. Some of the works include *Tufani*, a translation of *Tempest*. *Juliasi Kaizari (Julius Caesar)* and *Mabepari wa Venisi (Merchant of Venice)* by Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Nyerere produced his translations when cultural nationalist sentiments in Africa were still at their peak. He was exposed to these texts when he was a student at Edinburgh University.

As mentioned above, the Swahili translations of Shakespeare that have appeared repeatedly in the Kenya Swahili-literature syllabus are those of Nyerere, namely *Juliasi Kaizari (Julius Caesar)*, *Mapebari wa Venisi (Mercant of Venice)*. Mushi's *Makbeth* has not been as successful in the educational arena, perhaps because of where the work was originally published. Unlike Nyerere's translations, which were published in Kenya by Oxford University Press, *Makbeth* was published in Tanzania by Tanzania Publishing House. Mushi's translation, therefore, was less accessible in Kenya than Nyerere's, especially for the years when the relations between the two East African countries were strained. Kenyan students, therefore, came to read quite a lot of Shakespeare in Swahili by Nyerere but remained relatively unaware of Mushi's.

It should be noted that Nyerere proceeded to produce a revised edition of his translation of *Julius Caesar* to eliminate certain errors he had supposedly committed in the first edition (1969,vi) in his conscious attempt to bring it into closer conformity with the original. Like Spivak, perhaps, he seems to have believed in fidelity to the original in principle "not because it is possible, but because one must try" (Spivak 2000, 14). Some of these translated texts eventually came to be included in the very definition of Swahili literature.

Contrary to the focus of translation studies in the West on the relationship between the translated text and the original text, the most pressing issue in Swahili phone Africa has been about the relationship of the translated text to the literature of its translating language. In the theoretical terrain, translated texts have often been regarded as part of the literary corpus of the original. More recently, some have argued that the translated text is relatively autonomous from its source text.

The 1980s, in fact, are said to have opened with a good deal of agreement between various theoretical models (including semiotics, discourse analysis, and poststructuralist textual theory) "that translation is an independent form of writing, distinct from the foreign text and from texts originally written in the translating language. Translating is seen as enacting its own processes of signification which answer to different linguistic and cultural contexts" (Venuti 2000, 215). But in assuming a life of its own, can a translated text eventually also acquire a literary identity of its translating language? This certainly seems to have been the orientation in East Africa with regard to some texts translated into Swahili.

The Swahili experience has also demonstrated that translation can sometimes be conceived of as *transtextualization*, as a transfer of texts from one lingo cultural universe to another.

In the year 1969, Ebrahim Hussein managed to publish *Kinjeketile*. Creativity became apparent and in 1971, Hussein demonstrated his creativity in playwriting by penning an overtly political play, *Mashetani*. *Mashetani* as a play became probably to what I may call "a landmark of Kiswahili Play." The play soon became one of the standard subjects for Kiswahili exams in Kenya. By 1988, the author of this article sat for it as an 'A' level set book. In this book, he goes further in modernizing Swahili drama by introducing "the theatre in the theatre" and blends dreams, fantasy and reality. Ebrahim Hussein does not specifically describe what a Swahili person by ethnic description would conceive of a play. In his essay 'Hatua Mbalimbali za Kubuni na Kutunga Tamthilia kufuatana na Misingi ya Ki-Aristotle'(1983) published in *Makala Za Semina ya Kimataifa ya Waandishi wa Kiswahili III (194-202)*, he describes the Swahili play according to Aristotle's *Poetics*. Finally he writes:

Kuandika tamthiliya kwa misingi aliyoweka Aristotle ni njia moja kuu ya kuandika tamthiliya. Lakini si njia pekee. Na kweli mila ya Kiafrika haiowani na uzuri na usanifu huu...Ikiwa mwandishi atatumia misingi ya Aristotle au baadhi ya misingi hiyo jambo muhimu ni kuweka akilini kwamba misingi hii si sheria. Ila ni vipengele vya tamthiliya. Sheria kama ipo ni moja tu: kujua nini watu wanapenda kuona jukwaani na nani hawapendi kuona na kusikia jukwaani(202).

Translation: Writing a play by following the rules laid down by Aristotle is one major way of composing plays. But it is not by any measure the only way of doing so. In practice, African traditions do not blend very well with this (Aristotelian) format. If a writer will use this format, or part of it, the important point is to keep in mind that the Aristotelian foundations are not immutable laws. They are just aspects of the play. If there is any rule about composing drama, it is just one: to know what people want to see and hear on the stage.

Hussein uses a liberal approach in defining the play, an approach that is not tied to any specific African ethnic identity. Underlying Hussein's critique of Aristotle's *Poetics*, there is an assumption that a fairly relative homogeneity in the production of indigenous African theatrical forms exists.

Hussein's idea is not based on any specific "Uswahili" or Africanness. It based on indigenous African dramatic forms in general.

Apart from *mashetani* being published in 1971, other works like *Mfalme Juha* by Farouk Topan was released. Farouk Topan is arguably the pioneer Tanzanian playwright. It is during this time when S.S. Mushi translated Sophocles's Athenian Tragedy *Oedipus the King* also known by the Latin title *Oedipus Rex*.

In 1972, Penina Muhando, also known as Penina Mlama published *Hatia* while Ngalimecha Ngahyoma wrote *Kifo Barabarani. Tungo za Kiberamini* which is a collection of poems, short stories and plays and edited by Shihabuddin Chiraghdin were published in 1972. And *Aliyeonja Pepo* by Farouk Topan and *Tambueni Haki Zetu* (Penina Mlama) were published in 1973. The following year (1974), Penina Mlama wrote *Heshima Yangu* while A.S. Yahya wrote *Masaibu ya Ndugu Jero*, a translation of Wole Soyinka's *Trials of Brother Jero*.

Some Kiswahili plays published in 1975 included *Pambo* (Penina Mlama), *Kortini Mtu Huyu* (Peninah Mlama), and *Mafarakano na Michezo Mingine* (Zachariah Zani and Jay Kitsao). The same year was published *Mwanzo wa Tufani* (Kulikoyela Kanalwanda Kahigi and R.A Ngevera).

After these plays, Ebrahim Hussein published *Jogoo Kijijini*(1976), an experiment in dramatic performance and *Ngao ya Jadi* (1976). In *Jogoo Kijijini* and *Ngao ya Jadi*, Ebrahim Hussein experiments with devices from oral literature to sew his works. The audience is involved. Johnson Mwangudza authored *Thamani Yangu* in 1976.

In 1977, *Machози ya Mwanamke* written by Ibrahim Ngozi was published. Plays written during 1967-77 portray a general enthusiasm and support for socialism, while pointing out hurdles in its implementation. Such works include *Kijiji Chetu* by Ngalimecha Ngahyoma, *Hatia*(Mlama), *Mwanzo wa Tufani*. A translation of John Ruganda's book *The Burdens* was translated as *Mizigo* by Asseny. The following year (1978) Katalambullah published two plays *Unono na Mizani ya Imani Yangu*. This is the year that saw the translation of *Mzalendo Kimathi (The Trial of Dedan Kimathi)* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo).History is a goldmine for creative writers.Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*, is a play inspired by historical figure. In the same year Ijimerе Obotunde's play *The Imprisonment of Obatala and Other Plays* was translated into Kiswahili as *Kifungo cha Obatala na Michezo Mingine*.

Plays produced after 1978 present a more critical analysis of the socialist construction process, portraying the disillusion and helplessness of the masses in the face of mounting corruption and exploitation by members of the ruling class for example *Kaptula la Marx* (Marx's Capital c.1985) by Euphrase Kezilahabi, *Nguzo Mama* and *Lina Ubani zote na Penina Mlama, Harakati za Ukombozi na Amadina Lihamba*.

In 1979, Mugyabuso Mulokozi wrote *Mukwava wa Uhehe* and so was Felix Osodo in *Hatari kwa Usalama* in the same year.Christon Mwakasaka translated Nikolai Gogol's *The Government Inspector* as *Mkaguzi Mkuu wa Serikali* also in 1979.

In 1980, Ebrahim Hussein published *Arusi* in which he expresses disillusionment with the Tanzanian political theory of *Ujamaa*.Conversely, Emmanuel Mbogo in *Giza Limeingia* discusses the advantages of Ujamaa villages. *Giza limeingia* was also published in 1980. It presents the difficulties of two young unemployed men in Dar-es-Salaam in the seventies, when the municipality tried to "clean the town" of thieves, prostitutes, beggars and others without conventional employment, sending them to be re-educated in an Ujamaa village. This important theme is presented skillfully and with an evident influence of contemporary European drama (Brecht) in its form.

Other works during this epoch include *Maalim* and *Hukoo Darisalama* by Muba Mobali,*Dhamana na Mabatini*(G.Z. Kaduma), *Uasi* and *Tazama Mbele* (Jay Kitsao).

In 1981, Emmanuel Mbogo came to the scene and released *Tone la Mwisho* and *Watoto Wetu*. In 1982, Amadina Lihamba, Penina Mlama and May Materru Balisidya authored *Harakati za Ukombozi* and the same year Mlama published *Nguzo Mama*. The same year witnessed the publication of Chacha Nyaigoti Chacha's *Mke Mwenza* with Alamin Mazrui releasing a classical socio-political play *Kilio cha Haki*.

1982 was the year in which a translation of *I will Marry when I want* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o into Kiswahili under the title *Nitaolewa Nikipenda* was translated by Clement Kabugi. Felix Osodo also published *Mama Mtakatifu*. In 1983, Jay Kitsao published two plays, *Malimwengu Ulimwenguni* and *Bibi Arusi*. David Mulwa and A.S. Yahya in the same year published *Buriani*. *Uchafu*, a play by V.A. Malima was also published.

David Mulwa and A.S. Yahya went ahead in 1984 to publish *Ukame*. In 1985, Said Abdalla Omar authored *Maisha Subira* while Boukheit Amana authored *Zabibu Chungu*. And in 1986, *Zinduko*, a play by Sheila Ryanga and *Marejeo* by Chacha Nyaigoti Chacha were released. These books were followed by *Wingu Jeusi* in 1987 by Chacha Nyaigoti Chacha the same year Ari Katini Mwachofi published *Mama ee* which is on the whole rather realistic and convincing, in presenting the sufferings of Mwamvita, a modern woman tormented by her tyrannical husband Kinaya.

In 1988, Ebrahim Hussein published *Kwenye Ukingo wa Thim* which has trans-local resonance. It is a play based on the 'S.M. Otieno case' that took place in western Kenya in 1987. The case, involving the death of a well-known Luo lawyer, divided Kenya public opinion at the time and led to ethnic conflict. The controversy in the case ensued between the widow, a Kikuyu woman, and the relatives of the deceased husband as to where his body should be buried.

This same year, S.A Mohamed authored his first allegorical play *Pungwa*. Ethnic Swahili dramatists do not take a narrow view of the creative works they engage in. They have used motifs from the Swahili culture and elsewhere without raising the ethnic issues in a reductionist way. The motif of exorcism in *Mashetani* and *Pungwa* are typically Swahili in character but do not explore specifically Swahili ethnic themes. A.S. Yahya and David Mulwa published *Mkimbizi* in 1988 and so was *Ngoma ya Ng'wanamalundi* authored by Emmanuel Mbogo in which he proclaims his discontent with the adoption of capitalist practices into the life of his native country of Tanzania.

In 1990, S.A. Mohamed published his second allegorical play *Kivuli Kinaishi* in which he also explores the motif of exorcism. *Mawimbi na Kiumbe* was published in 1991 by Ernest Eshamwata. In 1992, Chacha Nyaigoti Chacha wrote *Hukumu* while Amadina Lihamba produced *Mkutano wa Pili wa Ndege*. *Mkutano wa Pili wa Ndege* represent a clear allegory of the sad predicament of present-day Africa, oppressed by local dictators and by foreign exploiters. The author links skillfully Western dramaturgy with the spontaneity of African theatre, incorporating into the play songs, dances and mime. Lihamba, like contemporary Western playwrights, no longer wishes to seek the unity of the structure, but the variety of the points of view. The scenes are not linked one with another in a logical manner and the acts, the unifying factor, have disappeared. The structure is dominated by the principle of the alternation that builds up the play. The setting is rather simple, almost nonexistent, thus allowing a simultaneous transformation of the scenery.

In 1993, Emmanuel Mbogo wrote *Morani* in which he bases his plot on the recurrent political campaigns against corruption and the abuse of office. In 1994, a translation of Francis Imbuga's play *Betrayal in the City* was published under the title *Usaliti Mjini* by P.A. Kisia.

In 1995, S.A Mohamed yet again produced his third drama *Amezidi* which looks at dependency from external partners and how donors use their long term loans to exploit smaller economies. The play was staged by his students at the University of Osaka and published in a student literary magazine in 1992 with a Japanese translation. There are only two characters, Ame and Zidi, but in the course of the play they take other roles, for instance those of Mari, Zidi's girlfriend, or of inefficient managers and corrupt government officials. The two men are staying in an empty cave and starving, while they imagine they are living in a magnificent house and eating delicious food. Only at the end do they realize their situation, but it is too late: they are already dying. Ame and Zidi turn to illusion in order to "obtain" all those things they miss in reality. This is a surrealist play. In surrealism, the opposition between the dream and the "real" story is abolished. The author criticizes the attitude, widespread among the African, of pinning all the blame for their present problems on the colonialism and neocolonialism, while actually much of the responsibility rests with themselves. It is one of the modern and innovative Swahili plays.

In 1996, *Ungawas* written by Ali Shaaban Juma and in 1997, Kithaka wa Mberia published *Natala*. *Mnara Wawaka Moto* was published in 1998 by Rocha Chimerah while in 1999; Kyalo Wamitila wrote *Wingu la Kupita*, the same year Khaemba Ongeti authored *Manamba*. In 2000, *Upotovu* was authored by Njiru Kimunyi while Farouk Topan published *Siri*. The same year S.A. Mohammed

published *Kitumbua Kimeingia Mchanga*. *Kifo Kisimani* by Kithaka wa Mberia was published in 2001. *Kifo Kisimani* happens in a fictitious country called Butangi, an autocracy that is the antecedent which sets the stage for the clamour for political reforms, and thus the conflict in the play. The play opens with a middle aged woman cleaning a public park, in preparation for a rally to be addressed by the unpopular ruler, Bokono. The rally fails to take off because the charismatic revolutionary leader Mwelusi has called on the people of Butangi to boycott the meeting altogether.

There was lull in play production and in 2003; Kyallo Wamitila published *Pango* which addressed complexities surrounding political alignments, state of economy and governance. In 2004, Kithaka wa Mberia published *Maua Kwenye Jua la Asubuhi*. *Maua Kwenye Jua la Asubuhi* is a play that confronts the challenges of the so-called tribal clashes in an un-named African country fostered by petty ethnic politics. Two ethnic groups – the Watange, on one side and the Wandiku on the other are poised against each other. The Watange claim that the land upon which they live is their ancestral land and that the Wandiku just acquired land there recently thereby infringing on Watange's property rights.

The same year saw the publication of *Mazonge* by Ali Mwalim Rashid. Alamin Mazrui and Kimani Njogu published *Sudana* in 2005, an award-winning play, which explores the theme of pan-Africanism in a neo-colonial context, which has been a subject of wide critical acclaim. The story, revolves around an eponymous heroine. In 2006, *Sumu ya Bafe* was published by Kyallo Wamitila. During the same year *Zilizala* by Kimani Njogu and *Migogoro* by Mwenda Mbatiah were published.

In 2007, *Chamchela* by Timothy Arege was published. The year 2009 witnessed the release of *Mstahiki Meya* by Timothy Arege which is a current set book, *Seserumbe* by Kyallo Wamitila which lampoons and satirizes Minister Seserumbe who is subsequently rejected by voters due to poor governance. Lamin H. Omar published *Vitanzi vya Tamaa* in the same year. In 2012, Timothy Arege published *Kijiba cha Moyo*.

In 2014, Ken Walibora comes full circle with a new play on integrity called *Mbaya Wetu* which is a neo-modern socially anchored work, a play that revolves around a young man in his 30s, Matari, a semi-educated and pampered drunkard from a famous and rich family of Mzee Temba. Walibora explores the dynamics of the illicit brew business and its negative effects. The discussions at Fiona's include politically conscious talks about corruption, bad governance, poverty and general social woes bedeviling the society. The play addresses pertinent African issues ranging from corruption in the public, Police and judiciary, theft, morality and the dynamics of illicit brews. *Mbaya Wetu* is a clarion call to integrity.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have made an attempt to trace the development of the Kiswahili play with the first published work being that of Graham Hyslop in 1957. It can be noted that since the mid 1980s, Kenyan writers have contributed immensely in the production of Kiswahili plays. On the other hand, Tanzania is showing a dramatic decline in the production of imaginative works in Kiswahili. Perhaps pro-Swahili policy in the new constitution will likely further contribute to the rise of Kiswahili plays emerging from Kenya.

A study conducted by Rubagumya (2003) was about the use of English in Tanzanian schools. He found that the main concern of parents when sending their children to English medium schools is the mastery of English. The issue of resources was given the second priority. Parents equate English proficiency with quality education. They do not care whether their children understand other subjects. My postulation is that this has played a role in the decline of Kiswahili works (play) in Tanzania. The situation changed in 1990s where the government allowed the liberalization of education to fulfil the conditionalities attached to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The liberalization of education resulted to the establishment of private primary schools.

**This article has been funded by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund of 2015*

REFERENCES

- Rubagumya, Casmir. "English Medium Primary Schools in Tanzania: A New Linguistics Market in Education?" In: Brock-Utne, Desai Zubeida and Qorro Martha(eds) *Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASIA)*. Dar es Salaam: E & D Limited. 149-169.
- Amana, Boukheit. *Zabibi Chungu*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

- Bertoncini, Elena. *Outline of Swahili Literature*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009.
- Chacha, Nyaigoti. *Mke Mwenza*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982.
- Chacha, Nyaigoti. *Marejeo*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1986.
- Chacha, Nyaigoti. *Wingu Jeusi*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1987.
- Chacha, Nyaigoti. *Hukumu*. Nairobi: Longman, 1992.
- Chiraghdin, Shihabuddin. *Tungo za Kiberamini*. Nairobi: Longman, 1971.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Alikiona*. Katika *DarLite Vol.2/1*. Chuo Kikuu cha Dar-es-Salaam, 1967.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Kinjeketile*. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Wakati Ukuta*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Mashetani*. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Jogoo Kijijini*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Ngao ya Jadi*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Arusi*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Hussein, Ebrahim. *Kwenye Ukingo wa Thim*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Hussein, Ebrahim E.N. 'Hatua Mbalimbali za Kubuni na Kutunga Tamthilia Kufuatana na Misingi ya Ki-Aristotle'. *Fasihi*. Dar-es-Salaam: TUKI, 1983.
- Hyslop, Graham. *Afadhali Mchawi*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1957.
- Hyslop, Graham. *Mgeni Karibu*. Dar-es-Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1957.
- Imbuga, Francis. *Usaliti Mjini*. (Translation by P.A. Kisia) Nairobi: EAEP, 1990.
- Ijemere, Obotunde. *Kifungo cha Obatala na michezo mingine* (a translation). Nairobi: Heinemann, 1978.
- Kaduma, Godwin. *Dhamana na Mabatini*. Dar-es-Salaam. Tanzania Publishing House, 1980.
- Kahigi, Kulikoyela na A. Ngerema. *Mwanzo wa Tufani*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1976.
- Katalambullah, Faraji. *Unono*. Nairobi: Nelson Africa, 1978.
- Katalambullah, Faraji. *Mizani ya Imani Yangu*. Nairobi: Nelson Africa, 1978.
- Kezilahabi, Ephraim. *Kaputula la Marx*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1995.
- Kitsao, Jay. *Tazama Mbele*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.
- Kitsao, Jay. *Malimwengu Ulimwenguni*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Kitsao, Jay. *Bibi Arusi*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Kuria, Henry. *Nakupenda Lakini...* Dar-es-Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1957.
- Malima, Vincent. *Uchafu*. Ndanda Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 1983.
- Mazrui, Al-Amin. *Kilio cha Haki*. Nairobi: Longman, 1981.
- Mberia, Kithaka. *Natala*. Nairobi: Marimba, 1997.
- Mberia, Kithaka. *Kifo Kisimani*. Nairobi: Marimba, 2001.
- Mberia, Kithaka. *Maua Kwenye Jua la Asubuhi*. Nairobi: Marimba, 2004.
- Mbogo, Emmanuel. *Giza Limeingia*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1980.
- Mbogo, Emmanuel. *Tone la Mwisho*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1981.
- Mbogo, Emmanuel. *Ngoma ya Ng'wanamalundi*. Dar-es-Salaam: Educational Services Centre, 1998.
- Mlama, Penina. *Hatia*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972.
- Mlama, Penina. *Tambueni Haki Zetu*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1973.
- Mlama, Penina. *Heshima Yangu*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1974.
- Mlama, Penina. *Nguzo Mama*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1982.
- Mlama, Penina. *Lina Ubani*. Dar-es-Salaam: Dar-es-Salaam University Press, 1984.
- Mlama, Penina. *Pambo*. Nairobi: Foundation Books, 1982.
- Mlama, Penina. et. al. *Harakati za Ukombozi*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1982.
- Mohamed, Said. *Pungwa*. Nairobi: Longman Kenya Ltd, 1988.
- Mohamed, Said. *Kivuli Kinaishi*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Mohamed, Said. *Amezidi*. Nairobi: East African Education Publishers, 1995.

- Moliere, Jean. *Mchuzi Mwangwana* (Translated by Morrison). Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1996.
- Muba, Mobali. *Hukoo Darisalama*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1980.
- Muba, Mobali. *Maalim*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1980.
- Mulokozi, Mugyabuso. *Mukwava wa Uhehe*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979.
- Mwachofi, Ari. *Mama ee*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1987.
- Ngahyoma, Ngalimecha. *Kifo Barabarani*. Umma Vol.2/1, 1972.
- Ngozi, Ibrahim. *Machozi ya Mwanamke*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1977.
- Ngugi, Gerishon. *Nimeloga Nisiwe na Mpenzi*. Nairobi: EAPH, 1961.
- Niane, Djibril. *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*. London: Longman, 1979.
- Nikolai, Gogol. *Mkaguzi Mkuu wa Serikali*. (Tafsiri ya Mwakasaka, C). Nairobi: HEB, 1979.
- Nkwera, Felician. *Johari Ndogo*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1968.
- Omari, Said. *Maisha Subira*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1985.
- Ongeti, Khaemba. *Visiki*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984.
- Osodo, Felix. *Hatari kwa Usalama*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1979.
- Osodo, Felix. *Mama Mtakatifu*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982.
- Ruganda, John. *Mizigo*. (translated by Asseny) Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Ryanga, Sheila. *Zinduko*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Shakespeare, William. *Tufani* (translated by S.S. Mushi). Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969.
- Shakespeare, William. *Mabepari wa Venisi* (translated by J.K. Nyerere). Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Shakespeare, William. *Juliasi Kaizari* (translated by J.K. Nyerere). Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Sofokile. *Mfalme Edipode*. (translated by S.S. Mushi). Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Soyinka, Wole. *Masaibu ya Ndugu Jero*. (Translated by Yahya). Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Spivak, Gayatri. "The Politics of Translation." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti (ed). London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Topan, Farouk. *Aliyeonja Pepo*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1973.
- Topan, Farouk. *Mfalme Juha*. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Wafula, Richard. *Uhakiki wa Tamthilia: Historia na Maendeleo Yake*. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1999.
- Wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. *Nitaolewa Nikipenda*. (translated by Clement Kabugi) Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Wa Thiong'o, Ngugi & Micere Mugo. *Mzalendo Kimathi*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1978.
- Yahya, A.S & Mulwa, David. *Buriani*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Yahya, A.S & Mulwa, David. *Ukame*. Nairobi: Longman, 1984.
- Yahya, A.S & Mulwa, David. *Mkimbizi*. Nairobi: Longman, 1988.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY



Prof. Tom Olali holds a PhD in African Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He is currently a Visiting Full Professor in the Division of African Studies, College of International and Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in the Republic of Korea. He is a full time faculty member in the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Nairobi, and has also taught at Tianjin Normal University in China. He has published *Performing Arts in Lamu; An English Rendition of a Classical Swahili Poem; Performance of a Swahili Poem during Lamu Maulidi Festival; Utengano* guide book; Swahili novels *Mafamba, Watu wa Gehenna* and *Mashetani wa Alepo*. Several of his articles appear in International journals.