SPECIAL ISSUE

LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA
THE POETICS AND SOCIOLOGY OF A YOUNG URBAN STYLE OF SPEAKING

WITH

A DICTIONARY COMPRISING
1100 WORDS AND PHRASES

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“Na ukweli si uongo ndani ya Bongo tumia ubongo.”*

1. Introduction: Lughya Mitaani

1.1 History of colloquial non-standard Swahili speech forms

Swahili has been moulded in a long process by many factors over many centuries (Chiraghdin & Mnyampala 1977, Khalid 1977, Nurse & Spear 1985, Shariff 1973, Whiteley 1969). One of the latest chapters in its history is the standardisation and implementation as national and official language in Tanzania after independence. The language issue was given high priority by the government since it was considered a crucial factor in the process of nation building. It can be said that the language policy has been successful in making Swahili the common language of Tanzanians. Especially in urban areas Swahili is more and more becoming the first language of children. This does not only apply to ethnically mixed marriages, but is increasingly observed in town areas also for families where both parents share the same mother-tongue.

The National Swahili Council was given the task of further developing as well as guarding the standard form in textbooks for schools, in literature, in music texts, and in radio and television broadcasting. However, while Standard Swahili was taught in schools and written

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in books and newspapers, people in town quarters where Swahili was spoken developed and used a colloquial style of speech by enriching the standard form with “slang” expressions and lexemes. In 1958, R.H. Gower reported the existence of Swahili slang, which, according to his observations was “born in towns” with young men being “the most prolific manufacturers of slang” (1958: 250). In the eighties it was common to call colloquial forms of Swahili “lugha ya mitaani” (“language of the town quarters”, or “street language”)1. In 1987, Rajmund Ohly published a slang dictionary with an introduction, based on fieldwork carried out between the 1950s and the beginning of the 1980s2. Obviously, he was not familiar with the expression “Lugha ya Mitaani”, instead he uses the sociolinguistic terms “usemi wa mitaani” (style of speaking at the town quarters) and “msimu”3 to denote slang (Ohly 1987a: 4). Recently, many people in Tanzania speak of “lugha za mitaani” (‘languages of the town quarters’, or ‘street languages’), using the plural to point to the fact that there exists a whole range of varieties of non-standard language, depending on local and social factors. Yared Kihore also recognises diversity when speaking of “vilugha vinavyojulikana kama Kiswahili cha mitaani” (‘local languages known as Kiswahili cha mitaani’; Kihore 2004: 6). The more recent development of lugha za mitaani reflects very much the social, economic, and political liberalisation in Tanzania, which started in the late 1980s. Little research has been done on the complex of these locally coloured colloquial Swahili variants, and we hope that our work will prepare the ground for further, more detailed studies. Since we acknowledge the existence of variants, we will use Lugha ya Mitaani (henceforth abbreviated LyM) to denote the phenomenon as such, whereas we will apply the term Lugha za Mitaani (henceforth abbreviated LzM) when we speak of the complex of variants. It is not at all clear in which way the LzM are related to each other. Most probably there are varieties which can be labelled sociolects. This might be the case with the language of sub-cultural groups. In most cases, however, LzM are used as a register in certain informal situations. We suppose that there is a continuum between register and sociolect. Some elements of LzM also gradually become unmarked and diffuse into the normal language, where they more or less persist, and some eventually become part of the standard language.4 Evidence for this process can be obtained by comparing the first and second edition of the Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu (Dictionary of Standard Swahili, TUKI 1981 and 2004), which shows that a number of words have now become acknowledged as part of the standard language, for instance mchecheto ‘worries, pressure, confusion’, changudoa ‘prostitute’, or kasheshe ‘mayhem’.

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1 This is confirmed by Reuster-Jahn who often encountered this expression while living in Tanzania between 1985 and 1988, especially when she was asking for the meaning of colloquialisms.
2 Ohly used 1) data collected in the 1950s and published in the journal “Swahili”, 2) data collected by T.S.Y. Sengo before 1974, and 3) data collected by himself between 1975 and 1982 (Ohly 1987a: 1-2).
3 According to Ohly msimu is derived from simulizi, but it seems also probable that it is SS *msimu ‘season’, referring to the seasonal character of Lugha ya mitaani lexemes.
4 Ohly makes a similar statement with respect to “Standard colloquial language” (1987a: 4).
In 1990, J. Blommaert referred to the phenomenon of non-standard forms of speech as “Kiswahili cha mitaani”, which he characterised as:

“[…] a complex of English-interfered Kiswahili variants, appearing in most of the urban areas of present day Tanzania. It is assumed to be the medium of popular amusement through music and comic books, and seems to be the jargon of fashionable youngsters. Here, English interferences are mostly idiomatic in nature (…) and are heavily integrated.” (1990: 24)

While it is true that recent LyM-variants of Swahili are interspersed with mostly idiomatic English expressions, we reject the notion that English elements are constitutive for Lugha ya Mitaani. In older forms, and especially in areas distant from the urban centres and outside university and college campuses, lugha za mitaani until the 1990s were almost free of English. The primary characteristic of lugha za mitaani in general is that they deviate from Standard Kiswahili by their special lexicon which is in a constant process of rapid renovation. This is done by way of deliberate manipulation of existing lexical items, as an expression of an attitude of jocular and provocative violation of linguistic norms. This property is characteristic of urban youth languages in general (Androutsopoulos & Scholz 1998) and in Africa in particular (Kießling & Mous 2004), e.g. Sheng (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997, Mazrui 1995, Moga & Fee 1993, Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003), Iscamtho (Childs 1997), Nouchi (Kouadio N’gessan 1991, Kube 2005), Camfranglais (Stein (in progress), Chia & Gerbault 1991, Kießling 2005), Indoubil (Goyvaerts 1988). It is a recent trend in colloquial speech practice in Tanzania to blend Swahili with English terms and expressions in order to demonstrate being up to date in a globalised world. As Blommaert (1990: 24) puts it, “the use of English idiomatic expressions serves as a mark of worldliness, of being young and daring”.

Presumably even in former times the most creative agents in forming LyM were youths, and they have become dominant in recent years in the creative process of coining terms and expressions as well as transferring items from English, which often originate in the slang of some sub-culturual group in America or elsewhere. A fundamental prerequisite for the flourishing of LzM is the fact, that Swahili has truly become the primary language of its speakers. As Ohly emphasizes in respect to Swahili slang: “Proficiency enables the proper employment of slang, but it is full competence in Swahili which makes it possible to creatively coin slang expressions” (1987a: 6). Looking into the linguistic makeup, it is quite clear that Lugha ya Mitaani is not an independent language, but a sociolect or register of Kiswahili. It is definitely derived from Kiswahili, since it has a Kiswahili grammar. However, it deviates from Standard Kiswahili in its lexicon and its phrasemes (idiomatic expressions), which are constantly being renovated by strategies of deliberate manipulation. The youths are aware of creating new lexical items and they are fond of doing so. There is an element of playful competition to it, drawing heavily on the “ludic function” of language (Crystal 1998). One of our informants and user of LyM - himself having grown up in Dar es Salaam and now a university student - gave the following statement concerning LyM:

“In my view LyM is not an independent language. The English translation can be ‘street language’. The use of this word [LyM] started long ago, but the kind of use has really changed. The view that it is the language of hooligans has changed to seeing it as the language of youths in the towns. In this respect the prestige of Lugha ya Mitaani is becoming very high now.” (Translation by URJ)

Our lexicographic research shows that in lugha za mitaani there is a range of pejorative terms such as kinabo, mbushi, mgoroko, mjombamjomba, mlugaluga, mporipori, and yeboyebo (for a discussion of these terms see 3.2), referring to rural persons who are conceived as neither knowing what’s going on in town nor knowing the language used there. The geographical centre of the ongoing creation and recreation of linguistic elements is Dar es Salaam. From there the linguistic items spread very quickly into the interior and reach even remote places such as Nachingwea (Lindi region) and Kurio (Dodoma region), where we conducted our research. The remarkably high mobility of the youth in Tanzania plays a crucial role in this process, but also the media, especially music, radio, video, and the yellow press contribute a lot to the rapid diffusion of Lugha ya Mitaani-terms. The use of Lugha ya Mitaani in the media has only been possible after private media were allowed in the early 1990s. This not only provided a large audience to Lugha ya Mitaani, but also facilitated its visual representation in print, that contributes to its power (Kihore 2004: 118). Therefore, we have devoted a chapter of our article to the interplay of Lugha ya Mitaani and the media (see below 7.).

In Tanzanian discourse lugha ya mitaani is contrasted with lugha fasaha ‘literary language’ or Kiswahili fasaha ‘literary Swahili’. Kiswahili sanifu ‘Standard Swahili’ is rarely used in contrast to LyM, except by Swahili scholars. Kiswahili fasaha is described as Swahili as it is taught at school, and as it can be found in books. Beside Lugha ya Mitaani one can also hear the term Kibongo ‘language of Bongo, i.e. Dar es Salaam’, alluding to the fact that Dar es Salaam is the centre of linguistic creativity. The attitude of Tanzanians towards Lugha ya Mitaani is ambivalent, as Ohly has already noted with respect to Swahili “slang” (1987: 3). Especially in rural areas and by older people it is seen as uchafulu wa lugha ‘language pollution’ used by wahuni ‘bachelors and hooligans’. Others recognise Lugha ya Mitaani as enriching Standard Swahili, which is seen as rather “bookish” (cf. Ohly 1987: 4).

1.2 Special forms of Lugha ya Mitaani

The complex of local Lugha za Mitaani is made up of geographically and socially indexed variants which deviate more or less from each other. Besides that, some special codes can be identified which are connected to Standard Swahili in various ways. To different degrees they
are part of the linguistic context of \textit{LzM}, and probably stimulate the linguistic creativity in certain ways.

1.2.1 Campus Swahili

Blommaert (1990: 24) describes “Campus Swahili” as a “form of mixed Swahili used by academic personnel of the University of Dar es Salaam”, marked by code-switching between Swahili and English, which requires a high degree of competence in English. According to our observation, this variety is not confined to the university campus but is a speech style of academics and other highly educated people working with international organisations and firms. As a result of their professional use of English, they tend to mix the two codes even in informal conversation. This style of speech is connected with the social prestige of being a member of the elite. Other campus codes are created in boarding schools, where each has some terms which are confined to its campus, mainly referring to food, places, teachers and students (see the campus lexicon from Nachingwea Teachers Training College in appendix 2). On school campuses, however, switching to English is not a prominent feature. Whether Campus Swahili can be called a form of \textit{LyM} is questionable, since it is not so much connected to \textit{mitaa} ‘town-quarters or streets’.

1.2.2 Secret codes derived from Swahili

Secret activity by groups, whether criminal or other, tends to lead to the creation of secret codes. In Tanzania, there is very little data on proper cant or criminal argot available (Ohly 1987a: 3). It could only be obtained by participant observation, which poses difficulties to the researcher. In general, secrecy can be achieved by coining new words or by giving new meanings to existing lexical items, only known to insiders of the respective group. However, as the groups who use special codes are not completely closed, some elements of criminal argot can be found in the speech of groups of jobless young men, for example. Apart from the creation of a special lexicon, systematic morphological manipulation can be applied to encrypt a message.

Very much like Verlan in France, there is a code called \textit{Kinyume}, approximately ‘the language of talking backwards’ or ‘reversed style of speaking’, whose main constitutive principle is metathesis, i.e. the last syllable of each word is made the first, thus disguising that word. For example, the word \textit{tutampa} (we shall give him / her) in \textit{Kinyume} yields \textit{patutam}, which is not readily recognisable for people not familiar with this code. The fact that stress is placed on the penultimate syllable also in the output form, in perfect accordance with Swahili phonotactic rules, contributes much to disguising the source item. \textit{Kinyume} until now has not been explored in detail.\footnote{Edward Steere was the first to give a definition of \textit{Kinyume} (1885: 310), which he complemented by a list of specimens (1885: 425f.). It is also mentioned by C.H. Stigand (1915: 71 ff.), by Maria von Tiling in a footnote (1926: 298), and in the dictionaries by Frederick Johnson (1939: 348) and Charles Sacleux (1939: 390).} Apart from being regarded as something used playfully by children...
of the age between five and fourteen, *Kinyume* seems to be applied by people who do not want their conversations to be overheard. A variant of *Kinyume* was given by John Degera, one of Kießling’s informants, who gave the following examples:

(1)  
\[\begin{align*}
\text{Alechen napi (LyM: Chelea pina)} \\
\text{Everything’s fine.} \\
\text{Ngiba yonau? (Swahili: Bangi unayo?)} \\
\text{Do you have marijuana?} \\
\text{Kendotuo twamakatuta (Swahili: Tuondoke tutakamatwa)} \\
\text{Let’s make off, lest we will be arrested.} \\
\text{Yuhu gunja jemaseana? (LyM: Huyu njagu anasemaje?)} \\
\text{What does this policeman say?}
\end{align*}\]

The examples show that the order of syllables in disyllabic and trisyllabic words is completely reversed. In words made up of more than three syllables, the exceeding ones are left in their normal order after the third one. According to Degera, this code is used to convey secret messages. He explains: “*Kinyume cha maneno kwa Kiswahili cha Mitaani ni lugha ambayo hata wakiongea police yupo hataelewa*” (The *Kinyume* style of speaking in *Kiswahili cha mitaani* is a language which, if they use it and there is a policeman around, he will not understand). It should be noted that *Kinyume* is applied to standard as well as non-standard lexical items. Conversely, there is no evidence from our data that *Kinyume*-words have become part of *LzM*.

Another way of systematic morphological manipulation forms the basis of the “Ti-language”. It consists of terminal clipping plus prefixing *ti-* to every word in a sentence. The following example was given by Ali Nkoma, one of our informants from Dar es Salaam:

(2)  
\[\begin{align*}
\text{Tia, tiulikwe tishu?} \\
\text{Ali, ulikwenda shule?} \\
\text{Ali, did you go to school?}
\end{align*}\]

At present, we do not know the contexts in which these codes are used, nor whether there are other ways of systematic morphological manipulation used for instance by children for ludic purposes. Further investigation would be desirable.

1.2.3 Lugha ya vijana wa vijiweni

While many newly created terms spread fast and become adopted by wider circles, among the youths and beyond, some remain confined to “core-groups” of mainly male youths who are known as *vijana wa vijiweni*, literally ‘youths from the stones’. This expression refers to the

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6 *Kinyume* has also been used as a stylistic device in the novel “*Titi la Mkwe*” (The Daughter-in-Law’s Breast) by Alex Banzi, to mark the speech of the spirits of the dead in heaven (1975: 51-3).

7 C.H. Stigand (1915) mentions “*Kialabi*”, where -*kiri* is suffixed to each syllable.
term for their meeting places which in the singular is *kijiwe* (‘small stone’) or *kijiweni* (‘at the small stone’). The term is not only a metonymic extension of SS *kijiwe* ‘little stone’, relating to the stones or other objects which serve as seats at the meeting place. It is also a metaphor which is based on the shared property of steadiness and immovability. The *kijiwe* seems to be something like the symbolic centre of the group. The youths usually meet in the afternoon in groups of five to ten at their *kijiwe*, a shady place they have adopted for this purpose. This place is also called *joblesi kona* ‘corner of the jobless’. Even a barber shop can become a group’s *kijiwe* (Weiss 2002: 107). The youths are between fifteen and thirty years old, unmarried, and without particular occupation or job. Thus, they pass time by chatting, which they call *kupiga stori*, literally ‘hit stories’. Sometimes they leave the place in order to move to the sports field to play football, or they go to get some booze or smoke marijuana. They might even go on a *misheni* ‘mission’ to follow small *dili* ‘deals’ in order to get some money. *Vijiwe* are nothing new, but because of juvenile unemployment they have become a mass phenomenon in urban areas. We have not been able to collect data directly from conversations of *vijana wa vijiweni*, but the predominance of some semantic domains in the lexicon of LyM suggests that women, alcoholic drinks, drugs, small (criminal) deals, and the police feature as important themes. Boasting and slandering seem to be characteristic of their conversations. It must be noted that beside its social function *kupiga stori* is entertainment, an entertainment which is free of charge. Part of this entertainment is the playful and jocular use of language, and the competitive aspect of showing mastery of this game. The *vijana wa vijiweni* and their language(s) have long become the subject of a cartoon in the newspaper “Sani”, which appears twice a week. It is entitled *Kifimbocheza na wachafuzi wa lugha*, i.e. “Let-the-stick-dance” and the language-pollutors’. In each cartoon a number of words are translated into Standard Swahili. Furthermore, the novel *Kijiweni Moto* ‘Hot times at the jobless corner’ (Kusenha 1998) deals with a boy who joins *vijana wa kijiweni* and gets more and more involved in criminal activities. In this book the author has made an effort to depict the language of those youths, and he has complemented it with a list of words they use. In fact, the number of youths without regular employment has risen so much in recent years, that they have become a factor in the political debate. In the elections of 2005 the ruling party CCM was able to win over many youths by making their needs a topic of its election programme.
1.2.4 The language of daladalas

The *daladala* minibuses are the usual means of transport for ordinary people in Dar es Salaam. Their name dates back to the time when the fare was five shillings. Since a five-shilling-coin was called *dala*, the buses by metonymic extension were named *daladala*. Each *daladala* is run by a team of two people, the *suka* ‘driver’, and the *konda* ‘conductor’. The *suka* is concerned with matters relating to traffic, whereas the *konda* handles the passengers. He collects the fare from them and announces the stops. Associated with them are young men who direct the passengers to the *daladalas*, which is called *pigia debe*. They do not work on the base of a contract, but are getting a small share by the *daladala* personnel. It is said that many of them are drug users. They seem to be organised in groups whose head is called *mzungu wa reli* ‘European of the railway’. Pupils get a reduction of fifty percent in *daladalas*, whereas soldiers have to pay nothing at all. That’s why in the language of the *daladala* personnel the former are called *majeruhi* ‘wounded people’, and the latter are called *maiti* ‘corpses’. Presumably there is much more of a “*daladala* language”, as it is reported for Nairobi (Nderitu 2006), but there has not been done an in-depth research on it.
1.3 Overview of the article

This article is based on research conducted in Tanzania between 2000 and 2006 and approaches the phenomenon of Lugha ya Mitaani from different angles. A substantial part of the field research was lexicographic in nature, complemented by ethnographic methods (see chapter two). The analysis focuses on form, function, mediation and general comparative sociolinguistic issues of Lugha ya Mitaani.

Regarding its form, what are the linguistic features of this style of speaking? Where do Lugha za Mitaanii deviate from Standard Kiswahili? Regarding their functions, why do they deviate? What kinds of meaning do they have to their users? A clue to the answer would be to look at who uses a certain variety in what kinds of contexts to communicate what message. How does its form reflect its functions? Thus, in the third chapter we present the general sociolinguistic profile of LyM as a young urban style of speaking. The fourth chapter looks into lexical elaboration from the onomasiological angle, i.e. it identifies those domains of preoccupation which are predominantly subject to juvenile elaboration in LyM, while the fifth chapter takes the opposite view looking into the strategies which are employed at various structural levels to create LyM neologisms, trying to grasp the poetic spirits which resides in the lexical creations of LyM. The sixth chapter widens the scope and elaborates on how LyM constitutes juvenile routines of communication which serve the youth to create their identity at discourse level. In close connection to this, the seventh chapter deals with the utilisation of LyM in mediated discourse and how LyM is used as an expressive resource in medial reflection of reality. The eighth chapter finally discusses LyM from a comparative sociolinguistic point of view: how do the findings relate to the general picture of phenomena of language birth in Africa and to the emergence of youth languages in particular? In what way are Lugha za Mitaani different and why?

The article is supplemented by a LyM dictionary which contains more than 1100 words and phraseologisms. It contains what our informants perceived as LyM. Therefore, it is not devoted to one single variety of LyM, but presents a conglomerate of words and expressions. Some of them are old or even obsolete, others are brandnew. Some are well established or on the verge of becoming part of Standard Swahili, others are rather rare. Some are offensive, many are not. Some are known by a majority of Swahili speakers, others are more restricted to certain groups. Colloquials are as well represented as specific items used in certain youth groups like, for example, students. Transfers from other languages, especially English, are as well to be found as manipulations of Swahili words. Information on time-depth and frequency or restrictions of use is given wherever data were available. As a rule, only those items have been included that were confirmed by at least two informants or found in print, audio or video sources. A number of these items (n = 117) have already been attested in the Swahili Slang dictionary by Rajmund Ohly (1987a): part of them (n = 43) have undergone further semantic shift, albeit still recognisably relating to the old meaning given by Ohly, while 60 items have
reduced the meaning in Ohly 1987a and 14 items seem to have acquired a completely different meaning. This comparison shows that LyM is in a constant process of change.

It is because of this continuous change that a conventional dictionary of LyM does not suffice. Not only the lexical items are important, but also the processes that lead to their creation, as well as their use in context. We therefore present a dictionary which has a wider scope than its predecessor, the “Swahili-English Slang Pocket-Dictionary” by Ohly (1987). Our dictionary focuses on etymology and cognitive motivation, as well as the use of LyM in discourse. For each lexical item we give at least one example of its use. All these examples were elicited from informants or extracted from texts in newspapers, novels, and lyrics of popular music. In turn, the dictionary will hopefully be a useful tool for those who do research on modern Swahili texts, - not only popular ones -, since LyM has invaded large areas of public communication.

2. Methodology

2.1 Field research

In our research we used a lexicographic approach complemented by ethnolinguistic methods. That means that we did not only collect lexical items but also investigated etymologies, use in contexts, and speakers’ evaluation. Our data was collected in multiphase and cooperative research. Roland Kießling started the research in Kondoa District in 2000 by interviewing male informants between the age of 16 and 20 on their language attitudes, and eliciting lexical items. His principal informants were John Degera, Roga Kamulus Degera, Novatus Henrico Tiigelerwa and Melkiades, all from Kurio (Kondoa District). Since it was not possible to obtain authentic oral discourse he collected texts and letters initiated by his informants themselves who felt inspired to express their linguistic competence of Lugha ya Mitaani in written form (see appendix 1). This does not only reflect authentic discourse to some extent, but also illustrates another way of medialisation of this jargon. Kießling also incorporated lexical items from the internet and other sources (e.g. Böhme 2004, Gesthuizen & Haas 2003, Kihore 2004) and as a result obtained a Lugha ya Mitaani word list of about 600 lexical entries. He also designed the style of the dictionary, with etymological explanations and authentic sentences meant to illustrate the lexical items in use. However, many of the entries needed confirmation by more informants as well as more etymological and context information8. At that point Uta Reuster-Jahn joined the research, expanding its scope in order to find out more about the specificity of LyM in respect to age, gender, education, occupation, and rural vs. urban environment. She also investigated the informants’ attitudes towards LyM. Accordingly, she worked with a number of informants differing in these respects. Franco Livigha, 33, grew up in Nachingwea and came to Dar es Salaam in 1994. He lives in the

8 At that point the results were presented at the 18. Swahili Colloquium held at Bayreuth University, Germany, 6. – 8. May, 2005.
outskirts of the city and works in a photo studio in Kariakoo. He provided a lot of etymological information. His sister Maria, 26, also lives in Dar es Salaam where she works in a hair salon in Upanga. Both siblings have completed primary school. Maria’s twin-sister Martha left secondary school after Form IV. She has no job and lives with her child in the house of her parents in Nachingwea. Shadafa M., 22, lives in Dar es Salaam in his father’s house since he finished Form IV in Mtwara in 2004. His mother, 45, has been living in Dar es Salaam for about fifteen years. She has five children, the youngest being five years old. In Ndanda Reuster-Jahn worked with a group of high school students. The language of university students is represented by Ali Nkoma, 24, and Joyce T., 20, both from Dar es Salaam. Besides these principal informants and assistants, a number of Tanzanian friends have also contributed by giving etymologies or examples of the use of LyM items, or by commenting on the article. These are Mr. D. Mushi, Ms. R. Mpembeni, and Dr. G. Kwesigabo.

In August 2005 Reuster-Jahn took Kießling’s word list to Tanzania to work it over with the informants. The leading questions referring to the entries were as follows:

1. Do you know this word / expression? (Unalifahamu?)
2. Do you use this word / expression? (Unalitumia?)
3. Who are the users of this word / expression? (Nani analitumia? Vijana tu, au hata wazee?)
4. Do you know the origin of this word? (Unajua asili ya neno hili?)
5. Since when is this word in use? (Neno hili limetumika tangu lini? Lina miaka mingapi?)

Time did not allow for asking each informant the whole range of questions. Particularly questions 2 and 4 could not be addressed in full depth. The question on the origin yielded very interesting and sometimes complex etymological explanations and cognitive motivations. The field of cognitive motivation, which was rather briefly examined in former publications, allows the researcher to understand what is important in the everyday life of youths in Tanzania. Especially where metaphors are concerned, the connections the youths construct between target and source domains are enlightening. However, not all etymologies are generally known, and in some cases informants offered differing versions. It seems that, especially when the event, personality or fashion that has led to the creation of a particular lexical item is not present any longer, folk etymologies arise in order to explain its origin (e.g. nunga nanasi and wowowo in 5.7 below). The rich yield in the fields of etymology, cognitive motivation and usage caused a shift of the research focus from lexicography to ethnolinguistics. This means that more attention was given to the users and their linguistic attitudes, as well as to their use of LyM items in discourse.

In addition to working with the word-list Reuster-Jahn continued the collection of LyM-items by elicitation. Some informants wrote lists, other items were mentioned in conversation.
The research continued via email correspondence with Ali Nkoma, who kindly reviewed several lists of words between October 2005 and February 2006. In March 2006 the final revision of the dictionary took place in Dar es Salaam with the informants Franco Livigha and Ali Nkoma. Novels from the 1990s and 2000s, newspapers – especially the yellow press – and song texts of popular music were also used as sources of LyM. They not only play a vital role in the diffusion of LyM, but also in some cases are the sources of new terms (see below section 7).

2.2 Acknowledgements

We feel very happy that we received the cooperation of people who were willing to answer our questions concerning LzM. Only the cooperation of many made the dictionary possible and helped us to better understand the phenomenon of LyM. We therefore want to express our sincere gratitude for the contribution of our informants and assistants, and our appreciation of their willingness to share their knowledge with us. At times the working sessions were long and required endurance. Even delicate issues such as those connected to sexual behaviour had to be addressed. On the other hand there was also fun in the work, especially when unexpected etymologies turned up. The exploration of the “stories behind the words” that allowed a glimpse into the world and imagination of youths in contemporary Tanzania was like an exciting expedition into a territory hitherto unknown to us.

2.3 The making of the dictionary

The principal instrument in the collation and analysis of lexical LyM items is a database which is organised as follows: every entry is headed by a LyM lemma, either a single lexical item or an idiomatic phrase. It is translated into Standard Swahili plus an English equivalent. Wherever possible, hypotheses about their etymology have been provided as detailed as possible. The guiding principle here is not only to pin down the source of the item in question, but also to trace, as accurately as possible, the formal and semantic shifts responsible for the derivation of the contemporary LyM items from their source items, in order to explain the cognitive motivations which underlie the change. Most lexical items are illustrated for their use in one or more sentences. Cross-references make it searchable for (near) synonyms. Furthermore, every lemma is indexed for at least one semantic domain so as to enable queries by semantic criteria.

The database has originally been designed by Kießling to organise the items he had collected in his initial fieldwork in 2000. It was then expanded to also incorporate critically annotated items drawn from websites which list LyM items, such as Chumvi Mtembezi’s “Kiswahili Slang Dictionary” (http://chumvi.tripod.com/Kiswahili_slang_dictionary.html), Darhotwire “Swahili slang” (http://www.darhotwire.com/dar/slang.html), and „The Kamusi Project Internet Living Swahili Dictionary“ (http://www.yale.edu/swahili/). In a third phase the database was again considerably expanded by Reuster-Jahn who added new items,
checked and rechecked old items for their usage and origin, eliciting supplementary examples or drawing them from sources such as *Bongo Fleva* lyrics, comics, recent novels, and the yellow press.

The dictionary in appendix 3 comprises more than 1100 entries, presenting the major part of this database. It goes beyond the presentation of Swahili slang in Ohly 1987 and the LyM lists in the internet sources cited above: first, it exemplifies most lexical items in sentences in order to capture as many aspects of their use as possible; and, second, it discusses their formal and semantic history. Thus, our dictionary unites the synchronic and diachronic aspects of LyM in providing a glimpse into the living contemporary language and at the same time viewing it as the outcome of processes of creative cognitive manipulation.

3. Sociolinguistics of Lugha ya Mitaani

In respect of sociolinguistics LyM is multifaceted: 1) it is predominantly used as a register, but 2) in some cases it is used as a sociolect, and 3) LyM has become more powerful vis-à-vis the standard language since the last fifteen years, and quite a number of LyM items have become acceptable for wider circles. We can only give a preliminary report on these aspects here. Further research is needed to explore them in detail.

3.1 Lugha ya Mitaani as youth language

One functional aspect of LyM is its use as group-language of youths. It has a lot in common with other urban youth languages found in Africa. Thus, it is typically learned by adolescents in peer-groups and used in informal settings to communicate the meta-message of solidarity and toughness. In some youth-groups it seems to be important to be able to speak it as fast as possible (Böhme 2004: 38), probably to ‘jargooze’, i.e. confuse outsiders – which illustrates that demarcation and secrecy to some extent can be one of its functions. This is corroborated by the following statement of John Degera:

“Kiswahili cha mitaani ni lugha iliyozuka tu kwa bahati bila kutegemewa. Na hasa lugha hii hutumika mjini na vijana waki buni njia ya kuwasiliana bila polis kaju.”

“Kiswahili cha mitaani is a language which developed unexpectedly and by chance. This language is used very much by youths in the city when they try to find a way to communicate with each other without the police knowing.”

Most speakers of the youth variant of LyM avoid its use in formal contexts and in situations where interlocutors are socially not on the same level. Its status is ambivalent to some extent, since it has prestige among the youths, but tends to be frowned upon by the older generations,

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9 Sources in the database pertaining to informants and assignment of lemmas to semantic domains have been suppressed in the dictionary.

10 According to our informants “youths” are defined as persons between about fifteen and thirty years, before they are married.
sometimes even stigmatised as a *lugha ya kihuni* (‘language of bachelors or hooligans’; Böhme 2004: 45) – which reflects the puristic attitude towards the jocular spirit of this variety, and its playful violation of the linguistic norms of Swahili.

In a sociological perspective, *Lugha ya Mitaani* serves as a marker of youth identity, being one asset in the larger complex of youth culture which is also articulated in music, dance, clothing, hair style, way of walking, sports, urban lifestyle etc.\(^{11}\) In the past decade it has come to be associated with *Bongo Fleva*, the Tanzanian rap music\(^{12}\), gaining increasingly importance as a medium that authentically reflects the *hali halisi* (‘reality’; Madunia Foundation 1999), and as an educative medium for transmitting messages relating to health, HIV/AIDS, corruption, pollution etc. (Raab 2004a, 2006).

(3) Social profile of *LyM*

| user group:      | predominantly adolescents |
| acquisition:    | informal in peer-groups  |
| contexts of use:| medium of horizontal communication among equals |
| functions:      | medium of horizontal communication, marker of youth identity, solidarity & toughness, also demarcation |
| prestige:       | prestige among users, partially stigmatised as *lugha ya kihuni* by outsiders; allegedly growing prestige in the society as a whole |

From the profile summarised in (3) it is clear that *LyM* qualifies as a horizontal medium of communication, corresponding closely with the profile of urban youth languages found in other parts of Africa (Mous & Kießling 2004). The major function of these urban youth languages is that they are created and used as an icon of identity, a marker of solidarity on the one hand, and a demarcation line on the other hand – since this feeling of belonging is originally created by an opposition to existing identities represented by 1) the rural population that tends to live the traditional way of life, 2) the older generations, and probably 3) the better-off.

### 3.2 Knowledge, use and attitudes

Although *LyM* is connected with the transitional phase of youth and adolescence, and is used as a group language, it is gaining ground in the speech of wider circles in Tanzanian society. It must be asked why this should be so. One common explanation by Tanzanians themselves is that many *LyM* items are more to the point than their Standard Swahili near-equivalent.

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\(^{11}\) A striking example of how these ingredients cluster to form a complex of youth culture could be seen in the hiphop formation “Gangwe Mob” who gained street credibility by using *Lugha ya Mitaani* in their songs, spreading their messages through the internet ([www.gangwemobb.com](http://www.gangwemobb.com)), and who launched a clothing label known as Gangwe Gear.

\(^{12}\) For more details on the evolution of Swahili rap see Gesthuizen & Haas 2003, Raab 2006.
That in traditional Swahili speech “well-turned phrases and expressions to the point, hitting the mark, are highly favoured in conversation” (Ohly 1987a: 5) seems to support the transition of lexical items from LyM into normal speech. This is also pointed out by Sultan Tamba, co-editor of the newspaper “Sani” and author of novels and films:

“Kuna maneno menginemengine ya namna hiyo ambayo yanakombaini maneno matatu, yanayafanya kuwa neno moja, lakini linaeleweka. Yako mengi. Kwa sababu mara nyingi maneno ya mitaani yanachofanya ni kufupisha.” (Personal communication 23.03.06)

“There are other words of this kind [LyM] which condense three words [of Standard Swahili] into one word, and still it is understood. There are many. Because, what street-words often do: they cut short.” (Translation URJ)

We have been told by Tanzanian academics that for this reason it has become a trend to intersperse even academic papers with LyM items.

Evidently from the 1990s on, additional factors have started to contribute to the power of LyM. These factors are globalisation and popular media. Globalisation facilitates access to phenomena of youth culture in other countries, especially in America. It also brings in concepts that were hitherto not represented in the standard form of Swahili. The official institutions in many cases are slow in providing new terms that meet the demand. Furthermore, they lack efficient tools for implementation. In contrast, the popular media are near to the people and quick to pick up new words and expressions. These in turn are endowed with prestige through their use in the media.

It must be noted that people in Tanzania generally are aware of the phenomenon of LyM and they often interpret it in the context of the growth of Swahili. The following statement of Maurus Kayombo, the author of several Swahili novels, may stand for many similar ones we have heard during our research:

“[… ] lugha ya Kiswahili ni lugha inayokua kila siku. Watu wanaoikuza lugha hiyo hasa ni vijana na waimbaji wa muziki aina ya Taarab yaani mipasho. Kwa hiyo maneno mengi ya vijana huja na kupita na mengine hubakia na kuendelea kutumika hadi leo.” (Personal communication 12.05.06)

“[… ] the Swahili language is a language which is growing every day. People who in particular make it grow are the youths and the singers of Taarab-music, especially mipasho. Therefore, many words of the youths come and go, and some stay and continue to be used until today.” (Translation by URJ)

Kayombo looks back to the time when he himself was a young man who actively took part in the creative process:

“[… ] Hivyo kuna maneno mengi ambayo sisi vijana wa zamani tulikuwa tukiyatumia na leo hii hayapo na hayatumiki tena, bali yamezaliwa mengine mapya.” (Personal communication 12.05.06)

“[… ] That’s why there are many words which we, the youths of yesterday were using, but today they have disappeared and are not in use any more, and instead other, new ones have been born.” (Translation by URJ)
As mentioned earlier, the attitude towards LyM as such among older people is diverse. Whereas many view it as a sign of the liveliness of Swahili, others conceive it as destructive to the language of the nation. All in all we found mostly tolerance towards LyM as a particular phenomenon of the transitional stage of adolescence. But it is regarded a violation of social rules if LyM is used towards an interlocutor whose social status is superior to the speaker’s. In formal settings LyM is also inadequate. Elder people generally reject being talked to in this language. This has much to do with the concept of “heshima” (dignity, respect), which has to be observed. Normally young people consent to this rule, like Martha L., who told us: “Siwezi kuzungumza namna hii na baba, lakini uani tunatumia lugha hii” (I can’t speak in that way to my father, but in the back-yard we use this language). For her, LyM is a register which she uses in contexts of informal conversation among heragemates and to a certain extent even towards older and married women. It would be a topic for further research to investigate the kind of LyM that is used by women in the compounds where often many people live together. Whereas the use of LyM as a register confined to certain situative contexts is considered as normal, its permanent use is regarded as offensive. Somebody who is using LyM irrespective of the social status of his interlocutors is called a “mhuni kabisa” (a real hooligan). In such a case the use of LyM has become an integral part of the social identity. The novel Kijiweni Moto (Kusenha 1998) describes the life of such a boy, who even dares to speak with his parents in his group-language. However, research is needed in order to find out about the reality of “vijana wa vijiweni” and their linguistic behaviour.

Concerning the knowledge of LyM we found that it is widespread among youths in Tanzania, those in remote towns like Nachingwea and Kurio lagging only slightly behind. The rapid spread from the centre to the periphery is mainly due to the high rate of mobility, especially of youths, in Tanzania. Media, predominantly the radio, also contribute to the diffusion of LyM items. However, individual lexica depend on social parameters such as age, gender, education, occupation, and rural or urban environment. We found, for example, that our female informants did not know the whole range of terms used by young men to denote women. Non-drug-users had only partial knowledge of the drug lexicon. There is also variation in respect to the semantics of certain words. For example the term “dentii”, derived from “student” by initial clipping, was rendered as “student” by our informants, but is given as “female student” by Kihore (2004: 115).

Our research revealed that even elder people often have considerable knowledge of LyM. This might be specific to Dar es Salaam, as we do not have data from other places. Knowledge is gained by 1) living together in a household with children and youths, 2) reading the newspapers which use LyM, and 3) listen to popular music, especially Bongo Fleva and modern Taarab. The cartoon “Kifimbo cheza na wachafuzi wa lugha” in the newspaper “Sani” provides a kind of serialised dictionary of LyM terms, so everybody with a particular interest in learning LyM can use this device. The reason why many people do not use items of LyM in their speech is again the concept of “heshima”, but this time perceived as self-respect. This is
reflected in the statement of a 45-year-old mother of five children, living in Dar es Salaam:
“Situmii lugha ya mitaani, kwa sababu ninajiheshimu” (I don’t use LyM because I respect myself). Respect prevents people who use LyM as a register from using it in situations socially regarded as improper, whereas self-respect prevents people with knowledge of LyM from using it at all.

LyM is not only connected to youths, but also to Dar es Salaam, the cultural and economic centre of Tanzania. Citizens of Dar es Salaam generally feel being ahead of their rural countrymen. They know what’s going on, and how to survive in the urban environment. This requires a good knowledge of the infrastructure of the city, for example how to avoid the dangers of particular places or situations. Being part of a social network is as indispensable as knowing special codes and styles of speech used there, like for example, being able to understand the personnel in daladala (minibuses). Everybody who newly arrives in the city has to learn his lessons, often the hard way. It is for this reason that Dar es Salaam has got the nickname of “Bongo”, which is derived from Swahili ubongo (Pl. bongo, ‘brains’). The city was given that name in the Ujamaa era already, where it was particularly difficult for people without permission to migrate to Dar es Salaam. People without such permission were caught in the operesheni kuzuia uzururaji (Operation Prevent Loitering). The living conditions have changed, but still are not easy. Therefore, the ones who have gone through the process of adapting to them tend to look down on newcomers. Knowing LzM of Dar es Salaam is like a sign of being initiated into the life in town, or a line of demarcation between the ones who know and those who do not. This is reflected in the sentence: “Unaniambia nini hapa, mtu mwenyewe wa kuja, unajifanya wa mjini” (What do you tell me here. You yourself have only arrived, you pretend to be a town-dweller). A number of pejorative terms denoting newcomers in the city refer directly to their rural origin (mbushi, mporipori). Others are kidnabo, mgoroko, mjombamjomba, mlugaluga, and yeboyebo (for etymologies see the dictionary). The fact that the creative centre for LzM is Dar es Salaam is also reflected in the name “Kibongo” for LyM. However, this term is rather used outside Dar es Salaam than in the city itself.

3.3 Diachronic aspects of LyM

As we have already mentioned LyM is a phenomenon that is quite old. However, all informants agree that it has become more powerful and has penetrated more into normal speech for the last twenty years or so. This is largely due to the liberalisation of media in the context of political change after the end of the Ujamaa era. The exact dating of items is generally not easy. If a term is connected to an event, a song, or a personality, the year of its birth can be traced. Informants in general could roughly date newer items within a time depth of about ten years. Terms that are longer in use, were labelled by our informants as “ya

13 Ohly (1987a: 1) quotes J. W. Murison as the first to write about Swahili slang “at the beginning of our century”, but he does not give bibliographic data of the source. We were not able to trace it.
zamani” (old). A lexeme that is in the process of becoming obsolete or replaced by another one is described as “linafifia sasa” (it is about to die) or “halitumiki sana siku hizi” (it is not used much these days). Printed texts can be helpful in the dating of terms. Before the liberalisation, newspapers observed the standard form, and colloquialisms were mainly found in literary dialogues in novels (cf. Ohly 1987a: 4). Now the situation has changed a lot: the yellow press makes ample use of LyM, whereas writers of novels are moderate in that respect.

In appendix 2 we present a case study on the change which took place in the special campus lexicon of Nachingwea Teacher Training College during a period of roughly twenty years. The students had published a list of special campus words in a journal at the occasion of the college’s tenth anniversary in 1986 (Mbaga 1986). In 2005 students of the college were asked which of those lexemes were still in use, which had been replaced, and which had become completely obsolete. The study revealed that only about half of the items were still in use. Others had changed slightly, whereas many had become obsolete, and new ones had been created. This process was in part dependent on the change in the college environment.

4. Lexical elaboration

From an onomasiological angle, LyM words and phraseologisms cluster in semantic domains typically elaborated in youth jargons, reflecting major preoccupations. Defining semantic domains is a difficult task, and there is no ideal solution, due to the fact that most phenomena present themselves as continua which blend into each other, or are linked to other phenomena in multidimensional networks. Therefore, some items had to be allocated to more than one domain, for example terms denoting homosexuals were accorded to the domain of “Homosexuals” as well as to “Men” or “Women”, respectively. Terms which are only used in addressing a person were allocated to “Address” as well as “Humans”. On the other hand there is polysemy. The term ngozi for example has three different meanings, i.e. girl(friend), jeans, and shoes. Accordingly it has to be represented in three different domains. These two factors account for multiple allocation of terms to domains. About 100 items, especially adjectives and adverbs could not be allocated meaningfully. Our findings are not specific for a certain sub-group of speakers. As outlined above, our approach was to collect lexical items of LzM which are not too exclusive and therefore known to many people in Tanzania. We are aware that our collection is not exhaustive, but we presume that it represents a large part of more common LyM items.

The number of items per domain is related to its importance in the world of the creators and speakers of LyM, i.e. predominantly the youths. When looking at the ranking of domains, it must be born in mind that items were not exclusively allocated to only one domain. Still,

14 This was already observed by Ohly (1987a: 8).
the data allows for identifying the concepts and activities that are important for the youths, and also the priority of certain domains.

Our data reveal that specially developed semantic fields in LyM relate to:

2. Communication (n = 181, including “Communication”, “Address”, “Greetings”, “Telecommunication”, “Boasting”, “Language”, and “Media”)
4. Economy (n = 109, including “Money”, “Economy”, and “Profession”)
5. Sex (n = 72, including “Sex”, “Homosexuals”, and “Reproduction”)
6. Experience (n = 69)
7. Drugs & Alcohol (n = 67, including “Alcohol”, “Drugs”, and “Drug experience”)
8. Movement & Vehicles (66) including “Movement”, “Cars”, and “Vehicles other than cars”
9. Evaluation (n = 65, including “Quality”, “Quantity”, and “Intensity”)
10. Violence & Trouble (n = 44, including “Violence” and “Trouble”)
11. Food (n = 35)
12. Crime & Police (n = 30, including “Crime”, “Prison”, and “Police”)

In contrast to Ohly (1987a: 8f.), we find that the domain of “school-matters” has no priority. Rather a higher degree of elaboration in recent LyM could be observed in the domains of communication, violence and crime. To some extent, this reflects the social, economic and political development in Tanzania since the political turn which started in the late 1980s. According to our data, much linguistic creation takes place in the field of communication (about 9 % of all items). That points to the importance of communication in the life of the creators and users of LyM. According to their size, the total of 56 single domains that were identified can be grouped as follows:

104 - 60 items: Communication (104), Humans (69), Money (69), Experience (69), Women (64);
59 - 40 items: Clothing (54), Movement (51) Sex (45), Quality (46), Body (41);
39 - 20 items: Food (35), Social status (34), Economy (34), Violence (33), Alcohol (26), Drugs (26), Place (22), Female Body (21), Address (20);
19 - 10 items: Men (19), Social Relationship (18), Disease (18), Education (16), Crime (15), Drug experience (15); Form (15), Homosexuals (14), Parts of Body (13), Reproduction (13),

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15 The sub-fields are ordered according to their size.
16 There seems to be a register of special terms relating to music but it seems as these are sourced to a large extent from English (Böhme 2004: 43).
Greetings (13), Quantity (13), Cars (12), Telecommunication (12), Boasting (11), Trouble (11), Language (11), Geography (10), Hairstyle (10), Media (10);

9 - 1 items: Houses (9), Police (8), Entertainment (8), Prison (7), Intensitiy (6), Cosmetics (5), Profession (5), Shoes (5), Sports (5), Time (5), Corruption (4), Weapons (4), Eye Wear (3), Appearance (4), Vehicles other than cars (3), Mining (2), Religion (1).

In what follows the semantic domains will be discussed in the order of their importance, and illustrated with examples from our data. The examples also show a characteristic of LyM typical of urban youth languages in general, namely that lexical creation does not lead to new linguistic signs, but rather to renovation of existing ones, and this renovation can take on excessive proportions, as could be seen in the numerous synonyms which compete with preexisting ones such as *ukimwi* ‘AIDS’, *fedha* or *pesa* ‘money’, *malaya* ‘prostitute’, among others.

4.1 Humans and social relations

Most terms of our data cluster in the domain of different categories of humans and social relations. The domain of humans is complex, comprising three elaborated sub-domains: 1) terms that can be applied to both sexes\(^\text{17}\), 2) terms exclusively denoting women, and 3) terms exclusively denoting men. Lexemes denoting homosexuals are accommodated in a group of their own because they are numerous. However, it should be noticed that a number of them are gender specific.

4.1.1 Humans

This field comprises terms that characterise persons in regard to their behaviour, some physical trait, defective mental state, occupation, origin, economic state, drug use, age class, or speech behaviour. The lexemes and expressions in this group can be applied to both sexes, although to differing degrees.

(4) *inspekta* ‘noisy and inquisitive person’

* mzamiaji ‘somebody who comes to a place or event without invitation’

* kidudu mtu ‘bad person, someone who threatens’

* kikáladi ‘coloured person’

* kiroba 1. ‘passenger who gets a free lift’, 2. ‘somebody being in bad shape’

* dakika moja mbele ‘stupid person, fool’

* domo zege ‘rhetorically slow and clumsy person’

* ng’ombe ‘rich person getting pinned down by hooligans’

* mchovu ‘lazy person, somebody without money’

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\(^{17}\) It must be noted that some of these lexemes are gendered to a certain degree, as for example, the terms denoting gossips, who are predominantly – but not exclusively - perceived as female.
teja ‘drug user’
mchizi ‘friend’
shwaini ‘pig, person with bad manners’
mshikaji ‘friend’
mbushi ‘layman, rural person’
pimbi ‘short person’

4.1.2 Women

The large number of terms used to denote women, many of which are evaluative, reflects the fact that LyM in some respects is gendered. In fact, the creators of LyM are mainly male youths. Normally, they are not yet married but seem to be occupied with sexuality as can be deduced from the lexicon regarding women and sex. They see and evaluate women as potential sex-partners, who basically fall in the two categories of “attractive, beautiful” and “unattractive” women. This is reflected by the numerous lexemes that evaluate the female body. On the other hand the data show that women are perceived as dangerous, unfaithful and exploitative. From the male point of view, women obviously are grouped in several categories. Ohly (1987: 8) observes three of them: women in general, attractive women, and unattractive women. But the classification in modern LyM seems to be more fine-grained in that women are subcategorised by moral evaluations regarding their behaviour. There are “good” women and “bad women”, those who are respected and those who are held in contempt. Accordingly there are terms which are classified as “sifâ” (praise, reputation) while others are regarded as “kashfa” (slander). Few terms have the connotation of “heshima” (respect). This is especially the case with anti and sista, which are taken from the source domain of kinship-relations. Franco Livigha told us: “anti’ inasimama peke yake katika heshima, labda ‘sista’ inaweza kufuata” (anti stands out in regard to respect, perhaps followed by sista). A girl or woman who is known to consent very quickly to a sexual proposal is called “luzi” or “kiluzi”. This term is derived from English ‘loose’. A “luzi” is characterised as “anajirahisisha” (she makes herself easy to get). It is clear that the discourse context is important for all the terms denoting women. Judging from the sentences we got from our informants, boasting (à la “this is my girlfriend”) and slanderling (à la “that one is bad”) are frequent contexts. We don’t know whether some terms are also used as insults in direct confrontation, since we have no data on that. In fact, the whole field of communication between the sexes on matters concerning their relationship, as well as discourses on the respective opposite sexes among sexmates is not sufficiently explored as yet. There is especially little data on the evaluation of men by women. In respect with discourse, we have also to differentiate between terms that are used for addressing women and those that are used for making reference to them. Only few lexemes can be used for both purposes. This applies especially for the terms denoting “girlfriend, fiancée”, which are quite conventional. The assignment to classes varies among the lexemes which denote women. Only a few are assigned to classes 1/2 (mbovu, mdosho, mkaskazini), and classes 4/5 (mlupo), but many to
classes 5/6 (anti, kolboksi, luzi), to classes 7/8 (kiluzi, king’asti, kipepe, kipopo, kirukanjia). To explore the aspect of class assignment in detail it is necessary to do more research. In regard to the creative processes involved in terms denoting women, metaphors play a role. These aspects will be discussed in section five.

Five categories of promiscuous women were elaborated by our male informants: 1) women who have not yet settled down with one man and therefore have changing relationships with men (“hawajatulia”), 2) women who are prostitutes (“kwao ni biashara”) 3) women who are forced by circumstances to have sexual relations with men in order to get money to live on (“wanajikimu”), 4) women who are nymphomaniacs (“wana pepo la ngono”), 5) women who have sex affairs in order to take revenge on their unfaithful partners (“wanalipa kisasi kwa wenzio”). The categorizing of women by men as well as women would be worth to be studied further.

(5) Respectful terms
   anti : address and reference
   sista: address

(6) Attractive women (normally not used as address)
   chuma, demu, manzi, mkaskazini, king’asti, mdosho, pótabo, shi, sista du, totoz, kifaa;

(7) Contemptuous terms (normally not used as address)
   gashi, luzi, kiluzi, ngozi, chupi, ngoma;

(8) Girlfriend/lover (used in reference; predominantly used with possessive)
   chuma, sholi, manzi, demu, totoz, kishtobe, shi;

(9) Girlfriend (used in address; predominantly used with possessive)
   asali wa moyo, mwandani, laazizi;

(10) Promiscuous women & prostitutes
   a) Not yet settled: kiluzi, kipepe, kipopo, kirukanjia, mdosho, mlupo, luzi;
   b) Prostitutes: shankupe, changudoa, sidi, mama huruma, mbovu, shangingi, gubeli;
   c) Nymphomaniacs: kolboksi, maharage ya mbeya, shugamemmi, waluwalu, kimeo;

(11) Women with big bodies
   gubeli, jimama, nyambizi, shangingi, tinginya

(12) Women perceived as unattractive
   kimeo ‘something bad and rotten, even a woman’

(13) Term used among women, especially as address
   shosti ‘good friend’
(14) Mother

   *Bi mkubwa, kibize, maza;*

4.1.3 Men

The *LyM* lexicon contains far less lexemes denoting men than women, and many of them are pejoratively used by men in abusing other men. Quite a number of these denote homosexuals (20), followed by those denoting effeminate and henpecked men (15). Four terms refer to male occupations (16), two are nicknames for political personalities (19). One refers to sexual behaviour (17), and three to intersexual relations (18). The terms for male homosexuals are to be found in 4.1.4.

(15) (Henpecked) fool, effeminate man

   *boka, mbwiga, mnyela, ndula, poyoyo;*

(16) Occupation

   *konda, suka, mzungu wa reli, mzungu wa unga*

(17) Sexual behaviour

   *kitombi*

(18) Intersexual relations

   *buzi, akademiki buzí, mshika pembe, mgumu, lambalamba*

(19) Nicknames of personalities

   *mchonga, mzee ruksa*

4.1.4 Homosexuals

The terms referring to homosexuals denote men, especially those who receive penetration (20). Three of them relate to the food metaphor for sexual intercourse, where the homosexual men are represented by the food. They are not compared to meat (as is a common metaphor for women), but to *bwabwa* (soft cooked rice) and *chakula* as a generic term. Whether *choko* is derived from ‘chocolate’ was not confirmed by our informants, but could probably be the case. Only two terms, *baba askofu* and *basha*¹⁹, denote the penetrating partner. It must be noted that the terms denoting homosexuals are mostly used in a contemptuous way, in slandering and abuse. In that respect, they resemble the terms for henpecked men. The behaviour of homosexual men is called *shobo za kisista du*.

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¹⁸ Our informants differentiated between the penetrating partner and the one receiving penetration. Shepherd speaks of the paid and the paying partner, the latter usually, but not necessarily, taking an active role during intercourse (1987: 250). In Swahili the penetrating partner is called “*mfiraji*”, whereas the one receiving penetration is called “*msenge*”.

¹⁹ For the etymology of *baba askofu* and *basha* see the dictionary.
4.1.5 Social relationship

Terms denoting social relationships are predominantly 1) those which the young (male) youths use to refer to their male friends (21), and 2) those which denote the relationship between a man and a woman (22). Other terms concern kinship-relations (maza, shem), and friendship-relations regardless to sex (damdam, mshikaji).

(21) braza, broo, mchalii, mchizi, mshirika, msela, masela;
(22) bingo, buzi, mshika pembe, chuna buzi;

4.1.6 Social status

In this domain sub-fields can be identified: 1) humans with low status (23), 2) humans with high status (24), and 3) people from rural areas, or country-bumpkins (25).

(23) deiwaka, kidampa, kulakulala;
(24) dingi, mdosi, mlami, mnene, mshua, mtanashati, kibosile, pedeshee;
(25) kinabo, mbushi, mlugaluga, mpورipori, wa kuja, wabushi, yeboyeko;

4.2 Communication

The field of “communication” is the largest single field. It predominantly comprises verbs. The lexemes accumulate in the fields of chatting (26), gossip and spreading of news (27), telling lies and cheating (28), keeping quiet or holding back something (29), and not being able to speak well (30). Others are: scolding, provoking, speaking empty words, seducing, mocking, praising. Boasting has much to do with communication, therefore we present this domain here (31). In the domain of “Languages” there are evidently two areas of interest, namely English on the one hand and variants used by youths on the other hand (32). “Telecommunication” has many terms denoting the different brands and models. Of mobile phones, and their use and a few relating to the internet (33). Mobile phones are objects of prestige which also symbolise the new era in Tanzania. The examples in (34) relate to media and entertainment. The domains of “Address” and “Greetings” will be discussed in the context of youths’ discourse (see section 6 (158) – (161)).

(26) verbs & verbal phrases (v & v.phr): bonga, chonga, longa, piga stori, rapu;
    Nouns & noun phrases (n & n.phr): redio mbao, redio saba saba, stori;

(27) v.phr: mwaga nyeti, uza gazeti, tema sumu, zungusha pira;
    n: sumu, usiku, uzushi;
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(28) v & v.phr: chapia, cheza chesi, funga kamba, kupa saundi, leta za kuleta, piga bao, piga fiksi, pwaga, ua, yeyusha;
   n & n.phr: kamba, longolongo, makuzi, miyeyusho, miyeyu, za kigeni;

(29) v & v.phr: kauka, kula jiwe, kula shaba, meza pini, mezea, piga kimya;
   n: mikausho.

(30) n.phr: domo gundi, domo limejaa kokoto, domo lina ujauzito, domo zege, domo zito;

(31) v & v.phr: jigamba, jikweza, jipaisha, jishaua, jishebedua, jishongondo, nata, vunga;
   n & n.phr.: mashauzi, mzee wa mikogo, ujiko;

(32) English: bibisii, ung’eng’e, kikristu, kizungu, ingia external, tema ngeli, tema ung’eng’e;
   Youth language: kibongo, kiswanglish;

(33) Names for mobile phones: gobole, foma limau, kiberiti, kicheni pati, kilongalonga, mche wa sabuni, mshindi, twanga pepeta;
   Use of mobile phones: bipu, promota, shavu;

(34) v: fotoa;
   n & n.phr: bluu, foto, kideo, kioo, maiki, muvi, muziki mnene, pilau;

4.3 Body & Appearance

In the domain of “Body” most terms relate to the female body (35) and its sexually marked parts: breasts (36), hips (37), buttocks (38), and legs (39). Buttocks are obviously considered the most important part of a woman’s body, since this field is most elaborated. The male body does not receive much attention, but some terms are gender neutral (40). High attention is payed to male clothing (41) as well as female clothing (42). Like fashion comes and goes the terms with respect to special clothes are among those which are conjected to rapid change. Since at least ten years, the generic term denoting “fashionable, expensive clothes” has become pamba. The importance of a good and fashionable look is also reflected in the verbs relating to appearance (43). Men’s hairstyle (44) is of interest, as well as women’s cosmetics (45). Adornment, like jewelry and watches plays a role (46). All in all the composition of this domain reflects that the creators of LyM are male. The creative procedures which lead to the terms are highly interesting and will be discussed in the next chapter. The standard form vaa nguo ‘wear clothes’ is replaced in LyM by phrasemes like kula pamba, and pigilia nguo, as well as the verbs tinga and wamba.

(35) inglish figa, kipótabo, pótabo, kishtobe, namba sita, namba nane, namba tisa, namba kumi;
4.4 Economy, Money & Occupation

When examining the structure of the domain of economy and money, it is revealed that the creators of LyM do not have a concept where qualification and performance count. Instead the metaphor of “game” for economic activities shows that they experience little jobs and businesses as depending on hazard and relationships (47). This is due to the economic situation where regular employment is granted to relatively few. Because people often do not know on what they will live tomorrow, their thoughts focus very much on money. There are a number of terms denoting money in general (48), paper money (49), and coins (50). The great number of those terms results from the different motivations for metonymies and metaphors, such as size, form, colour, image, function, and value. Another well developed semantic field comprises terms that denote the state of being broke (51). Different kinds of professions, occupations and unemployment are as well represented (52) as terms relating to selling and
buying (53). Mining as a very special economic sector has produced its own lexemes, of which we have collected few (54).

(47) bangaiza, cheza bingo, dili, kamua, kula vichwa, mchongo, misheni, pigia debe, tema;

(48) alasiri, chapaa, dola, famba, faranga, fuba, goto, jiwe, mafweza, mapene, mavumba, mbumba, michuzi, mkwanja, mshiko, ngawila, ngudongudo, uchache, vumba;

(49) baba wa taifa, bluu, buku, buku teni, kifaru, kilo, kisu, majani, mkoba, nusu kilo, pochi, tenga, vifaru viwili, wekundu wa msimbazi;

(50) bati, dala, doma, fisi, gobole, gwalu, hais, jero, jiti, karume, mbala, njoroge, nyanga, nyento, nyomi, paundi, pini;

(51) apeche alolo, arosto, waya, mabaga, majalala, ukapa, chacha, chalala, kalukwa, kauka, pigika, rosti, uawa kishenzi, ungua jua, waka;

(52) deiwaka, ushanta, konda, mwela, mzungu wa reli, pailoti, paparazzi, suka, goli, juu yam awe, poteza kitumbua.

(53) bei ya mchekea, chee, simamia;

(54) mwanaapolo, nyoka;

4.5 Sex

This domain is dominated by terms referring to sexual intercourse (55), styles of sex (56), the penis (57), masturbation (58), kissing and petting (59), impregnation (60), and condoms (61). The terms mainly represent a male angle of view. The food metaphor is very much present, as well as an accentuation of the active role of the male part. This is especially expressed by verbs such as pigia, chapa, gonga, kaza, tia, vuta, which reflect a certain degree of aggressiveness. The terms denoting homosexuals have been treated in 4.1.

(55) chapa nao, chikichia, chini, gonga ngozi, kaza, kazana, kong'oli, kula ngozi, kula uroda, magoli, mikasi, mikuno, pata blanketi, pigia bao, pigia mt, pigia nao, tia, vuta luzi, wazungu;

(56) kula mande, liwa dude, mjengo, mshikaki, mtungo, shikishwa ukuta;

(57) mt;

(58) pigia nyeto, pigia puri, shuka mnazi;
4.6 Drugs & Alcohol

Drugs, especially alcohol, play an important role in the lives of young men. Consumer habits obviously are different between young men and women, but are not yet explored in detail. For young men it is predominantly a group activity, whereas women take part when invited by men. The largest semantic field is that relating to alcohol, where we can discern generic terms for alcoholic drinks (62), beer (63), and hard liquors (64). Terms to describe drunkenness (65) are outweighing those denoting other drug experience (66). Many terms denoting marijuana and marijuana cigarettes exist (67), but other drugs are also represented in the LyM lexicon (68). Drug dealers as well as drug user get their own terms (69). In the whole domain of drugs euphemisms and synecdoches abound.

(62) keroro, kilaji, kilauri, kinywaji, maji, mitungi, mvinyo, tungi, ulabu;
(63) chang’aa, laga, maji ya dhahabu, mataputapu, mnazi, ngano;
(64) kachaso, machozi ya samba, maji makali, nipa, rungu, supa la mawe, totopaki;
(65) bomba, bunduki, bwi, chichi, chákari, jicho nyanya, keroro, mitungi, nusu peponi nusu kuzimu;
(66) mishangashanga, stimu, tintedi;
(67) blanti, ganja, jicho la tatu, kaya, kijiti, majani, mneli, msuba, mtetemba temka, ndumu, nyasi, nyunyu, kula blanti, kula nyasi;
(68) bwimbwi, gamu, palma, poda, unga;
(69) mzungu wa unga, pablo, pusha, teja;

4.7 Movement & Vehicles

By far the largest semantic field within this domain is that of “going away” and “running away” (70). This reflects the fact that the creators of LyM, i.e. especially the youths, are moving around by foot. The twenty verbs and verbal phrases which were said to denote “make off, go away” presumably differ in slight nuances, but time did not allow to explore them in detail. A number of terms denote the speed of a movement (71), some relate to sitting (72), some to coming and arriving (73). The creators of LyM normally do not own cars, but
cars are desired objects for them, which are well evaluated (74). The daladala minibuses are the means of transport for many people in Dar es Salaam, and the daladala personnel have their own sub-culture and use of language (75). Ships and airplanes are the means to reach richer countries, something many youths dream of (76).

(70) Go away: anza, chikichia, chomoa, ishia, jiachia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, kula bunda, kula kona, kunjuka, lala mbele, ondoa kiwingu, toa kiwingu, piga bao, sanzuka, tambaa, timua (mbio), yesa, yeya;
(Have managed to) run away: chanja mbuga, chomoka, ingia mitini, sevu.

(71) ado ado, fasta fasta, narenare, shaashaa, spidi mia na ishirini;

(72) bana, jiegesha, poa

(73) ibuka, timbwanga, zuka;

(74) baluni, disiem, dungu, gafu, kicheni pati, kipanya, macho ya samaki, mama koku, mayai, mchuma, mkweche, ndinga, panya, tizediara, debe;

(75) konda, suka, majeruhi, maiti, mzungu wa reli, piga debe;

(76) debe, mtamba, pipa;

4.8 Evaluative terms

The terms evaluating quality (77), quantity (78), and intensity (79) are presented together. By far most of them express positive evaluation. This could be interpreted in the context of admiring and boasting.

(77) Nice: babu kubwa, bomba, chee, chuma, fiti, freshi, funika bovu, gado, jibu, kaa freshi, kwa chati, magoli, mambo ya isidingo, mavituz, mnyama, mtibwa, mukide, mwake naye, ngângari, pasnali, pina, poa, shega, smati, spesheli, taiti, tiki, yekeete;
Bad: bomu, choo, kavu, kimeo, mram, msala, ngarangara, noma;

(78) Little: ado ado, chwee, yeyuka;
Much: bwena, bwi, kedekede, kibao, lumbesa, nyomi, shazi;

(79) -a kufa mtu, -a nguvu, ile mbaya, kichizi, kinoma, kishenzi, kwa kwenda mbele, narenare;
4.9 Experience

This semantic domain has extremely fuzzy edges. We have put all lexical items here which relate to the senses and emotions, except those related to drug experience. Within this field we discern sensory matters (80), amazement (81), fear, shame, angeriness, and threatening (82), unrest and confusion (83), premonition (84), enjoyment and love (85), disappointment and unkindness (86).

(80) cheki, chikichia, tega antenna, kula kwa macho;
(81) bloo, macho balbu, shingo fen, simama dede;
(82) mkinga, mзуka, tumbo joto, noma, soo, ndita, panda kichizi, chimba biti;
(83) mapepe, mchezeto, wenge, data, pagaisha, datisha, zingua
(84) chale, machale, mgutugutu;
(85) jidunga, jirusha, tesa, ua, vinjari, bloo, fia, konda;
(86) kata stimu, lia, zimisha fegi, ntimanyongo, roho ya korosho, roho ya kwa nini;

4.10 Trouble & Violence

Trouble (87) and violence are part of the lives of youths in Tanzania. The semantic fields of “beating” (88) and “threatening” (89) are particularly elaborated.

(87) jumba bovu, shobo, noma, skendo, kashikashi, palichimbika, valangati, bebelebebele, bifu, gozi, kasheshe, kina, udwanzi:
(88) bonda, kerubi, kloniti, kon’oli, kon’ota, kosovo, lamba njiti, mikiki, ngeta, pasua mangumi ya jela, timori, uosama;
(89) biti, mikwara, undava, weka kibesi, zika, chimba biti;

4.11 Crime & Police

As stated by J. Degera, one of the functions of LyM is to exclude the police from overhearing conversations among youths. This applies mostly to drug-users and jobless youths who engage in some criminal activities. Presumably the semantic domain relating to these areas is well elaborated. However, as we did not have access our data may represent only a small part of it. Many terms denoting criminal acts have to do with stealing (90), cheating (91), and harming people physically (92). There are a range of terms denoting police (93) and police cars (94), as well as matters related to prison (95).
4.12 Food

Since the majority of youths do not have a job or regular income, regular meals are not guaranteed. Thus it is not surprising that the domain of food is well elaborated in LyM. Contributing to the importance of the domain of food in the LyM lexicon is the experience of low quality and sometimes insufficient alimentation in boarding schools. The generic term chakula ‘food, meal’ has widely been replaced by msosi, probably derived from English ‘sauce’. Ugali ‘stiff porridge’ (96) and rice (97) both have got a range of LyM equivalents. This applies also to the act of eating (98). Furthermore, some special kinds of food are represented (99).

(96) Bondo, dona, dongo, nafaka, nguna, sembe;
(97) Bweche, mavi ya panya, mpunga, nyali, punja, punje, ubeche, ubwabwa;
(98) Bunya, finya, jichana, kandamiza, kula kwa saiti mira, lumangia, suna;
(99) Kiepe, kitimoto, lambalamba, mapochopocho, mapokopoko, mnuso, sumu, supu ya mawe, viepe yai;

4.13 Disease

The disease that poses the biggest threat especially to young people is AIDS. Therefore it receives extra attention in LyM. In spite of the campaigns on AIDS prevention and consciousness it is still avoided to speak openly about the disease, especially in connection to somebody being affected. In order to avoid the Standard Swahili word ukimwi ‘AIDS’ there are a range of terms to replace it (100). These are not particularly restricted to urban youth groups, but are in use all over the country by many people. Figurative verbal phrases denote the acquisition of the HIV-virus, as well as the symptoms (101).

(100) feruzi, mdudu, minyenyele, miwaya, msaada, mtandao, ngoma, ngwengwe, nyenyere, nyola, umeme, virusi;
4.14 Geography & Place

With regard to countries and places LyM has its own categories. Two basic ones are the living quarters in town where settlement is characterised by *vichochoro* (narrow paths between houses) (102), vs. places or countries where one would love to go because of the hope for a better life (103). Furthermore there are nicknames for Tanzania and Dar es Salaam (104), “at home” (105) “the (jobless) youths’ meeting places” (106), “places of amusement” (107), and some others (108). Note that the nicknaming of places is widespread. It is often achieved by manipulating or shortening the official name. Thus *Kinondoni* in Dar es Salaam came to be called *Kino*. The creative processes involved in the formation of place names are especially interesting (see etymologies in the dictionary). The terms in (102) represent stages in a progressive derivation, i.e. *uswahilini* > *uswaa* > *uswazi*. *Uswaa* is derived from *uswahilini* by terminal clipping. In a next step *zi*, proably an adapted version of the English plural marker, has been suffixed.

(102) *uswahilini, uswaa, uswazi;*

(103) South Africa: *bondeni, kwa Mzee Mandela, kwa Mzee Thabo, sauz, saus*; Europe: *majuu, mamtoni*; Britain: *kwa Bi mkubwai;*

(104) *Bongoland, Bongo, Dizim;*

(105) *chimbo, geto, kitaani, kota, ndina;*

(106) *joblesi kona, kijiweni, skani;*

(107) *debe, kiwanja, kwanja, kivulini;*

(108) *peponi* ‘airport’, *njiapanda ya Ulaya* ‘road to the airport’, *chobi* ‘corner’, *choo paspoti saizi* ‘unroofed toilette’, *goli* ‘working place’, *bushi* ‘rural area’.

4.15 Education

Terms relating to education basically express the hard work needed to succeed in one’s studies (109). Some of these also convey some kind of contempt for people who put efforts in learning and studying, maybe motivated by envy. *Skonga* is widely used for ‘school’ nowadays. It should be noted here that school, college and university campuses always produce some special lexicon on school matters. Only few of them have been incorporated in the dictionary (110). Metonymies based on form are widely used to denote school results (132).
(109) bucka, chimba, Joni Kisomo, kesha na vitabu;

(110) jiwe, kijiti, vijiti viwili, msondo, karai, kitambi, bendera, desa.

4.16 Sports

Sports, especially football is one of the pastime activities of male youths, and there is a range of lexemes and expressions in this domain. They are confined to the context of actual matches, where we did not conduct our research und thus collected only few items. On the other hand football is an important source domain for metaphors and metonymies (see 5.3).

(111) gemu, gozi, patulo, piga ndonga, toa boko.

4.17 Weapons

For weaponry the same applies as with football: presumably there is a special lexicon used by certain groups and circles, but we have not explored this. Hence, there are only few terms relating to weapons in our collection. However, this is a source domain of some importance.

(112) chuma, mchuma, mguu wa kuku, ngoma.

4.18 Cultural innovation

The use of telecommunication has spread enormously and plays an important role since the radio networks have been spread over almost the whole country. Owning a mobile phone is also a sign of prestige, although that depends to a certain degree on the model. The internet is used, but the prices at internet cafés limit the frequency of visits there. Videos are popular, and not confined to young people. They are watched at home, in public showrooms, and in the internet. The latter is also used to download pornographic sites. Hiphop Music called Bongo Fleva is very much associated with the youths, which is reflected in the expression muziki ya kizazi kipya ‘music of a new generation’. Many young people dream of becoming a successful rapper as a way to achieve wealth and prestige. The lexicon of the Bongo Fleva scene draws on English terms. The domain of “Telecommunication” has been treated in 4.1.2.

(113) Video: kideo, kioo, muvi, pilau, bluu;

(114) Bongo Fleva: achia mistari, chana mistari, dondosha mistari, shusha mistari, pafomu, maiki, supastaa;

4.19 Time

In the domain of time borrowed lexemes have been substituted for Standard Swahili terms. The source language is mainly English, but one term, liamba ‘morning’ is borrowed from an indigenous language.
(115) **dei, deile, dilei, jeitano, jeitatu, liamba, tomoro;**

**5. The poetic making of *Lugha ya Mitaani***

Since the spirit of the *LyM* style of speaking lives in its lexical creations, it is necessary to take a closer look at the strategies of manipulation applied to create new items from pre-existing ones. In order to properly identify these processes of coinage, one has to take into account prior forms and meanings which have preceded the contemporary ones, i.e. from which the present ones are supposedly derived. Thus at first glance, one source of *LyM* items is transfer from English, illustrated in (116).

(116) **Borrowings from English**

\begin{itemize}
  \item *muvi* ‘video’ < SE *movie*
  \item *neti* ‘prison’ < SE *net*
  \item *dili* ‘secret, affair, deal’ < SE *deal*
  \item *geto* ‘youths’ sleeping quarter, room’ < SE *ghetto*
\end{itemize}

However, the majority of these items are not simply transferred from English. They are instead altered phonologically, morphologically and semantically. Thus, to derive the meaning ‘youths’ sleeping quarters’ from English *ghetto* involves a metonymic shift in meaning. Invoking restrictions on Swahili syllable structure may account for the epithetic vowels in *neti* and *dili*, but it does not explain the metonymic semantic changes observed which produce what might be called pseudo-anglicisms from the perspective of the donor language (118). Morphological appropriation of English loanwords is attested in the examples in (117) where initial syllables *ki* and *vi* of the English root are interpreted as class markers 7/8 in the Swahili frame.

(117) **Morphological appropriation of English transfers**

\begin{itemize}
  \item *kideo* ‘cinema’ < SE *video*
  \item *vilabu* ‘bars’, *labulabu* ‘drinking habit’ < SS *kilabu* < SE *club*
\end{itemize}

(118) **Pseudo-anglicisms**

\begin{itemize}
  \item *sevu* ‘run away’ < SE *save*
  \item *neti* ‘prison’ < SE *net*
  \item *cheki* ‘look, see’ < SE *check*
  \item *maindi* ‘like, want’ < SE *mind*
  \item *geto* ‘youths’ sleeping quarter, room’ < SE *ghetto*
\end{itemize}

Urban youth languages such as *LyM* creatively appropriate borrowed items by manipulating them on the phonological, morphological and semantico-pragmatic level. The linguistic strategies are not entirely different from those employed in other situations when
speakers assume control over their language, i.e. in situations of taboo, in registers of respect such as hlonipha (Finlayson 1995, Herbert 1990), in secret languages, in initiation languages, and in corpus planning (e.g. Abdulaziz 1984, Ohly 1987b, Irira 1995). Urban youth language, however, stands out from some of these other phenomena of deliberate language manipulation in that it combines an artistic, a competitive and a provocative element. This is reflected in linguistic form by a particular emphasis on strategies of manipulation such as metaphors, hyperbole and dysphemism, phonological truncation / clipping and dummy affixation, the use of borrowed affixes, partly in new functions and operating on foreign material. Most of these manipulations could also be found in LyM. Metaphorical semantic extension accounts for about 32% of lexical elaboration in our data, metonymic extension for about 16%, onomastic synecdoche for 5%, and transfer from other languages for about 17%. For roughly 25% of our data we could not obtain etymological explanations. Metaphors are of particular interest, not only because they are predominating in the poetic making of LyM, but also because the associations seem often far-fetched to the outsider. A closer look on source domains and cognitive motivation will be enlightening in this respect.

5.1 Hyperbole and dysphemism

The most important strategies of lexical manipulation in LyM are hyperbole and dysphemism, both realised by metaphor and metonymy, and both adding up to achieve a loudmouth effect.

The hyperbolic effect of a gross exaggeration could be achieved either by metaphors that operate with semantic incompatibilities, e.g. in idiomatic expressions such as supu ya mawe (119), or by metonymic transfers such as onomastic synecdoche, e.g. in (120) where various names of hot spots of crises such as East Timor and Kosovo as well as names of personifications of great powers such as the former president of the US, Bill Clinton, are invoked to derive the meaning ‘to beat’.20 Hyperbole could also be combined with irony, e.g. in tesa (121) which is used to refer to its very opposite.

(119) Hyperbole by metaphor
- supu ya mawe ‘hard liquor’ < SS ‘soup of stones’
- kata gogo ‘defecate’ < SS ‘cut a log’
- jicho la mamba ‘watch’ < SS ‘crocodile’s eye’
- buzi ‘temporary sexual partner of a woman, who is well-off and maintains her; (well-off) man who provides financial support for a woman in exchange for a sexual relationship’ > SS ‘big goat’

20 One would not even be surprised if there was a recent update innovation nitakuiraku. The popularity of this principle in onomastic synecdoche is also confirmed by older Swahili slang forms such as katanga ‘fight’ (Ohly 1987a: 42), derived from the name of the Eastern Kongo province.
(120) Hyperbole by onomastic synecdoche

\[ \text{nitakutimori} = \text{nitakukosovo} = \text{nitakuklintoni} \] ‘I will beat you up’ < East Timor, Kosovo, Bill Clinton

\[ \text{uosama} \] ‘massacre’ < Osama-bin-Laden

\[ \text{pilato} \] ‘judge’ < Pilatus (Kihore 2004: 117)

(121) Hyperbole plus irony

\[ \text{tesa} \] ‘enjoy a lot’ < SS ‘afflict pain, cause trouble’

\[ \text{uawa kikatili} \] ‘enjoy beyond limit’ < SS ‘be killed in a cruel way’

Another type of hyperbole by metonymy is attested in the reply \text{baridi} ‘good, fine’ to greetings such as \text{mambo}. This extension of SS \text{baridi} ‘cold’ is an intensification of the pre-existent reply \text{poa} ‘cool’ common in colloquial greetings.

Hyperbolic effects could also be achieved by augmentative derivation, i.e. the replacement of nouns by their augmentative counterparts (122), e.g. the augmentative use of \text{dongo} for ‘porridge’ and \text{bongo} for ‘Dar es Salaam’, derived from \text{udongo} ‘clay’ and \text{ubongo} ‘brains’, respectively.

(122) Hyperbole by morphological derivation

\[ \text{dongo} \] ‘porridge’ < ‘big lump of clay’ < SS \text{udongo} ‘clay’

\[ \text{gozi} \] ‘shoe’ < ‘large hide, large piece of skin’ < SS \text{ngozi} ‘skin, hide’

\[ \text{bongo} \] ‘Dar es Salaam’ < ‘large brain’ < SS \text{ubongo} ‘brain’

Dysphemism, the contrary to euphemism, i.e. cladding a neutral concept in disrespectful terms, is exemplified by the use of \text{debe} ‘tin can’ for the meaning ‘ship’ and \text{dongo} ‘big lump of clay’ for the meaning ‘porridge’ (123).

(123) Dysphemism

\[ \text{amezamia debe kwenda bondeni.} \] ‘He has boarded a ship to South Africa as a blind passenger’ < ‘He has sunk into a tin going to the valley’

\[ \text{zamia debe} \] ‘be on board of a ship as blind passenger’ < SS \text{zama} ‘sink down into liquid’, \text{zamia} ‘sink into, dive (for pearls)’

\[ \text{debe} \] ‘ship’ < SS ‘tin can’

\[ \text{bondeni} \] ‘South Africa’ < SS ‘in the valley’

\[ \text{dongo limeyeyuka.} \] ‘Porridge is out.’ < ‘The clay is molten.’

\[ \text{dongo} \] ‘porridge’ < SS ‘big lump of clay’

\[ \text{yeyuka} \] ‘be used up’ < SS ‘melt’

\[ \text{kutinga makatalogi} \] ‘wear nice fashionable clothes’ < ‘shaking catalogues’

\[ \text{tinga} \] ‘wear’ < SS ‘shake’

\[ \text{makatalogi} \] ‘nice fashionable clothes’ < SE catalogue

\[ \text{pipa} \] ‘aeroplane’ < SS ‘barrel, tub, cask’

\[ \text{gozi} \] ‘leather shoe’ < SS ‘large hide, large piece of skin’

\[ \text{mguu wa kuku} \] ‘gun’ < SS ‘leg of a chicken’
Dysphemisms also find entry by the practice of jocular dissing (Berns & Schlobinski 2003: 221), i.e. playful mockery, frequently performed by youths, seen in an example (170) below from the film ‘Girlfriend’. This practice creates a constant need for new terms of abuse and invectives such as mpanda farasi, muuzaji madafu, bwege, mjuaji.

It is not always clear if a dysphemistic intention is involved in the creation of a new term, since the connotations from the cultural background cannot be assessed. Thus, does the metaphorical extension of SS nata ‘be sticky, adhere, stick’ tinge the target meaning ‘boast’ with a negative shade or is it the other way round? Things get more complicated still, since original dysphemistic motivations might fade out quickly. Thus, mapene ‘(much) money’ might represent a dysphemistic extension derived from a transfer of SE ‘penny’. However, this assumption cannot be based directly on speakers’ intuition (any more), it could only be inferred from an attestation in older Swahili slang as pene jike ‘5 cents’ and pene dume ‘10 cents’ (Ohly 1987a: 67). In a similar vein, a historical dysphem which might underlie the composition of changudoa ‘female prostitute’ is not accessible to modern speakers any more: it could have been based on a compound of SS changu referring to a fish species which is cherished as very good eating and SS doa ‘mark, blotch, stain’, possibly also motivated by association with changanya ‘copulate’ and changua ‘lay a woman’ in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 26). In these cases it is only by internal reconstruction and reference to older sources that prior application of dysphemism could be inferred.

5.2 Humoristic effects

Apart from creating hyperbolic, ironic and dysphemistic effects, another driving force in semantic manipulation certainly is to take an unusual and humoristic perspective on common events, experiences and situations. This attitude breeds shifts, metaphoric and metonymic, which are not easily comprehensible for outsiders and which contribute to the attractiveness of this style of speaking. This becomes manifest in witty idiomatic expressions in (124) where it could happen that all components are actually Standard Swahili, but the phraseme as a unit could be addressed as belonging to the LyM register, some of them listed as misemo ya mitaani by Kihore (2004: 116).

(124) Seemingly far-fetched semantic shifts in metaphors and metonymies

kiti moto ‘porc’ < ‘hot seat’
kata stimu ‘disappoint’ < ‘cut off steam’
zimisha fegi ‘disappoint’ < ‘extinguish the cigarette’
fuga ndevu ‘live with a homosexual partner (men)’ < SS ‘grow / domesticate a beard’
chacha vibaya ‘be completely broke’ < SS chacha ‘turn sour, go bad, spoil’
tembeza bakora ‘beat with a stick’ < SS tembeza ‘cause to walk about’
pachika dongo ‘use bad language’ < SS pachika ‘fasten, fix’, LyM dongo ‘big lump of clay’
chana neti ‘impregnate’ < SS chana ‘slit, tear’, SE ‘net’
nyea debe ‘be in prison’ < SS ‘shit in the tin’
baba askofu ‘homosexual man < SS ‘father bishop’

The humoristic effect in these extensions is often achieved by synecdoche which either singles out one particular aspect of a situation as its prototypical representation, e.g. *nyea debe* ‘shit in the tin’ for ‘be in prison’, or which tinges a referent or a situation with an extra-semantic idea brought in by a semantically very specific word in a process of generalisation. Thus, generalising SS *ibuka* ‘pop up, appear (of a problem), emerge, resurface’ for the meaning ‘come, appear’ in a sentence such as *mademu bomba wameibuka* ‘the beauties came’ creates the image of girls popping up like corks in a liquid. And generalising *bana* ‘jam, press, squeeze’ for the meaning ‘sit’ reflects the jocular intention to view the experience of sitting sandwiched between other people, e.g. in a *daladala* bus. In a similar vein, the common *LyM* item *cheki* generalised for the meaning ‘look’ from the meaning ‘control, inspect, examine, verify’ of the English original *check* lends an element of inquisitiveness to every act of looking.

A special instance of creating humoristic effects could be seen in the strategy of derivative transposition of a noun into class 7 in order to refer to a person, drawing on the metonymic potential of class 7 to view persons under the aspect of one single salient property (Contini-Morava n.d., Contini-Morava 1997, Mreta, Schadeberg & Scheckenbach 1997, Beck 2003: 319). Thus *kimòbitel* ‘slim lady’ in (125) highlights the slimness of the human referent by deriving the noun in class 7 from the colloquialised English borrowing *mobitel* ‘cell phone’.

(125) Transposition to class 7 for viewing humans under the aspect of a salient property

- *kidosho* ‘beautiful girl’ < ?
- *kimòbitel* ‘slim lady’ < SE *mobitel* ‘cell phone’
- *kiluzi* ‘lady with a strong and constant sexual appetite’ > SE ‘loose [ball]’
- *kinabo* ‘layman, country bumpkin’ < ?
- *king’asti* ‘gigolo’ < ?
- *kikáladi* ‘half-breed, coloured’ < SE coloured

This attitude of witticism might also be responsible for euphemisms such as *rupango* in (126). These euphemisms tend to cluster in contexts of secret and criminal activities, though it seems that they are used not in order to veil illegitimate criminal purposes or unfavourable conditions, but rather for the sake of celebrating an ambivalent and provocative difference in point of view on a socially stigmatised activity, i.e. flirting with an antisocial perspective on shared norms, and at the same time deliberately satirizing the gesture of trying to veil something unfavourable by words.

(126) Euphemism

*rupango / lupango* ‘prison’ < SS *pango* ‘cave’, though with import from another Bantu language?
5.3 Metaphors

The source domains in metaphorical transfers and the background of metonymies effectively point to the semantic humus in youth imagery. It must be noticed that quite a number of them are connected with the rural or traditional environment. These are:

(127) Live stock: 
- **buzi** ‘big goat’ > ‘man who supports a woman financially in exchange for a sexual relationship’,
- **ng’ombe** ‘cow’ > ‘person who has money and is getting pinned down by hooligans’,
- **akademiki buzi** ‘academic goat’ > ‘man who is used by a girl to help her with academic work’;

Agriculture: 
- **fyeka mnazi** ‘cut down the coconut tree’ > ‘kill’,
- **balungi** ‘grapefruit’ > ‘large female breast, tit’,
- **mwembe** ‘Afro hairstyle’,
- **tikitimaji** ‘large female breast’;

Weather: 
- **full kipupwe** ‘full rainy season’ > ‘air cooled by air condition, e.g. in a car’;

Food: 
- **asali wa moyo** ‘honey of the heart’ > ‘girlfriend, boyfriend’,
- **bwabwa** ‘homosexual man’ < soft cooked rice;

An important source domain from the social environment is kinship (128), which is especially used for terms of address:

(128) 
- **anti** ‘aunt’ > ‘woman; homosexual man; beautiful girl’;
- **babu** ‘grandfather > friend;
- **mwanangu** ‘my child’ > friend;
- **babu kubwa** ‘great grandfather’ > ‘very nice’;

However, other salient cognitive “landmarks” used for structuring youth experience and thought originate in the spheres of popular modern culture, sports (mainly football), cars and traffic, electricity, telecommunication, and beverages, reflecting major juvenile preoccupations. Thus, the idiom **acha kwenye mataa** used for ‘leave in the dark, leave in the lurch’ is based on the situation frequently encountered in urban life when red traffic lights force one to stop and block one from continuing one’s activities. Traffic imagery and mainly cars also structure the following metaphors and metonymies: 
- **chesa** derived from the name of the car model Toyota “Chaser” is taken to mean ‘car’ in general by onomastic synecdoche and ‘virgin’ by metaphor motivated by the attractiveness and high prestige of this car; 
- **jeki** derived from English ‘jack’ is extended to refer to ‘bra’, motivated by a functional parallel: in the same way as a jack is used for lifting cars, a bra is used for lifting breasts; 
- **jero** refers to a ‘note of 500 TSh’ and is derived from a truncated version of the name of the car model Mitsubishi “Pajero”, motivated by the simultaneous appearance of both items in about 1997. 
- The term **juu ya mawe** for the meaning ‘be without job’, a metaphorical extension of ‘on the stones’, is based on the common image of a car which is broken down and jacked up on stones. Finally, **kawoshi** ‘sleeveless top’, metonymically transferred from English ‘carwash’ is
based on the habit of men to wear sleeveless T-shirts when washing cars in order to prevent their clothes from getting wet.

Electricity is used as a source domain for AIDS, e.g. in *pata sho(r)ti* ‘get a stroke from short circuit’ > ‘get infected with HIV’, *kanyaga miwaya* ‘tread on wires’ > ‘get infected with HIV’ and *miwaya* ‘wires’ > ‘HIV/AIDS’. The comparison is motivated by the danger associated with electrical gear.

Telecommunication serves as the basic domain in *antena* ‘ears’ (< ‘antenna’), *kimobitel* ‘slim lady’ (< SE *mobitel* ‘cell phone’), *tivi* ‘sunglasses’ (< TV).

Other forms of entertainment such as games form the basis in *cheza bingo* ‘try one’s luck (< ‘play bingo’), *cheza chesi* ‘cheat’ (< ‘play chess’), *bingo* ‘guy who is taken for a ride for his money’ (< ‘bingo’), *basha* ‘homosexual man’ (< ‘king in a suit of playing cards’).

Europeans also serve as a basis for metaphors and metonymies (129). Most of them are euphemistic. According to our informants, a *mzungu* is perceived as being well-off and enjoying life, a characteristic that contributes to the metaphors *mzungu wa unga* ‘drug dealer’, and *wazungu* ‘sperm’. *Mzungu wa nne* is derived from playing-cards, where *mzungu wa pili* denotes the jack, *mzungu wa tatu* the queen, and *mzungu wa nne* the king. These cards are called *mzungu* because they show European-type images. The numbers derive from the value of the respective cards. The cognitive motivation for *mzungu wa reli* ‘simpleton, fool’ could not be clearly traced. We were told that in former times, when people from up-country arrived by train in Dar es Salaam they were called *wazungu wa reli*. If this is the case, this euphemistic expression must have been revived recently.

(129) *mzungu wa nne* ‘sleeping position of two people, or a couple, where one sleeps head up, the other head down’ < king in a card game < white man
*mzungu wa reli* ‘simpleton’ < ?
*mzungu wa unga* ‘drug dealer’ < white man, perceived as well off.
*wazungu* ‘sperm’ < white colour, pleasure

Food and eating are well-known as metaphor for sexual relations. This accounts for phrasemes using *kula* ‘eat’ to express the activity of the male part in sexual intercourse. There are also terms denoting homosexual men as well as women which are taken from the domain of food. The underlying common concept is that of consumption.

Football is a special source domain, since it seems to offer a conceptual scheme where the speaker takes the position of a player in a football match. His aim is of course *piga bao* ‘to shoot a goal’ which generally means success. Conversely, the passive form *pigwa bao* ‘to receive a goal’ in *LyM* means ‘to be defeated’. A *goli* ‘goal’ is perceived as an area where one is in charge, and that accounts for its use as metaphor for ‘work place’. The overall connotation of a goal with ‘success’ may contribute to this metaphor, since it is considered a success to have a work place. The same connotation seems to be responsible for the metaphor
magoli, meaning ‘beautiful’. In respect with women the football metaphor is also activated. Again the creator or speaker of LyM imagines himself as a player on the field. If his wife stays at home as a housewife, he calls her golikipa ‘goalkeeper’, because he perceives her as waiting there to receive what he brings home. If there is a housegirl she is called beki tatu ‘back three’, which refers to the sweeper position in a match. Tuliza boli ‘slow down the ball’ metaphorically means to calm down, or to deescalate matters. The football metaphor works also with regard to sexual relationships with women. A woman with loose manners or a strong sexual appetite is called luzi (or kiluzi) ‘loose ball’, comparing her with a ball in a match that is not under the control of the players. Piga bao ‘shoot a goal’ compares the act of shooting a goal with that of ejaculating. However, when the shot has been too strong, then the goal’s net gets torn, and this is compared to the act of impregnating the woman: chana neti ‘tear the net’. Taking into account that football is a predominant pastime activity of male youths in Tanzania, it is not surprising that it serves as a source domain of some importance. The example of the source domain “football” also makes clear that metaphors can cohere within a semantic frame. It is the whole frame that gives them their meaning. Seen in this light, many metaphors which seem to be far fetched on first glance turn out to be clearly related to the item in comparison.

5.4 Cognitive motivation

In fact, many metaphors are surprising to the outsider, just because he or she is not familiar with the preferred principles of cognitive motivation. This ignorance can even lead to misinterpretation. An example shall illustrate this. When we realised that a number of terms denoting large female hips are related to weaponry, we thought that it had to do with sexual power attributed to women, sometimes perceived as a threat to men. However, in the end we realised that it was motivated by analogy of form between the silhouette of a cowboy wearing his weapon-belt, and large hips of a woman (130). From there the metaphor mvinyo ‘wine’ also made sense: it is motivated by analogy of form between a special type of wine-bottle, namely Mateus rosé, and large female hips.

(130) bastola ‘pistol(s)’, LyM ‘large female hips’< the silhouette of a cowboy with a pistol on each side of his hips.

pisto[ll]: dito
bunduki: metonymic extension of LyM bastola

Form is indeed a preferred basis for metaphors and metonymies. Thus, the form of a bottle of beer turned upside down is taken as a model for the shape of the ideal, ‘well-proportioned female lower leg with full shin and slim ankle’ in mguu wa bia ‘beer leg’, whereas the slimmer shape of a bottle of soda or a bottle of pepsi cola is the model for a ‘thin leg with well shaped ankle’ in mguu wa soda ‘soda leg’ and mguu wa pepsi ‘Pepsi leg’, respectively. Mguu wa tende ‘elephantiasis leg’ is a leg where the ankle is not shaped, and this is considered as less attractive. Kibendi ‘pregnancy’ is another metaphor which works through

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analogy of form: the large belly of a pregnant woman is compared to a pupil playing the big
drum in a school band. This drum is carried in front of the belly. Other instances of
motivation by form are illustrated in (131).

(131) kipótabo ‘slim lady’ < SE ‘portable’
mche wa sabuni ‘large mobile phone < bar of soap
foma limau ‘large mobile phone’ < bar of soap
mayai ‘car model Toyota Chaser with rounded back’ < egg
kiberiti ‘small car, small mobile phone’ < match box
kula kwa saiti mira ‘eat ugali with fish or meat, without gruel’ < side mirror at a car
lala mzungu wa nne ‘two people sleeping in different directions’ < double-images of
king in playing-cards, one head-up, the other head-down
macho ya samaki ‘car model Toyota Chaser with unrounded back and narrow tail
lights’ < eyes of fish
mguu wa kuku ‘pistol’ < hen’s leg
namba nane ‘well-proportioned woman’ < form of the number 8
oo ‘moustache in form of a circle surrounding the mouth < form of the letter o
roho ya korosho ‘tight-fisted behaviour’ < similarity of form between a cashew-nut
and a question-mark, referring to the question “why should I give you something?”

A special case in point is the metonymies used by pupils for school results, which are based
on form (132).

(132) msonge ‘division A’ < ‘round hut, thatched with grass’
karai ‘division C’ < ‘metal basin’
kitambi ‘division D’ < ‘belly’
bendera ‘division F’ < ‘flag’
kijiti ‘division one in school exams’ < ‘small stick’
vijiti viwili ‘division two in school exams < ‘two small sticks’

Using different source domains, and thus different cognitive motivation, leads to multiple
metaphors for similar objects. This can be well illustrated by the LyM lexemes denoting
money. There we find the cognitive motivation of form (gobole), colour (wekundu wa
msimbazi), image (karume), function (alasiri), temporal coincidence with other phenomena
(jero), and even experience associated with money (uchache). Another example is the big
behind of women, which has also led to the creation of multiple metaphors and metonymies
by different cognitive motivation (133):

(133) Motivation by form: baluni, fungasha nyuma, jazia sehemu za nyuma, nundu;
Motivation by dance style, or music: bambataa, kibinda nkoy, ndómbolo, taarabu,
tukunyema, wowowo;
Motivation by dysphemistic metonymy: haja Kubwa, mavi, mkundu, shuzi, tinginya;
On the other hand, it is common to find the same SS source item to be used as a base for different extensions producing different LyM items. Thus, mvinyo ‘wine’ is taken to mean any alcoholic drink by synecdochical extension, but at the same time it produces the meaning ‘large hips’ by metaphorical extension motivated by the shape of a certain kind of wine-bottle. Jiwe can mean ‘money’, ‘girl’, and ‘first degree’, while in the phraseme kula jiwe it means ‘words which are to be swallowed’. All meanings are probably motivated by the property of solidness. In a few cases the cognitive motivation of polysemic metaphors is not so clear, as for examples in ngoma, which can mean ‘AIDS’, ‘gun’, and ‘girl’.

Some metaphors structure target domains by a symmetrical transfer of antonymic pairs from a source domain. These are chesa ‘virgin’ and gofu ‘girl who is not a virgin any more’, chungwa ‘virgin’ and chenza ‘girl who is not a virgin any more’, nunga embe ‘woman who is not able to find a husband’ and nunga nanasi ‘man who is not able to find a wife’.

Pop culture, its media and its icons are invoked in coinages such as the following: bambataa ‘big buttocks’ (< name of Afrika Bambaataa, a US-American HipHop-DJ, adopted as the name of a popular African music program aired daily on Clouds FM, Dar es Salaam.), piga bushoke ‘sleep on the floor’ (< name of a musician who had a song about a man who was mistreated by his wife and had to sleep on the floor), twanga pepeta ‘mobile phone model Siemens c25’ (< the name of the music band “Twanga Pepeta”), ua bendi ‘spoil the show’ (< ‘kill the band’), feruzi ‘AIDS’ (< name of the rapper Ferooz who had a song about AIDS), king’asti ‘beautiful, slim girl, girlfriend’ (< address to a girl in a song of Mr. Nice), fiesta ‘kind of T-Shirt for men’ (< name of the music festival “Fiesta”), mtomba temka ‘Indian hemp, marijuana’ (< name of the Bongo Fleva musician Mtomba from the group TMK who is said to smoke marijuana heavily). Some LyM neologisms seem to have been strongly popularised via songs, e.g. king’asti ‘beautiful, slim girl, girlfriend’ (< song of Mr. Nice), mtoto wa geti kali ‘girl who is being guarded strictly by her parents’ (< song of Gangwe Mobb), promota ‘someone who beeps with mobile phone’ (< song of Mr. II “promota anabeep”), kibinda (nkoi) ‘fat buttock’ (< refrain of a song from Kofi Olumide, DR Congo), mikasi ‘sex’ (< refrain of a song “Mikasi” from Bongo Fleva by artist Ngwair), macho balbu, shingo feni ‘staring gaze, turning of the neck’ (< refrain of a song by Vijana Orchestra).

5.5 Onomastic synecdoche

The youths’ orientation towards popular culture, modern life, global and local politics and the media also finds its expression in the heavy use of onomastic synecdoche which cognitively ties a general phenomenon or experience to a special prototypical instance of it which is en vogue at the moment. Thus, feruzi ‘AIDS’ is based on the name of the rapper Ferooz and motivated by his song about AIDS; chauchau ‘chatterbox’ derives from the name of Bi. Chau, a character in a TV programme who was a chatterbox par excellence; emoro ‘200 ml bottle of Coca-Cola; short person’ is based on the name Emoro, a very small singer in the Congolese soukous band “Empire Bakuba” whose enchanting charm resided in his interaction with the
giant Pépé Kallé; sista P is an artist of Bongo Fleva music, who is also a very short person. That is why sista P has become a synonym of emoro in denoting short bottles of soft drinks; kihyo refers to an ‘incompetent person who pretends to be an expert’ and is allegedly based on the name of a former politician who used forged certificates of higher education; the phrase niko mabaga ‘I’m broke’ refers to a group of handicapped dancers called Mabaga. The cognitive motivation is the perceived deficiency in both cases.

More global sources of onomastic synecdoche could be seen above and in pablo ‘drug dealer’ based on the Spanish name ‘Pablo’, probably referring to the Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar. Special cases of onomastic synecdoche are involved in the naming of countries after their leading personage (134). This reflects a concept embedded in traditional culture, where family settlements are attributed to a head. The expression Kwa bi mkubwa is not dysphemistically motivated (as we suspected), but, to the contrary, expresses respect.

(134) South Africa: kwa Mzee Mandela, kwa Mzee Thabo
United Kingdom: kwa bi mkubwa ‘at the old lady’s’ < Queen Elizabeth II

The decoding of onomastic synecdoches often demands highly specific background knowledge, and that is probably what makes them so apt for the purpose of delineation between those who know and those who do not. Thus, the phrase weka kawawa ‘insert the transfer gear in a 4-wheel drive’ activates the name of the once prominent Tanzanian politician Rashidi Kawawa, former secretary general of the CCM and the second man at the side of president Nyerere. This stout man was the one who implemented unpopular political measures. Both of his prominent features — stoutness and power — motivated the metaphorical transfer to the short extra stick used to put in the 4-wheel-drive gear in an old Landrover. The noun maimuna ‘blockhead, someone who cannot understand a language, esp. a woman’ is derived from the female name Maimuna, taken from the context of an advertisement for English language courses where a secretary upon receiving a telephone call from an English speaking person does not understand a word and keeps repeating “mimi Maimuna”. The phrase mambo mtibwa ‘things are fine, things are going well’ invokes the name of a sugar cane variety which owes its name to “Mtibwa Sugar Estate”, a plantation and factory near Morogoro. For further examples of onomastic synecdoche see section 7 on LyM and the media.

5.6 Multiple semantic extensions

Complications in semantic development often arise from a successive application of several extensions which might still be transparent, but tend to become irrecoverable, as soon as its motivating context becomes inaccessible. Thus, jidunga for the meaning ‘to enjoy something’ could be derived from the phraseologism dunga sindano ‘give an injection’ in medical jargon by elision of sindano ‘needle, syringe’ and addition of the reflexive marker to render the meaning ‘give oneself an injection’, which is further extended to the target meaning ‘enjoy
something’ by metonymy under specialisation to the context of injecting drugs. Multiply chained metonymies or synecdoches such as this must also be held responsible for the development of *alasiri* ‘100 shillings’, *piga bushoke* ‘sleep on the floor’, *weka kawawa* ‘put the 4-wheel drive in gear’ and *bambataa* ‘big buttocks’. *Alasiri* originally meaning ‘afternoon’ has first been extended to refer to the afternoon newspaper *Alasiri*, and then in a second step to its price of 100 shillings. The phrase *piga bushoke* ‘sleep on the floor’ is based on the name Bushoke, a musician who had a song about a man who was maltreated by his wife and had to sleep on the floor; in this case, the onomastic synecdoche requires two steps: first, the name is taken to refer to the song, then it is further narrowed down to a particular salient event of that song. The phrase *weka kawawa* ‘insert the transfer gear in a 4-wheel drive’ is a metaphorical expression incorporating an onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the once prominent Tanzanian politician Rashidi Kawawa. The metaphor is motivated by similarity in shape between the stout (short and strong) stature of Kawawa and the short stick for the transfer gear. Finally, *bambataa* is an abbreviation of Afrika Bambaataa, the name of a US-American HipHop-DJ which has been used as the name of a popular African music programme “Bambataa”, aired daily on Clouds FM, Dar es Salaam, then transferred to those body parts which are prominently associated with this kind of music. In the cases of *alasiri*, *piga bushoke*, *weka kawawa* and *bambataa*, it could easily be imagined how these coinages will become opaque soon after the newspaper Alasiri and the Bambataa radio program are stopped, and the artist Bushoke and the politician Kawawa disappear from the wider public scene.

### 5.7 Folk etymologies

Generally, etymologies are remarkably well known by a great number of *LyM* users. Still in the periphery etymologies tend to become less known. The time factor also plays a role. Thus, when the memory of an event or personality that had led to the coining of a *LyM* item becomes obliterated, its etymology too is likely to fall into oblivion. In these cases people tend to knock up their own etymologies which seem logic to them. Our data show that in these cases the form serves as preferred cognitive motivation. *Mzungu wa nne*, denoting a sleeping position of two people in one bed, one head up, the other head down, was by one informant explained as sleeping position of two people, back to back, with feet bended. Each body then would have the form of a number 4. This informant obviously did not play cards, and thus did not know that the king in a deck of cards, from whose image the *LyM* term is derived, in Swahili is called *mzungu wa nne*. *Nunga nanasi*, meaning a man who has not got himself a wife, has been brought up by a popular song. An informant, obviously not knowing the song, explained, that it had to do with the raucous skin of the hands of a bachelor who has to do the washing by his own. His hands would look like an ananas (*nanasi*) *Wowowo*, denoting the big behind of a woman, is based on a dance style of that name. But since it is not in fashion any more, its memory has faded. Therefore, *wowowo* was explained by one informant as the admiring exclamations at the sight of such a behind, and by another as
relating to a story of sodomy by a dog, who was barking “wowowo”. Bondeni, a name for South Africa, was explained by some people as being motivated by the good economic state of that country which could be compared to a fertile area such as a valley (bonde), others associated the position on the globe (“down”) with the term. Majuu, a synonym for Europe, was frequently explained as motivated by the high (juu) living standard there, but some sources perceived it as relating to the orientation on a map: in the north (“upwards”; juu). Kipopo, a term to denote a woman who has not yet settled with a permanent partner, was explained by reference to popo ‘bat’, because of the restless behaviour of both. However, there is evidence that it could be derived from an older slang term limpopo with the same meaning (Ohly 1987a: 50).

5.8 Phraseologisms

On the syntactic level, LyM owes much of its flavor to phraseologisms, i.e. idiomatic combinations of verb plus complement or adjunct. Often a humoristic effect is achieved by a deliberate violation of their combinatorial properties with respect to semantic compatibility. Thus, the humoristic effect in chanja mbuga ‘run away, make off, slip away’ resides in the application of a manipulative verb such as chanja ‘incise’ to a patient object which refers to a huge landmark such as mbuga ‘grassland’. Verbs which feature most productively in phraseologisms are kula ‘eat, consume’, piga ‘beat, hit’, kata ‘cut’, weka ‘put’, lamba ‘lick’, tema ‘spit’, and mwaga ‘pour’.

(135) Phraseologisms with kula ‘eat, consume’

kula vichwa ‘get customers’
kula blanti ‘smoke marijuana’
kula bunda, kula kona ‘go away, run away’
kula chabo, kula chasi ‘peep, spy’
kula jiwe ‘be silly, play the ignorant fool, be quiet’
kula kwa macho ‘see nice food without being allowed to eat, see something without being able to obtain it’
kula mdeo ‘peep, look from a distance’
kula mnde ‘commit group rape with a number of men violating one woman’
kula ngozi ‘sleep with a girl’
kula nyasi ‘smoke marijuana’
kula nguo ‘wear clothes’
kula suruali ‘wear trousers’
kula pamba ‘be nicely dressed’
kula shaba ‘get shot; not tell something’
kula uroda ‘make love, have sex’
(136) Phraseologisms with weka ‘put’
weka kawawa ‘insert the transfer gear in a 4-wheel drive’
weka kibesi ‘threaten someone with words’
weka kipago ‘leave without instructions’
weka tuta ‘stand still, stop car’

(137) Phraseologisms with lamba ‘lick’
lamba dume ‘be successful’
lamba fuba ‘take money, steal money’
lamba mweleka ‘fall down’
lamba njiti ‘beat, hit with a stick’

(138) Phraseologisms with tema ‘spit’
tema mkwanja ‘give away money’
tema ngeli, tema ung’eng’e ‘speak English’
tema sumu ‘discredit’

(139) Phraseologisms with mwaga ‘pour’
mwaga macho ‘stare’
mwaga mtu kinyesi ‘put blame on someone, slander, calumniate’
mwaga nyeti ‘diffuse sensitive news’
mwaga sera ‘explain clearly’

(140) Phraseologisms with kata ‘cut’
kata stimu ‘disappoint’
kata shingo ‘stare at, esp. a woman by turning the neck; stop staring at’
kata kilauri ‘drink beer’
kata kamba ‘die’
kata gogo ‘defecate’

(141) Phraseologisms with piga ‘beat’
piga kibesi ‘threaten someone with words’
piga bao ‘score, defeat, win; sleep with a girl, ejaculate; go away; get stopped by police; cheat’
piga bunda ‘go away, run away’
piga bushoke ‘sleep on the floor’
piga chabo ‘peep, spy out through the keyhole’
piga chini ‘fall down, forbid’
pi̱ga debe ‘announce energetically’
pi̱ga deo, pi̱ga mdeo, kula mdeo ‘peep, look from a distance’
pi̱ga desh ‘go without meal for lack of money’
pi̱ga fiksi ‘tell lies, cheat’
pi̱ga fleva ‘flirt with a girl’
pi̱ga jeki ‘help’
pi̱ga kimya ‘be silent’
pi̱ga kona ‘have extramarital sex’
pi̱ga maji ‘drink alcohol’
pi̱ga mti, pi̱ga miti ‘make love, have sex’
pi̱ga mti kijembe ‘mock at someone’
pi̱ga mzinga ‘beg from someone, esp. money, cadge for, sponge, ask for money’
pi̱ga nao ‘make love, have sex’
pi̱ga ndonga ‘box, do boxing’
pi̱ga nyeto ‘masturbate (male)’
pi̱ga pazu ‘take a puff’
pi̱ga tarumbeta ‘drink from the bottle; gossip’
pi̱ga tochi ‘have a look at’
pi̱gilia nguo ‘wear clothes’
pi̱gwá bao ‘be cheated, be tricked, be robbed’
pi̱gwá buti ‘be abandoned’

There is some overlap in the use of kula ‘eat’ and pi̱ga ‘beat’, e.g. with chabo (kula chabo and pi̱ga chabo ‘peep, spy out’), bunda (kula bunda and pi̱ga bunda ‘go away, run away’), nguo (kula nguo and pi̱gilia nguo ‘wear clothes’), mdeo (kula mdeo and pi̱ga mdeo ‘peep, look from a distance’).

These phraseologisms often combine several strategies of semantic manipulations, i.e. they contain metaphorical as well as metonymic or synecdochical elements. Thus, kula vichwa ‘get customers’ contains a synecdochical extension of vichwa ‘heads’ for the meaning ‘customers’ (pars pro toto), while kula ‘eat, consume’ brings in a metaphorical transfer from the domain of eating to the domain of acquiring customers.

Many LyM nouns (and ideophones) which refer to states of experience in the widest sense, i.e. drug experience (142a) and experience of tight economic situations (141b), are restricted to the locative predications based on the locative copulae ko and po.

(142) States of experience encoded by locative predications
(a) niko bunduki, niko bwi, niko chicha, niko mitungi, nipo bomba ‘I am drunk.’
(b) niko rosto, niko mabaga ‘I am broke.’
This could be taken as reflecting a strategy to construe stative experiential situations such as these by spatial metaphors.

On the morphosemantic level, LyM neologisms offer the chance to study the integration of lexical items into the morphological system of the language, providing a testing ground for hypotheses relating to the vitality of semantic criteria in the assignment of nouns to genders. Thus, the items listed in (143) confirm the hypothesis (Contini-Morava n.d. and 1997) that gender 3/4 includes the notion of powerful and dangerous entities.

(143) Gender 3/4 for powerful and dangerous entities
mlupo ‘woman easily laid, floozy, prostitute (in some contexts)’
mshumaa ‘gay man, homosexual man’
mtambo ‘bad girl’
minyenyele, miwaya ‘AIDS’

Beside this, nouns seem to be reshuffled systematically from one gender to another. Thus, there is a tendency for nouns referring to humans to be reassigned to class 1 by prefixation of -m-. This is manifest in a set of LyM nouns in -m- which seem to be derived from prior nouns of similar meaning without -m-prefix, attested in Swahili slang reported by Ohly 1987. In cases such as dindi, LyM seems to preserve a situation of free variation of a form with or without prefix -m-.

(144) Drift of nouns with human referents to class 1
dindi > mdindi ‘father, daddy; leading man; important man with money; old man’
chizi ‘European, white man’ (Ohly 1987a: 28) > mchizi ‘cool guy, friend’
babe ‘stout’ (Ohly 1987a: 23) > mbabe ‘big and strong man, tyrant, aggressor’
sela ‘hooligan’ (Ohly 1987a: 72) > msela ‘wild youth, bachelor’
kidosho > mdosho ‘beautiful girl’

Apart from simply reflecting a formal adjustment of nouns to their morphological class, this process of -m-prefixation might as well reflect a shift of nouns to classes 1/2 which had originally been assigned to classes 5/6. Thus, the allocation to class 6 of machizi, the plural form of mchizi ‘cool guy, friend’, in the absence of an attested plural *wachizi in class 2, must be interpreted as a morphological relic which confirms the assumption that mchizi is really a secondary formation based on a precursor chizi allocated to the singular class 5 possibly identical with Ohly’s attestation. In the case of msela ‘wild youth, bachelor’, probably derived from a prior class 5 noun sela ‘hooligan’ in older Swahili slang, class 2 and class 6 plurals, wasela and masesela, (still) coexist. With mchali ‘boy, young man, friend’ which forms alternative plurals in class 2 (wachali) and class 6 (machali), the hypothetical precursor chali in class 5 seems to have been borrowed from Sheng, and LyM reassignment to class 1 might be seen as a way to adapt and appropriate the item.
5.9 Manipulations of form

Formal manipulation of linguistic items does not seem to be as prominent as the semantic manipulations discussed above. The most frequent techniques\textsuperscript{21} of phonological manipulation are clipping (145), acronyms (146), a vowel shift $i > a$ (147) and phonotactically motivated assimilations of borrowings (148).

\begin{itemize}
  \item **Clipping**
    \begin{itemize}
      \item suru \textless{} suruali ‘trousers’
      \item denti ‘student’ (pl. madentii)
      \item bro ‘friend’ \textless{} Engl. brother
      \item (ko)ndomu ‘condom’
      \item jero ‘500 TSh’ \textless{} pajero
      \item shem \textless{} shemeji (Kihore 2004: 117)
      \item kama kawa \textless{} kama kawaida
    \end{itemize}

  \item **Acronyms**
    \begin{itemize}
      \item sidii ‘prostitute’ \textless{} CD changudooda
      \item Dizim \textless{} DSM ‘Daresalaam’
      \item pedeshee \textless{} PDG (French pronounciation) ‘président directeur général, boss’
      \item tizediara ‘police car’ \textless{} TZR
    \end{itemize}

  \item **Vowel shift $i > a$**
    \begin{itemize}
      \item barida ‘cold’ \textless{} SS baridi
      \item mbala ‘two’ \textless{} SS mbili
      \item ndina ‘at home, in’ \textless{} SS ndani
      \item mtasha ‘European’ \textless{} LyM mtashi \textless{} LyM mtishi \textless{} LyM mbritishi
    \end{itemize}

  \item **Assimilation of borrowings**
    \begin{itemize}
      \item sevu ‘run away’ \textless{} SE save
      \item neti ‘prison’ \textless{} SE net
      \item dili ‘secret, affair, deal’ \textless{} SE deal
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

What stands out in this profile, is that there is a marked preference in LyM for certain kinds of lexical manipulation, i.e. clipping, hyperbole, dysphemism, over others such as archaism, paraphrase, and composition which feature more prominently in other types of deliberate

\textsuperscript{21} Another type of deliberate phonological distortion is the kinyume or maneno ya kinyume variety (Steere 1908: 425-6; Johnson 1978: 348) which operates with syllable metathesis, e.g. deriving jemaseana from anasemaje (see 1.2.2 (1)). Clusters of oral consonant plus preceding homorganic nasal are mostly treated as belonging to one syllable in this formula, e.g. njagu ‘police’ deriving gunja. Sometimes the nasal is treated as belonging to a separate syllable of it own, seen in the variant nguja of the same item njagu. However, the extent to which this type of phonotactic distortion is utilised in LyM and according to which circumstances it might be employed is not at all clear.
language manipulation such as guild and reverence languages and professional jargons or modernisation of vocabulary as intended by BAKITA. This fits with the characteristic profile of urban youth languages and anti-languages (Kießling & Mous 2004) where a general attitude of jocular disrespect towards social and linguistic norms entails what one might call disrespectful ways to deal with the linguistic forms that serve as a basis in lexical manipulation. This disrespect is expressed in linguistic shape by two features: (a) phonotactic “violence” which distorts the linguistic icons of the “standard” by truncation, i.e. clipping; (b) hyperbole and dysphemism in the semantico-pragmatic domain, reflecting an aspiration for toughness and an attitude of flirting with rudeness.

A third parameter of distortion which is widely attested in other urban youth languages of Africa such as Nouchi in Abidjan, Camfranglais in Cameroon and Sheng in Kenya is strikingly absent in LyM: morphological hybridisation, i.e. the deliberate combination of lexemes and affixes that do not belong to the same source. The only instance of this found in LyM so far is an insertion of the English plural suffix –s to Swahili nouns, as in (149a). With the exception of totoz, these nouns are also marked by a Swahili plural prefix. In the case of mavituz there is even double prefixing. It seems as if the combined pre- and suffixation serves the expression of a gross exaggeration. There are also examples where the English plural suffix –s is expanded to –zi, as in (149b). This epenthesis might be motivated by Swahili restrictions of syllable structure, reflecting an advanced stage of integration of these hybrid plurals.

(149a) 
Morphological hybridisation: English plural suffix (marginal)
...kutafuta sana toto-z ‘to hunt for girls’ (Kihore 2004: 114)
...naona mavitu-z yako ‘I see the many nice things you have’
mambo-z ‘matters, affairs’
vijambo-z ‘small affairs’

(149b) bito-zí ‘fly guy, boaster, braggart’ < SE ‘beetles’
kipodo-zí ‘cosmetics, make up’ < SE ‘powder’
uswa-zí ‘town area in Dar es Salaam where ordinary people live’ < LyM uswaa < LyM uswahilini

The degree of integration of these neologisms could be seen in the proliferation of derivatives forming lexical families. Thus, the verb longa ‘chat’ has founded a lexical family with derived nouns such as longolongo ‘empty words’ and kilongalonga ‘cell phone’. And the newly created item shobo ‘trouble’ is freely used as basis of derivation and phrasal compositions, to be seen in shobokea ‘chum up, swarm over someone, endear oneself to someone’ and in shobo za kisista duu ‘homosexual behaviour’.

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5.10 Donor languages

The bulk of all lexical items of LzM are made up of material from Swahili. However, borrowing also plays a prominent role. Most of the borrowing happens with English (150). Lexemes based on English account for about 10% of all entries in the dictionary. All other donor languages only contribute to a minor degree. These are: indigenous languages (151), French (152), Indian languages (153), Italian (154), German (155), and Russian (156). It must be born in mind that many borrowed items become manipulated in form and / or meaning by the creators of LyM. About 4% of the items are also found in Sheng (157). Most of them seem to be borrowed from Sheng, but in some cases it could also be the other way round, or parallel processes could be responsible.

(150) antena, anti, baunsa, bendi, beto, bipu, bluu, bomu, bontaun, braza, broo, bukua, bushi, chati, cheki, dedi, dei, deile, deiwaka, demu, denti, desh, dilei, dili, dizaini, dola, dozi, English figa, external, fasta, fegi, feki, fiksi, fiti, foto, fotoa, freshi, full, gemu, geti, geto, glasi, godi, gofu, goli, golikipa, haluu, homligi, inspekta, ishu, joblesi, kalikiti, katalogi, kawoshi, kicheni pati, kijasti, kikáladi, kili, kimini, kipodozi, kipótabo, kolboksi, kombati, kona, kota, laimi, maiki, maindi, maza, mento, mikiki, misheni, motoa, mshua, mosi, mustachi, muvi, neti, pafomu, pafu, pailoti, pasnali, pati, paundi, pensi, pini, pistol, pochi, poda, pointi, promota, propoza, pusha, pótabo, saundi, sauz, sevu, shenpi, shi, shiti, shoo, shorti, shugemmilli, simpo, sizi, skendo, sleng, smati, sopsopu, spesheli, spidi, staili, stimu, stori, supa, taiti, tiki, tivi, tomoto, totopaki, traki, trausa, waya, wochi, ziro;

(151) chonde, liamba, lupango, ngai;

(152) byee, pedeshee, faranga, tapeli

(153) choli;

(154) alora, bene; probably bomba, and arosto;

(155) shwaini;

(156) nyeti;

(157) anti, baunsa, bloo, bonga, braza, chai, chalii, chapaa, chokolaa, chuma, dedi, demu, fegi, fiti, gei, geto, godi, goto, janta, jikata, kishua, keroro, konda, manzi, mataputapu, mchuma, mdsi, mlami, muvi, nari, ndinga, ndula, noma, pigilia, poa, pointi tano, soksi, stori, ubao, waya, zama;
6. The construction of youth identities in discourse practice

Looking into the details of lexical manipulation which constitute neologisms in LyM is not enough in order to find out about the linguistic construction of youth identities in Tanzania, since this construction takes place at the discourse level. Therefore it will be necessary to explore the performative and ethnographic aspects of the emblematic lexicon in authentic discourse among adolescents in order to find out how LyM is put to use, i.e. who utilises LyM items as a communicative strategy in what kinds of contexts to speak about what kinds of topics and to communicate what kinds of messages? A complementary line of investigation will have to take into account the attitudes various social groups take on the LyM way of speaking (see section 3.2 on attitudes).

Since most of our research so far was geared towards the lexical aspect of LyM, without a fully articulated thrust towards discourse, we can only give very rough, preliminary and general ideas of specific recurrent discourse practices that juvenile users of LyM employ to construct youth identity. One way to find access to this complex, independent of authentic discourse data collected by oneself in the field, is to explore how LyM usage is reflected in or manipulated via media such as film, music, comics, newspapers and the internet (see section 7). Therefore the more fleshy examples below have been drawn from medialised and artistically manipulated discourse such as films (171) and HipHop lyrics (172). The generalisations presented here will have to be checked and elaborated by a discourse analytical approach, ideally in the framework of the ethnography of speaking.

Viewed from a sociological perspective, the main function of LyM resides in image work, i.e. in constructing and negotiating identities by presenting and representing to peers. This construction takes place predominantly in interaction among equals. Therefore, recurrent events which could be identified preliminarily as discourse genres or verbal routines where features of Lugha ya Mitaani typically prevail as markers of identity are greetings, calling for attention, boasting, slander / backbiting, negotiation of demands which includes imposing and rejecting demands, especially financial ones, directive speech acts to tell someone off used as ritualised terminations of failed negotiations, jocular dissing, i.e. a playful celebration of mutual insults, and mimetic or distorted citations.

Since LyM is an emergent medium of horizontal communication among youths, greetings are elaborated primarily on the basis of exchanges among equals. Therefore they lack elaboration for marking social stratification by indicating respect (such as Standard Swahili shikamoo – marahaba); instead solidarity is highlighted in greetings, with economic matters employed as a primary point of reference. This is testified by openers such as dili zako vipi? ‘what are your plans’, michongo yako vipi? ‘how are your plans to lay hands on money going?’, or rather elliptical in misheni? ‘(what are your) plans?’, where the central terms michongo, dili, misheni, mitikasi (158) also allude to slightly illegal ways of acquiring money. Minimal greetings are usually adjacency pairs of an opening question formula (158) plus a
response. While in standard ways of greeting, politeness only allows for positive responses to the initial question, in LyM habits of speaking there is an option to respond either positively (159) or negatively (160).

(158) Opening question formula in greetings

- michongo yako vipi? ‘how are your plans to lay hands on money going?’
- dili zako vipi? ‘what are your plans’
- misheni (yako vipi)? ‘(what is your) plan?’
- (vipi) mtiikasi (yako)? ‘(what are your) projects?’
- hali vipi ‘what’s your state?’
- mambo vipi? ‘how are (your) affairs?’ (dropping from use)
- kidanka, danka ‘how is it’ (the standard reply is chee)

(159) Positive responses to opening formula

- shwari ‘cool, calm’
- shega ‘fine’
- kamili ‘perfect, complete’
- juu ya mstari ‘everything’s fine’
- kama Kenya ‘like Kenya’
- aminia ‘no problem’
- pina, cheleia pina ‘excellent’ (dropping from use)
- poa ‘cool, fine’
- baridi ‘cool, fine’
- freshi, fuleshi ‘fresh, fine’
- chee ‘good, alright’ (standard reply to kidanka)

(160) Negative responses to opening formula

- noma ‘disaster’, e.g. in kuna noma huku
- taiti ‘tight’
- yamebana ‘(my situation) has become tight’
- soo ‘shame, (there is) big trouble’
- msala ‘trouble’

The emphasis on solidarity among equals in LyM can also vividly be illustrated by its elaboration in the field of terms of address (161).

(161) Terms of address

- broo ‘friend (between males, especially if the addressee is older than the speaker; also from female to male, if there is a close relationship)’
- mwanaungu ‘friend (between males but also females; speakers are more or less equals)’
- babu, babu lake, mzee ‘friend (mainly between males, women may use it as a group
jargon towards males and females; they may also use it towards women if they are annoyed’

sista ‘woman (by male speaker)’
anti ‘woman’ (by male as well as female speaker towards a woman; respectful)
shosti ‘friend (between females)’
kichaa wangu, mchizi wangu ‘friend (between males and females as a group jargon)’

Since frequent juvenile discourse routines include negotiations of (financial) demands, LYM displays a special elaboration in discourse operators used for calling attention (162) and for rejection or agreement (163).

(162) Discourse operators for calling attention
ho ya / oya ‘hey!’

(163) Discourse operators of rejection and agreement
soo ‘no, no way’ (term of refusal)
kavu ‘no deal’
du ‘oh, wow’ (indicating surprise)
chwee rega ‘there is none’
hakuna mukinga ‘no problem’

utajiju / utajijeijeji ‘you will know yourself!’ (used as a warning or reprimand)

Boasting is an integral aspect of the image work most youths do in order to present themselves to others and to enhance their face, as understood in politeness theory (Brown & Levinson 1987). We suppose that this practice is predominant among male rather than female youths, but this remains to be reconfirmed by in-depth sociolinguistic research. Its importance is attested by the lexical elaboration of this domain of ‘boasting’ (SS ringa, jisifia; LYM jigamba) which comprises remarkably numerous synonyms or near-synonyms of ‘boast without reason’ and ‘claim falsely to be well off’ (see 4.2. (31)). In actual discourse, typically girlfriends figure as objects of boasting (164).

(164) Yule ni gashi wangu ‘That one is my girlfriend’
Miye n’noch chuma changu ‘I have a girlfriend’

Boasting is complemented by admiration of others, which can be seen in (165) where the speaker tries to enhance his own image by an extremely positive evaluation of others to which he tends to see himself associated.

(165) Jamani, yule ni chuma kweli ‘Friends, that one is really great!’
Du, huyu demu ana bonge la bambataa ‘Wow, this girl has big buttocks!’

Another way to enhance one’s image is to depreciate others, i.e. to do damage to their “faces” by provocative invectives and name-calling such as bwege and mbuzi in (166).
In this context, the ambivalent communicative value of boasting comes out clearly. On the one hand, boasting is employed as a legitimate strategy to gain a positive image, but on the other hand it is frowned upon, since it imposes a pressure onto others to draw level verbally. One common strategy to respond to this pressure is to reject the boastful behaviour as baseless either by reference to property and wealth (167) or to cosmopolitan competence (168), in order to expose and humiliate the addressee as a bragger.

(167) *Acha kujikweza, wewe ni mchovu tu* ‘Stop boasting without reason, you are a person who has nothing!’

(168) *Unaniambia nini hapa, mwenyewe ni wa kuja tu* ‘What are you telling me here, you yourself have only come to town recently!’

If boastful behaviour is not verbalised, but articulated in another way, e.g. by clothing, the addressee’s face could be attacked simply by making explicit reference to the boastfulness of his behaviour (169).

(169) *Anapovaa kiatu kipya huwa ana mashauzi* ‘The way he is wearing his shoes shows that he is boasting.’

Boasting provokes counter-boasting which may result in a verbal duel where the interlocutors try to damage the other’s face by insults. See (171) for an illustration of how a boasting sequence (171 b-e) is terminated by directives such as ‘piss off’ (171 i) which marks the transition to a sequence of jocular dissing (171 j-m).

One speech act which figures quite prominently in negotiations of public image is to tell someone off and to drastically signalise the termination of interaction and a rupture of social relations. This is reflected in a considerable lexical elaboration in the semantic field of ‘run away, make off’: *chanja mbuga, chomoa, chomoka, ingia mitini, ishia, jiachia, jikata, kipa, kula bunda, kula kona, kunjuka, lala mbele, ondoa / toa kiwingu, piga bao, piga bunda, sevu, tambaa, timua, yesa, yeya*. Most, but not all of these terms could be used in directive speech acts whose meaning boils down to ‘piss off’ (170).

(170) Directives terminating an interaction by telling off the interlocutor

*anza, bwana!* ‘Piss off, man!’

*ishia mbali huko!* ‘Piss off here!’

*jiachie bwana!, jikate bwana!, jisanzue bwana!, kipa bwana!, kula bunda bwana!, kula kona!, lala mbele!, Toka hapa, niondolee kiwingu kiaina aina!, piga bunda, bwana!, yeya bwana! *Piss off, man!”*
It seems as if LyM is employed by women to reject face threatening acts in the sense of Brown & Levinson 1987 such as offensive male sexual advances. There are two examples of this from medialised discourse. Thus, Joan in (171) rejects the advance of GK and AY by using invectives such as muuzaji madafu ‘seller of unripe coconuts’. The girl in the lyrics of the song “Mikasti” by Ngwair (Reuster-Jahn 2006) switches to LyM items such as longolongo ‘nonsense, empty words’ in her reply Acha longolongo we sema una shing’ ngapi ‘stop this nonsense, just tell me how much money you have’ to reject Mchizi Mox’ blunt advance Hivi anti nishawahi kukuona wapi? ‘girl, haven’t we met somewhere before?’. If in situations such as these the male interlocutor retorts, this easily results in a series of mutual dissing. This genre of playful insults, first observed by Labov 1972 among Afroamerican youths in Harlem, is frequently employed to release tension in situations of potential conflict (Augenstein 1998: 89-92), serving a function equivalent to joking relationships (Radcliffe-Brown 1965). It is exemplified in the following dialogue (171) taken from the film “Girlfriend”.22 The setting here is in the nightclub Bilicanas with two rather self-conceited HipHop stars, GK and AY, who launch a boastful advance to flirt with a girl called Joan. She, however, feels annoyed and molested and rejects their blunt advance which results in a sequence of jocular dissing.

(171) Sequence of jocular dissing, taken from the film “Girlfriend” (based on Böhme 2004)

(a) Joan: Wewe vipi wewe! Unafigiki kila demu amekuja Club hana hela bwana!
‘Hey you, what do you want! Do you think every girl to come to a nightclub has no money, man?’

(b) GK: Acha kumaindi, kuja kucheza na wewe umefanya dili, sisi tumeshacheza na akina Miss Venezuela huko, wewe kuku wa kienyeji unaniambia.
‘Stop making a fuss! You are making it an issue that I have come to dance with you. We have already danced with women like Miss Venezuela there. And what are you telling me, you country bumpkin.’

(c) Joan: Na akina Miss Venezuela ucheze wewe?
‘You don’t really mean that you have danced with women like Miss Venezuela?’

(d) GK: Spasta! Baba! Baba! Wenzako wanaingia na vimini.
‘[I’m a] superstar! Man! Other girls are coming in mini-skirts [to dance].’

22 We roughly follow the translation and analysis of Böhme (2004: 81-84, annex) here. Other instances of LyM items being used could be found in the following contexts: scene 23 where the character Stella plays the street-wise in front of her female companions by using ostensively LyM and reproaching Zuwena, another female character, of her lexical ignorance regarding LyM; scene 36 where the character Moe calls out mockery in LyM upon Stella’s leaving the hair-dressing saloon.
(e) Joan: We spasta! Wewe vipi eh spasta Bongo! Watu tumeona wakina Nelly O’!
‘Wow, superstar! You superstar of Tanzania! We have seen Nelly O’!’

(f) GK (to AY): Njoo usikie huyu binti! (AY stands up and approaches them.)
‘Hey, come here and hear what this girl says!’

(g) AY: Unaongea nini wewe?
‘What are you talking about?’

(h) AY: Wewe unamwambia nini yule?
‘What are you telling him?’

(i) Joan: Na wewe unaongea nini wewe? Kwenda huko!
‘And what are you talking? Piss off!’

(j) AY: Na wewe umekaa kama mpanda farasi.
‘And you stand here like a cowboy.’

(k) Joan: Wewe nini kofia kama muuzaji madafu.
‘And you, what kind of cap are you wearing like a seller of unripe coconuts!’

(l) AY: Wewe tulia unatafuta nini hapa wewe bwege tu.
‘Hey, calm down, what are you looking for here, you jerk.’

(m) GK: Wewe unajifanya miuaji!
‘You smart aleck!’

The scene starts getting to its climax with a typical discourse marker wewe vipi wewe in (a) which is used to signal Joan’s indignation and to reject the advance. GK then tries to boastfully impress Joan by referring to all the beauties he has already been dancing with, by putting her into an inferior position as a ‘country bumpkin’, kuku wa kienyeji, and praising himself as a “superstar”. In (e) Joan takes up his line of self-praise tinged with irony and mockery. And from (j) through (m) there is a kind of combat by calling each other names. Because of this practice of dissing and because of the youth’s preoccupation with evaluating each other and others, their style of speaking has such a high degree of semantic elaboration in the domain of evaluative terms for people, as illustrated above. A further aspect of this is onomastic elaboration, characterised by stylised acronymic monikers such as Professor Jay (Joseph Haule), Ray Cee (Rehema Chalamila), Lady Jay Dee (Judith Wambura), J4 (DJ Jumanne alias Thomas Gesthuizen), AY (Ambwene Yeseya) and GK (Gwamaka Kaihula), and a predilection for fancy titles adolescents use among themselves such as inspektah (e.g. Inspektah Haroun), professor (e.g. Professor Jay), kamanda ‘commander’, dokta, kapten, brigedia, generali, all adapted from English, to be observed in chat forums on the internet.

23 “Cowboy” presumably refers to the girl’s dress.
A lexical analysis of (171) reveals two remarkable points. First, none of the invectives (marked by underscoring) could actually be taken as uncontroversially belonging to LyM. Those items which could (marked by bold) actually do not occur in the culmination of the dissing exchange. This raises a question of delimitation: is it enough for a stretch of discourse to qualify as an instance of LyM style of speaking if this stretch contains abusive items in a string, or is it necessary for them also to clearly belong to the LyM register? To put it in another way, it is not just lexical items which constitute LyM discourse, but it is rather the gesture of using any old abusive terms in a string of jocular dissing here. Second, the analysis shows that the frequency of key items from the emblematic LyM lexicon in actual discourse is rather low. This is in sharp contrast to another piece of artful reflection of reality, condensed in the lyrics of the famous song “Mtoto wa Geti Kali” of the HipHop group “Gangwe Mobb” which abounds with LyM items such as mavumba and mapene ‘money’, kubonga ‘talk’, kubukua ‘study intensively’, msela ‘gangster’ (172). In fact, it seems as if it is this style of vigorously celebrating LyM lexical items which made them “ghetto icons and major enforcers of street slanguistics” (Khaemba 2002).

(172) Excerpt from ‘Mtoto wa geti kali’ of the HipHop formation Gangwe Mobb

(a) Kwao O’bay, Oysterbay, Masaki – Binti huyu mtanashati
‘Her family lives in O’bay, Oysterbay, Masaki – this girl is handsome’

Mbwa mkali, geti kali, mambo safi super sio dizeli
‘A fierce dog, fierce gate, things are nice, it’s super, not diesel’

Usafiri wa kifahari, chaser mayai, vioo vya button, ndani ina viyoyozi
‘Prestigious transport, a Chaser with rounded back, electric windows, inside it has air-conditioning’

Kila siku akitaka gari anachange – Korando, Rolls Royce, Range, mara Mercedes Benz
‘Whenever she wants a car, she can choose – Korando, Rolls Royce, Range [Rover], sometimes Mercedes Benz’

Wakati msela24 kabwela25, kajamba nani
‘While I, the young lad, the poor one, have nothing’

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24 This lexeme is not found in any of the Swahili dictionaries. Raab (2004b: 10) states that the etymology of msela is in English ‘sailor’. “In the elders’ Swahili a “msela” is a bachelor, but in street slang a “msela” is more like a teenager who’s still got a wild youthful energy.” If this is the case, we could observe another semantic shift: sailor > bachelor > wild and untamed youth. On the other hand, msela might as well have been derived from SS selea ‘remain in a place, be attached to, join a group’.

25 There are partly contradictory glosses for this item. Morino & Nakazima (1993: 739) have “mtu wa kawaida asiye na pato kubwa” which seems to fit best here. However, Rechenbach (1968) mentions two deviant
naishi uswahilini, Temeeke-Mikoroshoni, sina hata baiskeli
‘I live at an ordinary place, Temeke-Mikoroshoni, I don’t even have a bicycle’

[...]

Isitoshe huyo mtoto kwao ana mavumba
‘Moreover, this girl has lots of money at home’

Goto limekata, mapene yamecheua
‘Lots of money, dough overflowing’

Mtoto wa geti kali kidosidosi tena kishua
‘the girl from the fierce gate, rich and secure’

Elimu imepanda kaenda kidato kabukua
‘education of high standards, she went to high school, she has studied a lot’

Anatema slang, anamwaga ngeli
‘she speaks English, she speaks English’

Anabonga ung’eng’e, kilatini, spanish, french
‘she speaks English, Latin, Spanish, French’

Another aspect to this LyM style of speaking which has widely gone unnoticed so far, but pointed out in Böhme (2004: 83), is its intertextuality, manifest in what has come to be called mimetic allusion and distortive citation in research on youth languages (Schlobinski, Kohl & Ludewigt 1993: 49ff.) and which operates by decontextualising and recycling manipulated culturemes. Thus in Unafikiri kila demu amekuja Club hana hela bwana in (171 a) Joan alludes to a line in the HipHop song “Sema nao” by II Proud: kila demu ninayemgusa analeta mambo ya hela ‘every girl I approach talks about money’.

7. LyM and the media

In Tanzania, the media of popular culture and LyM are very much interrelated, and mutually boost each other. This is a relatively recent phenomenon, which started with the political and economic turn at the second half of the 1980s, and was reinforced by the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1992.26 Ujamaa-politics with its critical and restrictive attitude towards western culture gave way to a liberal orientation. In 1985 the ban on the import of video players was lifted (Böhme 2004: 9). Private newspapers were allowed in 1992 (Kihore

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meanings: (1) (unfair, arbitrary) use of force / power, (2) a person who conceals his true motives / acts on false pretences (who claims to need something which he really does not need, etc.), hypocrite, deceiver, fraud. Ohly (1987a: 41) finally gives “insecticide” as a slang meaning.

26 However, in the late fifties the press seems to have made use of some Swahili slang (Reynolds 1962).
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

2004: 107), television in Mainland Tanzania was introduced in 1993\textsuperscript{27}, and private broadcasting also started in 1993.\textsuperscript{28} These measures brought about favourable conditions for the development of new media such as the yellow press and video films. Inspired by American HipHop a new music scene developed which was named “Bongo Fleva”, referring to the nickname of Dar es Salaam, which in LyM is called Bongo. In all these newly developed genres of popular culture Swahili and LyM play important roles. Television shows, video films, street journals, popular literature, and the internet increasingly become areas of LyM usage, catalysing its stylisation and spreading it rapidly all over Tanzania. Thus, Kihore (2004: 115) points out the role of the magazeti ya mitaani, street journals, such as Kasheshe, Macho, Maisha, Tabasamu, Tunu and Zungu etc. in promoting and popularising this speech variety in comics, cartoons and short stories:

\begin{quote}
Kwa jumla maneno kama hayo yaliyoelewa, kutokana na maana zake mitaani, yanachangia sana katika kuyatil ia uzito na mvuto maelez o ya vituko, visa na vitimbi mitaani.

‘All in all words like those explained, because of their importance in the streets, contribute much to the significance and attractiveness of popular reports of events, stories, and cartoons.’ (Translation URJ)
\end{quote}

Conversely, the fact that LyM is printed makes it stronger than it was when it existed only as spoken language. The notion that LyM is subject to the standards of written form, that it has an orthography, gives it the qualitiy of a ‘full language’ (Blommaert 2003: 18). The power of LyM has become so strong that even more serious newspapers like “Nipashe” and “Majira” cannot ignore it. Whereas the true “magazeti ya mitaani” like “Sani”, “Uwazi”, “Kasheshe” use LyM boldly, the serious ones pit them in inverted commas to mark them as a kind of quote. Thus, one could read “Akihutubia, Rais Mkapa ‘aliwafagilia’ wagombea” (‘In his speech president Mkapa praised the candidates’, Nipashe, 7.5.2005). Never behind in recognizing trends, the advertising agencies have also discovered the promotional potential of LyM, and exploit it for their purposes. The slogan of the cigarette brand “SM” is “SM – ni fresh, ni poa, ni yako” (‘SM – it’s fresh, it’s cool, it’s yours’), the mobile phone company “Buzz” uses the alliteration “Buzz ni bomba” (‘Buzz is nice’). In 2006, a big manufacturer of soft drinks launched a campaign employing the catchphrase “maisha ni bab kubwa” (‘Life is wonderful’). Even smaller business people rely on the popularity of LyM phrases like utajiju ‘you will know yourself, it’s up to you’ in order to attract clients, which is demonstrated in Figure 2. “Utajiju.com” does not exist as a website, but is just a name which by its component “.com” refers to telecommunication. Utajiju conveys a jocular meaning in this context.

\textsuperscript{27} Until then there was television only in Zanzibar (since 1974). The programmes could also be received in Dar es Salaam, but not beyond.

\textsuperscript{28} This was made possible by the Broadcasting Services Act of 1993.
Figure 2: Utajiu.com, a stand selling prepaid cards for mobile phones (Dar es Salaam 2005).

Beside its use in popular newspapers and magazines LyM is increasingly employed as an expressive resource in popular literature (Acquaviva 2005) and in comics such as Madenge and Komredi Kipepe by Chris Katembo (Beez 2003). The cartoon “Kifimbocheza na wachafuzi wa lugha” (“Let-the-stick-dance” and the language-polluters, by Abdul Karim Swago) is a special case. Appearing in the newspaper “Sani” since the late 1980s (Graebner 1995: 264) it deals directly with LyM and functions like an unofficial dictionary.29 In each sequence it introduces some new words and phrases by illustrating their use in discourse, and gives their translation in Standard Swahili (Figure 3).

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29 Formerly its title was Mzee Kifimbocheza na wachafuzi wa lugha.
The point of crystallisation, however, seems to reside in rap music called Bongo Fleva (Perullo & Fenn 2000: 4; Englert 2003, 2004), as confirmed by one of our informants: “muziki wa bongo fleva umeipa uhai mkubwa lugha ya mitaani” (Bongo Fleva music has given a lot of vitality to the street language; Ali Nkoma, personal communication 20.7.2006). It is very clear though that it is not the case that LyM is the general rule in Bongo Fleva lyrics, as claimed by Englert (2003:82). Thus, looking at the lyrics of various performers (Leysen 2003) it seems as if it is rather the Temeke fraction of Bongo Fleva, the ones from a poor background represented by “Gangwe Mobb” in (171) who are inclined to use LyM as a medium in their lyrics and not the posh East Coast section. Englert (2003: 88) also observes a tendency for LyM to be used not as a sociolect which permeates the entire lyrics, but rather as a register which could be switched on by the artist to voice a special message of involvement,

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30 With permission of Sani. Translation: “Ma! My friend, if we could get some vumba to mix ... I mean, this nyunyu, mh! The kapelo can come any time, man!” “Don’t worry, man, just smoke, a piece of it will make you feel good! Here it’s not like at your place, with a lot of witches! Here we live with wajeda, there are neither kapelo nor tizediara ... smoking marijuana is a normal thing here!” “Is it, eeh!” “Hurrah! Come here, you cat. Quick, quick, translate for me the words you were talking!” “Vumba is incense, nyunyu is the smell of marijuana, kapelo is police, tizediara are police-cars, and wajeda are soldiers!” “You fool! Learn to love your national language! Ebo!”
or display toughness, urgency or desperation. Major *Bongo Fleva* formations such as Gangwe Mobb also have an internet presence ([www.gangwemobb.com](http://www.gangwemobb.com)) to distribute their products and messages. Hiphop groups such as Wagosi wa Kaya (Toroka 2002) are hired by the government to spread educative messages about health, create an awareness of HIV/AIDS and to raise funds for the Tanzania Commission for AIDS. Hamis Mohamed Mwinguma alias Mwanafalsafa, commenting on his anti-AIDS song *Alikufa kwa ngoma* ‘He died from AIDS’ stresses the educative mission of rappers: “We are teachers. I mean, people listen to us. So it is our duty to tell them something.” (Raab 2004b: 9). All these factors contribute to the enormous range of social networks through which the *LyM* discourse style is spread.

Even in the *Ujamaa* era, music played a role in the spreading of *LyM* items. In the 1980s, Remmy Ongala contributed to the popularity of the euphemistic term *soksi* (‘socks’) for ‘condome’, and Vijana Jazz Band to that of the the term *tapeli* (< French ‘tapeur’) for ‘defrauder’ (Graebner 1995). But quite different from today, these were exceptions. Until the start of private broadcasting in 1993, Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam held more or less a monopoly in broadcasting music. As a statal radio station it observed the commendations of BAKITA, the National Swahili Council, which demanded the use of Standard Swahili. The musicians felt that non-standard language sometimes was used as a pretext to dismiss unwanted songs (Graebner 1995: 276). Styles of music and dance served as a source for onomastic synecdoches. Thus, Ohly reports *kamanyola (bila jasho)* for ‘bribe’. *Kamanyola* was a relaxed dance style *bila jasho* ‘without sweat’ that served as a metaphor for having things going smoothly with the help of a bribe (Ohly 1987a: 10). The style was created in the late 1970s by the Orchestra Maquis Original ([http://hometown.aol.com/dpaterson/muziki.htm](http://hometown.aol.com/dpaterson/muziki.htm)). More recently, there are a number of terms denoting big (female) buttocks that are based on dance styles, like *kibinda nkoi, ndómbole, taarabu, tukunyema, wowowo.*

The *LyM* term *umwanameka* “inclination of a woman to snatch a lover from another woman” (Mekacha 1992: 100), was derived from *Mwanameka*, the name of the female protagonist in a song by Marijani Rajabu recorded in 1981. A more recent example of onomastic synecdoche based on the name of a character in a song is *king’asti* ‘beautiful girl’, taken from a song of the same name by Mr. Nice.

The names of artists of popular culture themselves are often taken as a base of onomastic synecdoche. The cognitive motivation in these cases is form (173), the association of the artist with the content of one of his songs (174) or his habits (175). In one case the etymology could not be traced (176). Apart from musicians it is also other popular personalities whose names are exploited for onomastic synecdoche (177).

(173) *emoro* ‘small bottle of Coca Cola < name of a very small dancer in the Congolese soukous band “Empire Bakuba”';

*sista P* ‘small bottle of Coca Cola < name of the female *Bongo Fleva* artist who is a
short person;  
mabaga ‘be broke’ < name of a band of two rappers with disabilities “Mabaga fresh”;

(174) feruzi ‘AIDS’ < song of Bongo Fleva artist Feruzi (or Ferooz) on AIDS;  
piga bushoke ‘sleep on the floor’ song of musician Bushoke about a man who was mistreated by his wife and had to sleep on the floor;

(175) mtetemba temka ‘marijuana < name of the Bongo Fleva musician Mtetemba from the group TMK, who is said to smoke heavily marijuana;

(176) twanga pepeta ‘mobile phone Siemens c25’ < famous music and dance band, cognitive motivation unclear;

(177) njemba njemba ‘big strong man, bouncer’ < Zambian football player Njemba Njemba.

But the creative role of Bongo Fleva for LyM goes further. The artists coin new terms as well as using those which have just been coined by youths, and popularise them through their songs. Often the phrases from the songs become themselves popular and determine the use of LyM items in discourse. A leading role in this creative game is played by Gangwe Mobb, a duo consisting of Inspekta Haroun and Luten Kamala, who have once been called “major enforcers of street slangistics” (Khaemba 2002). Examples for the coining of new terms in Bongo Fleva songs are given in (178).

(178) king’asti ‘sweetheart’ < Mr. Nice in song “King’asti”;  
mikasi ‘sex’ < Ngwair in song “Mikasi” (2004);  
full kipupwe ‘air cooled by Air Condition’ < Prof. Jay in song “Zali la mentali” (2001);  
mtoto wa geti kali ‘(rich) girl protected by her parents’ < Gangwe Mobb in song “Mtoto wa geti kali” (2001);  
macho balbu, shingo fenï ‘stare at something or someone, especially a woman, gaze after somebody’ < Vijana Orchestra in song “Penzi haligawanyiki”.

The emerging production of Swahili videos in Tanzania also makes use of LyM, although to varying degrees. The film “Girlfriend” (by Tyson/Tamba 2003) which plays in the Bongo Fleva scene draws heavily upon LyM as an expressive resource (see section 6 (171) for a dialogue from the film). It was broadcasted by TV as well as sold as video, and was very successful. It seems that the use of LyM contributed to its popularity (Böhme 2004: 46, 86). Accordingly, another film with a similar story, “Bifu” (‘Beef’, by Wendo/Lister 2005), was produced afterwards.
Novels (riwaya) once were the only domain where LyM was tolerated to some degree, especially in dialogues (Ohly 1987a: 4). At present, the most common LyM items can be found in many books, young authors making more use of it than older ones. In the area of book production BAKITA still exerts influence. Authors who seek recognition for their book for use in schools therefore have to avoid the use of LyM. On the other hand, there are novels which describe the life of vijana wa vijiweni or poor families in Dar es Salaam, for which the use of LyM is indispensable in order to appear realistic (Kusenha 1998, Kayombo 1998, Mbogo 2002). The novel “Kijiweni Moto” (Kusenha 1998), a story about a kijana wa kijiweni, is supplemented with a glossary of LyM terms. Serialised stories in newspapers which are very popular also make use of LyM. In the newspaper “Sani” there are sometimes even two stories at the same time. Sultan Tamba, a co-editor of “Sani”, video producer, and very prolific writer of popular novels made the following statement on his use of LyM:

“They have got their own place. Although I don’t like much to use them, it is possible to apply them where necessary. But you have to be sure that people understand the word in question. It should not be a street word that is only spoken at some places, or which is difficult. [...] The street words I’m using are those of which I’m sure that many people already know them. That’s because I can’t allow myself to become outdated. That’s what I also fear. Therefore, I have to use the words which we commonly use in conversation.” (Personal communication, 23.3.2006)

The comprehension of LyM texts poses problems to the outsider. Especially Bongo Fleva lyrics which employ LyM are often very difficult to understand, and this can lead to misinterpretations. For example, it makes a difference if “napiga zangu maji” is translated as “I take a shower”31 or as “I drink some alcohol”, which seems to be more appropriate in the given context. A dictionary of LyM therefore is an important tool for understanding and interpreting Bongo Fleva lyrics and other products of popular culture. Due to the rapid change of the LyM lexicon, the dictionary will have to be constantly updated.

8. LyM in a historical perspective

Like other urban youth languages, LyM provides a rare opportunity to study on-going language change under specific conditions of deliberate manipulation of linguistic norms, forms and meanings. Since LyM represents a group-specific way of speaking crystallising in a

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31 In the song “Msela” by the group “Clouds” (Remes 1999: 17).
new code which is distinct lexically from the standard code, i.e. Standard Kiswahili, it deserves to be viewed from the perspective of language birth. Therefore it is necessary to delimitate the LyM case (a) from other cases of language birth, i.e. emergence of new codes, such as pidginisation and creolisation (vs. Kise tla etc.), (b) from cases of hybrid linguistic behaviour such as codeswitching (vs. Campus Swahili), (c) from other cases of emergence of urban youth languages based on Swahili such as Sheng. Moreover, the LyM case offers the chance to address notoriously problematic aspects of linguistic change, such as principles of semantic change, and the mechanisms of change of linguistic norms.

8.1 LyM in contrast to other phenomena of language birth

Urban youth languages such as LyM are crucially different from other cases of language birth such as pidginisation and creolisation, and from cases of hybrid linguistic behaviour such as codeswitching.

8.1.1 Pidginisation and creolisation

In contrast to pidgin and creole languages, LyM does not owe its development and existence to a state of “referential emergency”, i.e. an urgent need of communication in situations where interacting groups have no common language, but need to create one, which is the prototypical scenario of pidginisation and creolisation. This function is already taken over by colloquial Swahili acting as a medium of wider horizontal communication. The driving force behind the rise of LyM is rather an interpersonal one related to self-expression and identity: city dwellers, mostly youths, create and constantly transform this language as an icon of identity, shaped in opposition to mark themselves off from the rest of society and possibly growing slowly from a medium of resistance identity into a medium of a newly emergent project identity (Castells 1997: 8, 357), namely that of the urban youth.

8.1.2 Codeswitching

Urban youth languages such as LyM often arise in multilingual contexts characterised by massive codeswitching. Thus Blommaert (1990: 24) notes that what he calls Kiswahili cha Mitaani “is a complex of English-interfered Kiswahili variants, appearing in most of the urban areas of present day Tanzania. It is assumed to be the medium of popular amusement through music and comic books, and seems to be the jargon of fashionable youngsters. Here, English interferences are mostly idiomatic in nature [...] and are heavily integrated.”

However, even if Swahili/English codeswitching is taken as the historical starting point in the development of LyM, synchronically the phenomenon of LyM itself is quite different from codeswitching proper defined by Myers-Scotton (1993: 4) as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation”.

67
There are three reasons why *LyM* cannot be equated with Swahili/English codeswitching. First, the lexical items of the emblematic *LyM* lexicon are not eligible to switching. They are rather cases where switching is obligatory. Thus, switches such as *geto*, *dili*, *cheki* etc. (see 15) are fixed. Second, these lexical switches have become fixed as a result of their developing meanings deviant from their original sources. Thus, at a certain point the English sourced term *geto* might have entered in codeswitching situations to refer to an actual *ghetto*, but as soon as it has come to acquire the deviant meaning ‘youths’ sleeping room’, the “switch” has become lexicalised as part of a new code. It is now part of a threefold paradigmatic relationship of potential choices of switching involving a Swahili term such as *maskani* on the one side and an English term such as ‘youths’ sleeping room’ on the other. Moreover, these considerations only concern the minor English sourced portion in the emblematic *LyM* lexicon, they do not concern the large majority of lexical items which constitute *LyM* and owe their existence to formal or semantico-pragmatic manipulations of Swahili items. In this latter case it is not obvious which kind of codeswitching could have been responsible for their creation. Finally, many users of *LyM* only have a most rudimentary knowledge of English. For them the defining criterion of Swahili/English bilingualism is certainly not met. It is therefore clear that the *LyM* type of Swahili/English language mixing cannot be equated with Swahili/English codeswitching of any type.

It is also not simply borrowing, since the English sourced items could frequently be seen to have been subjected to formal and semantic manipulations. Myers-Scotton (2002) employs the distinction of “cultural borrowed” vs. “core borrowed” forms as diagnostics to their origin in codeswitching: cultural borrowings are introduced by influential individuals or groups, used either in monolingual speech or in codeswitching, whereas core borrowings are usually introduced by bilingual speakers through codeswitching alone. In this framework many English sourced *LyM* items qualify as “cultural borrowings”, but there are also “core borrowed” items, e.g. *dili* and *cheki*, which do not fill lexical gaps in the matrix language, but rather replace pre-existent items of Standard Swahili. This again raises the suspicion that it is very likely that codeswitching must have played a crucial role in the rise of those *LyM* items.

Fifteen years ago Blommaert (1990: 24) noted an “increase of the popular esteem for (American) English”, displayed in *Kiswahili cha Mitaani* (alias *LyM*) where “the use of English idiomatic expressions serves as a mark of worldliness, of being young and daring. Here, it marks some kind of anti-socialist underworld in which individual performance, money and other material commodities are central values.” This, however, seems to have changed in present day multiparty Tanzania where insertions from English are rather on the retreat, as observed by Kihore (2004) in the context of the *magazeti ya mitaani*.

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32 In this case, “switching” to Standard Swahili terms *maskani* or *bweni* would not be recognizable as an act of switching against a Swahili matrix. Switching to English ‘youths’ sleeping room’ which is readily recognizable as a switch would, however, be avoided since it lacks elegance and the unique sense of humour which arises from the tension between context of application and etymology of *LyM* *geto*. 
In a historical perspective, the *Kiswahili cha mitaani* alias *LyM* type of Swahili/English language mixing is also very distinct from other types of Swahili/English mixtures which arise via codeswitching, e.g. the one described by Blommaert & Gysels 1990 as “Campus Kiswahili”, “a sociolect of Kiswahili spoken among Tanzanian academics on and around the Dar es Salaam University Hill” (Blommaert & Gysels 1990: 87) and which is basically Standard Kiswahili with intact lexical insertions from English as in (179).

(179) Codeswitching of the “Campus Kiswahili” type

*Shule zilikuwa nationalized karibu zote.*

*Shule zilitaifishwa karibu zote.*

“Almost all schools were nationalized.”

Both varieties, “Campus Kiswahili” and *LyM*, agree in a couple of parameters, e.g. in that they signal informality, in-group and cooperativity. But they also differ considerably with respect to the parameters of user group, linguistic competence of users, linguistic attitudes and social aspiration of the users, adherence to linguistic norms, and maybe also the type of codeswitching involved, pointed out by Blommaert & Gysels (1990: 91) and explicitly condensed and summarised in table 1:

Table 1: Comparison of Campus Kiswahili and *Kiswahili cha Mitaani* alias *LyM*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codeswitching type which gives / gave rise to the variety</th>
<th>Campus Kiswahili</th>
<th><em>Kiswahili cha Mitaani</em> alias <em>LyM</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marked CS, motivated by exclusion</td>
<td>Unmarked CS, marker of solidarity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users’ linguistic competence</td>
<td>Full access to and well-developed communicative competence in both source codes, English and Swahili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted access to English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users’ linguistic attitudes and social aspirations</td>
<td>Double allegiance to Tanzanian identity (signalled by Kiswahili) and academic / urban identity (signalled by English), kind of “guild” language in that one of its functions is to mark social privilege and claim respect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution of a deviant new social identity of young urban non-academics, created by linguistic bricolage / creolisation; “anti-language”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users’ linguistic aspirations, social identities indexed</td>
<td>Social privilege, symbolic boundary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian, inclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic norms</td>
<td>Strict adherence to the norms of both codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of the norms of both codes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical manipulation</td>
<td>None: English insertions are kept intact</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English insertions are manipulated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>User group</td>
<td>Tanzanian academics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzanian non-academics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of Myers-Scotton 1993 the CS between Swahili and English which constitutes Campus Kiswahili is of the marked type, i.e. every single switch could be demonstrated to have a special function in discourse, whereas the CS of LyM is rather of the unmarked type, i.e. the pattern of switching itself is significant as a marker of a new identity within a multilingual scenario where speakers feel to belong to neither of the linguistically defined groups (any more).

In CS of the “Campus Swahili” type described by Blommaert (1999: 164) Swahili speakers draw on their competence in English to mark themselves off as wasomi or intellectuals, reflecting their aspirations for an imported identity, used to distance others or intimidate them and to demand respect. The unmarked type of CS rather reflects the linguistic creation of a new urban identity where CS rather serves to create solidarity and a feeling of inclusion.

While the Campus Swahili users symbolically demonstrate their double allegiance to the traditional Tanzanian sphere by using Standard Swahili and to the academic World by inserting correct English, strictly observing the norms of both codes, the LyM users rather violate both codes by manipulating Swahili and English lexical items on all structural levels – which reflects the attitude of not belonging to neither of the worlds represented by both linguistic codes and a creative creolistic appropriation of patterns from both worlds, African and European, without feeling to belong to the traditional African world (symbolically represented by the use of Kiswahili) nor to the modern Western world (symbolically represented by the use of English). The spirit in this is rather to pick up material from all available sources and to form something new from it without respecting the material’s integrity. Actually, conscious manipulation of lexical items reflects a spirit of opposition to and disrespect of the norms and identities of which the codes are emblematic.

8.1.3 Lugha ya Mitaani and Sheng

If we compare LyM in Tanzania with neighbouring Sheng in Kenya we find some similarities: they share the same function as an urban youth style of speaking, they share the same morphosyntactic frame, i.e. Swahili, and the wider linguistic ecology with Swahili and English as major languages in contact is similar. But apart from this, LyM and Sheng, differ in two important respects: in the strategies employed for lexical manipulation and in the public awareness of the phenomenon both at national and international level.

and declining linguistic abilities of students. And it seems to be much more perceived as a threat to linguistic norms than LyM in Tanzania. There does not seem to be a similar debate currently going on in Tanzania on such a large scale as with Sheng in Kenya.

In contrast to Sheng which integrates a lot of lexical items from Kenyan languages such as Luo, Kikuyu, Maasai, Luhya, Giriama and Taita (Githoria 2002: 1) and from English, LyM does not seem to incorporate material from indigenous Tanzanian languages on a large scale. The only exceptions found so far might be rupango / lupango ‘prison’, related to SS pango ‘cave’, though with a non-Swahili form of prefix of class 11 (taken from another Tanzanian Bantu language), chonde ‘please’ and liamba ‘morning’, both probably borrowed from Yao, Makonde or Mwera, mkulu ‘president’, and kasheshe ‘misfortune’ which instantiates the marginal intrusion of the non-Standard-Swahili class prefix 13 ka-. Also the English contribution to LyM is not as marked as in Sheng. Recently Kihore (2004: 114) even observes that they are rather on retreat in the magazeti ya mitaani: “… mikopo hii [i.e. from English, RK] bado inajitokeza hapa na pale, katika magazeti mengi maneno ya aina hii yamepungua sana katika makala mbalimbali.” (‘These borrowings [from English] still appear here and there, but in many newspapers words of this kind have decreased much in different articles’).

This is different in Sheng which has integration of Kikuyu items such as ku-thora (180) along with items imported from English such as leitisha ‘delay’ (181). Also the general amount of lexical transfers from English is much higher in Sheng (182) than in LyM.

(180) Sheng: integration of non-Swahili items into a Swahili matrix

kuthora madoo za mathee ‘to steal my mother’s money’ (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997)
kuther < Kikuyu ‘steal’
madoo < Swahili dongo ‘amount of money’ or American English slang dough?
mathee < English mother with deformative suffix -ee

(181) Sheng: integration of non-Swahili items into a Swahili matrix

woyee tichee usiniruande, buu ndio ilinileitiisha ‘Please teacher, do not beat me - I am late because of the bus.’ (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997)
woyee?
tichee < English teacher with deformative suffix -ee
ruand- < Rwanda; onomastic synecdoche
buu < English bus with clipping of final consonant
leit-ish-a < English late with Swahili causative suffix.

(182) Sheng: clipping and ending in –i (or –e)

hedi "headmaster"
futi "football"
hosii "hospital"
bufe "busfare"
But it is not only lexical input, Sheng also employs morphological strategies imported from Kenyan languages other than Swahili, e.g. a nominal prefix *o*- plus suffix -*o* taken from Dholuo in (183).

(183) Sheng: circumfixation of Dholuo *o*-*o*
- *odijo* ‘teacher’ < English *teacher*
- *ojungo* ‘European’ < Swahili *mzungu*
- *oduko* ‘shop’ < Swahili *duka*
- *obaro* ‘street’ < Swahili *barabara*
- *onyato* ‘Kenyatta National Hospital’
- *okongo* ‘Makongeni estates’
- *odiro* ‘window’ < Swahili *dirisha*
- *onanoo* ‘banana’ < English *banana*
- *oshagoo* ‘house’ < Kikuyu *gecagi*
- *jackoo* ‘jacket’ < English *jacket*
- *chapoo* ‘pancake’ < Swahili *chapati*
- *faroo* ‘horse’ < Swahili *farasi*
- *filoo* ‘film’ < English *film*
- *zamo* "long ago" < Swahili *zamani"

Moreover, in Kenyan Sheng there is massive restructuring of the Swahili grammatical frame taking place in that the gender system is simplified in favour of a two-way opposition with class 1/2 for humans vs. 9/10 for non-humans (Ferrari 2004: 488) which consolidates a trend already observed by Heine (1973: 76ff.) for a vehicular Swahili variety he calls “Kenyan Pidgin Swahili”. This kind of simplification is definitely not characteristic of what is going on in *LyM*. Summing up, the decisive difference between *LyM* and Sheng – in spite of major similarities – is that the element of deliberate hybridisation (Kießling & Mous 2006: 393-395) characteristic of Sheng and most African urban youth languages is largely absent in *LyM* (Table 2).
Table 2: Strategies of lexical manipulation in LyM (Tanzania) vs. Sheng (Kenya)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LyM (Tanzania)</th>
<th>Sheng (Kenya)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical matrix</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical simplification of the matrix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowings from English</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowings from indigenous languages</td>
<td>almost nonexistent</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deliberate morphological hybridisation</td>
<td>almost nonexistent</td>
<td>frequent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonological manipulation: clipping</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantico-pragmatic manipulations: hyperbole, dysphemism etc.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ultimate reason for this contrast is the notorious difference in the overall linguistic ecology in both countries. Tanzania has largely succeeded in implementing and elaborating Swahili as the widely accepted and unchallenged medium of national communication in almost all domains of official language use, excluding on the one side indigenous Tanzanian languages and on the other side pushing back the use of English which seems to be restricted to the domains of instruction at university level in Tanzania (Batibo 1995), the outcome of a longstanding monolingual endoglossic language policy of Swahilisation aimed at national integration (Abdulaziz Mkilifi 1972, Gerhardt 1980). Kenya on the other hand has only considerably later introduced Swahili as a co-official language, somewhat half-heartedly and rather clinging to English as an official language, promoting English norms, with major ethnic groups such as Kikuyu and Luo claiming national representation and challenging the status of Swahili, all of this rather reflecting an implicit trilingual exoglossic concept of language policy (Reh & Heine 1982: 191). Table 3 roughly captures the resulting difference in the status of Swahili in both countries.

Table 3: Official roles of languages in Tanzania and Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>official language(s)</td>
<td>S, E</td>
<td>E, [S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>administration</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary education</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S, E, [I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher education</td>
<td>[S], E</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alphabetisation, adult education</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S, I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 The hiphop formation “X-Plastaz” celebrates the image of Maasai in Bongo culture and experiment with importing Maasai language into their lyrics. The impact of this practice on the lexical shape of LyM in general remains to be seen.

34 S = Swahili, E = English, I = indigenous languages other than Swahili.
In most African countries, urban youth languages serve at least three major functions: (a) creating an icon of youth identity by opposition to mainstream linguistic norms, (b) transcending ethnicity in multiethnic and multilingual urban settings where ethnicity cannot serve as a basis of forming new identities, (c) appropriating an ex-colonial official language of exclusion, or even a standardized African language of wider communication (such as Swahili), undermining or transcending its normative regime, and forging it into a widely accessible medium of horizontal communication (Kießling & Mous 2004, Kießling & Mous 2006: 395-399).

Thus, Sheng in Kenya represents the creative effort by the youth to do two things at the same time: to appropriate the ex-colonial official language English and to indigenise widespread Swahili to make it an acceptable medium for communication and identification to all Kenyan youth, irrespective of their partly antagonistic ethnic backgrounds. This is accomplished by accommodating and manipulating lexical items from major Kenyan languages such as Kikuyu and Luo on the one side and from English on the other.

In Tanzania on the other hand, the consistent endoglossic policy of promoting, implementing and expanding Swahili in all public domains of language use renders both of these functions obsolete, since they are taken over largely by Swahili itself: transcending ethnicity (symbolised by local languages) and decolonizing the mind (by appropriation of English). Therefore the only driving force that could be held responsible for the rise of LyM in Tanzania is the intention to create an icon of youth identity by jocular violation of linguistic norms.

This functional contrast is reflected in a difference in the linguistic makeup of the youth jargons, where Sheng heavily draws upon external non-Swahili resources of lexical creation, such as English and major Kenyan languages, heading for hybridisation as a sociolinguistic means to ease the tension between antagonistic roles of national languages. Youths in Tanzania rather resort to strategies of manipulation on the semantico-pragmatic level exclusively, based on Standard Swahili items, in order to form LyM as their icon of identification – which gives this code a much more homogeneous and tame appearance. This in turn might be the reason why LyM has not received as much attention as Sheng has – which is much more of a salient linguistic phenomenon with its hybridisations than LyM and much more of a provocation with respect to violation of linguistic norms.

Thus, it appears that the form urban youth language takes in Tanzania vis-à-vis Kenya reflects very well its functions and could therefore be viewed as an indicator of long-term macrosociological trends and a manifestation of the effects of endoglossic vs. exoglossic language policies. Psychosocial alienation and exclusion felt by the urban youth seems to be much more acute and strongly indexed linguistically in Kenya than in Tanzania.
8.2 Semantic change

One may wonder and ask: why study ephemeral forms of language use such as LyM where new linguistic items pop up every other day, most of them doomed to disappear very soon again? The radical rate of lexical change in LyM is revealed in a comparison of the data collected between 2000 and 2006 (Appendix 3) with the Swahili slang data listed in Ohly 1987: less than 10% of the modern LyM items in the dictionary (i.e. 103 items of 1150) could plausibly be demonstrated to link up with items in Ohly 1987. Or to put it the other way round, more than 95% of Ohly’s data (i.e. about 1230 items from roughly 1300) seem to have fallen from use or otherwise to have undergone semantic change. Thus, 20 years already make Ohly’s data historical, which dramatically illustrates the fast rate by which phenomena in urban youth jargon change.

It is exactly this rapid change of linguistic norms which makes LyM an attractive and fascinating phenomenon. From a general perspective, the study of urban youth languages in Africa and LyM in particular has a lot to offer to the understanding of language change, since due to its accelerated pace under these particular circumstances of deliberate manipulation change actually becomes observable in real time and could be revealed in longitudinal studies on a reasonable time scale. This allows us to trace the steps of semantic development which eventually result in dramatic shifts in meaning over a short time span and relate them to external social circumstances. Thus, the etymology of mchizi ‘cool guy’ might remain a puzzle and speculating about an origin in SE ‘cheese’ seems to be far-fetched. However, if the attestation in Ohly (1987a: 28) as chizi ‘European, white man’ is taken as an intermediary stage of development, the link becomes plausibly transparent by two semantic extensions: the extension from ‘cheese’ to ‘European’ motivated by colour and another subsequent extension from ‘European’ to ‘cool guy’, motivated by an attitude of admiration. This example illustrates the necessity to keep a record of the rapidly changing semantic ideas condensed in neologisms that keep popping up, identify as precisely as possible their sources, and observe which of these items catch on and why. Mere lists of words are not sufficient, they are just the vantage point of research into their etymology and their use. Keeping an accurate record of the lexical development of LyM, one should be able to come up with sound chronologies of generations of lexical items replacing prior ones in what Ohly (1987a: 6ff.) calls the “vertical structure” of the lexicon and which he illustrates in detail with the meaning ‘bribe’ (Ohly 1987a: 7f.) which has changed its range of synonymous forms dramatically from first attestations in 1937 (Johnson 1969) via 1978 (Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu) up till 1982, the stage observed by Ohly himself.

Up to now, however, information about the historical succession of lexical items is still rather scarce and blurred. A more recent example is bondeni ‘South Africa’ which is said to be outdated, being increasingly replaced by saus. In other cases one is confronted with what seems like series of synonymous items competing for the same meaning with no clue as to potential parameters of distinction. Thus, the proliferation of various synonymous terms, e.g.
four terms for ‘police’ (mwela, ndata, ndula, njagu) and seventeen terms for ‘money’ (chapaa, faranga, fuba, goto, jiwe, mafweza, mapene, mavumba, mbumba, michuzi, mkwanja, mshiko, ngavila, ngudongudo, uchache, vumba), raises the suspicion that these items actually differ in social, regional or stylistic parameters of use. However, it is not clear if some of these terms are already outdated or to which extent they are restricted geographically or socially. It has not been possible to confirm if all of these synonymous terms could really be used interchangeably or if there are fine-grained semantic differences involved which have not been noticed so far. Also the motivation of most of these items is not transparent, i.e. it is not clear by what kinds of strategies of lexical manipulation they may have arisen.

Semantic change frequently seems to start out as a slight pragmatic shift involving an indexical relationship between events which are sequenced in a behavioureme, i.e. the schematic order of any culturally relevant activity. Shifts such as these might be labeled pragmatic metonymies, since they mostly include cases where a certain term is used to refer to an action or an event which is the consequence or the manifestation of the event or action actually encoded in this term and where it is only a very specific context of everyday experience which links these two events and thus motivates their association of meanings. Thus it is only its usage to call for getting off from a bus which makes a Standard Swahili phrase such as kuitwa mbele ‘to be called to the front’ deviant, e.g. in an utterance such as haya washirika, tunaitwa mbele! instead of haya jamani, tushuke! ‘well folks, lets get off!’.

The semantico-pragmatic extension is motivated by a situational metonymy where moving to the front in a crowded bus implies the intention of getting off. At the same time the use of itwa ‘be called’ in this context could be seen as a strategy of externalizing the intention to get off. In a similar vein, weka tuta ‘put a speed bump’ is used for referring to the prototypically subsequent action of which it is an indicator: ‘stop the car’. And lia with its original meaning ‘cry, weep’ is used to refer to ‘despair, lose all hope, resign oneself’, an experience of which crying is a typical manifestation.

Due to an increase in medialised intertextual discourse, semantic shifts sometimes owe their transparency to motivating links which depend on ephemeral figures and institutions of public life. Thus, the coinages alasiri ‘100 shillings’, piga bushoke ‘sleep on the floor’, weka kawawa ‘insert the transfer gear in a 4-wheel drive’ and bambataa ‘big buttocks’ could easily be imagined to become opaque as soon as the motivating background changes, i.e. soon after the newspaper Alasiri, the Bambataa radio program, the artist Bushoke and the politician Kawawa disappear from the wider public scene.

8.3 Sociosymbolic change

LyM and other urban youth languages offer a rare chance to study language change in progress under specific conditions of deliberate manipulation of linguistic norms. Change of norms affects LyM items in two ways: disappearance vs. promotion to standard. Some LyM
items fade out and drop from use due to their loss in appeal which is followed by replacement by more fashionable synonyms. Thus, Dizim ‘Dar-es-Salaam’ and chuma ‘beautiful girl’ are in the process of being replaced by Bongo and king’asti, respectively. Other LyM items lose their affiliation to LyM because they spread beyond the group of adolescents – a trend which might be seen in items such as demu, kibao and kitimoto which seem to be used by adults widely, just as former slang items such as chai and chauchau for ‘bribe’ have not only entered colloquial use, but have become accepted by the Standard Swahili Dictionary 1981 (Ohly 1987a: 4). More recent items which have been promoted to “lugha ya kawaida”, i.e. common usage, and seem to be on their way to make a career in the standard are kizaazaa ‘trouble, misfortune’, kizungu ‘English language’, longa ‘chat’, timua ‘make off, run away’. There are twenty lexical items in our database which are not in the Standard Swahili Dictionary 1981, but in the 2004 edition (e.g. changudoa, kasheshe, uroda). These examples confirm the point that there is a trend for lexical and phraseological neologisms to start out as being confined to adolescent styles of speaking and then spread to wider colloquial use, as observed with other urban youth languages in Africa such as Indoubil (Goyvaerts 1988) and Nouchi (Kouadio N’gessan 1991).

Viewed from the users’ perspective, some items lose their attraction because there is a fresh synonym which activates more attractive or up-to-date connotations (by contextual meaning components, by source domain associations or by creative wit / appeal of the coinage). Other items lose their emblematic value because they are appropriated by other user groups with whom the juvenile users do not want to associate. This allows for addressing evergreens in historical sociolinguistics, notoriously hard to explore: Who are the instigators and agents of linguistic change? Who creates new linguistic norms? How do these norms spread? Regarding spread and transformation of LyM, one may ask: is it only adolescents who use LyM as their code? Does use of the emblematic lexicon signalise “hey, I’m a young one”, or does it rather signalise “I’m tough and wise and know how things in the city work”? Through what channels and by what kind of mediation does this spread take place? And what is the overall impact on Standard Swahili? Is it only some lexical items that “leak through” and become adopted also by older generations? Or is it the style of speaking LyM which is appropriated by other social groups, becoming more and more of an asset of a progressive urban identity?

One way to tackle these questions in a more principled way would be to use social network analyses à la Milroy (1980), as already employed in African contexts in Russell (1981) and Salami (1991), and apply them in the context of LyM usage in various groups in Dar es Salaam. This should be combined with an exploration of the attitudes of various social groups towards this variety of Kiswahili: is it bewailed as a symptom of linguistic decay, viewed in the paradigm of falling standards? Or is there a positive attitude towards its merits?

In a way Tanzania is special in Africa because of its consistent endoglossic language policy. This explains why the linguistic alienation felt by ordinary people has never been as
painful as in other African countries that adhered to a more-or-less strict exoglossic language policy, such as Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Kongo, South Africa, or Kenya. In these countries urban youth languages become more readily adopted as languages of wider communication in the cities to take over two major functions: transcending ethnicity on the one hand and at the same time changing the norms of the vertical medium of communication, i.e. the ex-colonial language to become a horizontal medium of communication. Swahili in Tanzania lacks this stigma. Therefore it might be too early or even irrelevant to ask: in what way is the Standard Kiswahili affected by LyM?

Another perspective fairly unexplored is to what extent, by what kind of mediation and in what direction LyM and “neighbouring” Sheng could have influenced each other. Some lexical items such as demu ‘girl’ (< Engl. ‘dame’), bonga ‘talk’ and noma ‘bad, evil; problem, doom’ are attested in both varieties. It is, however, not clear if this correspondence is due to mutual contact or to independent borrowing from the same contact partner.

9. Conclusion

Lugha ya Mitaani in Tanzania is a complex linguistic phenomenon which, depending on contexts, can be used as a sociolect, a register, or a speech style. It is not static but changes dynamically, the urban, predominantly male, youths being the creative force in this process. Although colloquial Swahili speech has existed since long, it was formerly much more restricted, and confined to informal settings. The acceleration and increase in power of creative linguistic deviation from standard forms started in the late 1980s, being grounded in the sociological situation in Tanzania. Contributing factors are 1) multiethnic communities in the towns, 2) widespread full competence in Swahili 3) political and economic liberalisation, 4) globalisation, 5) the media, and 6) a changing awareness of youths on their role in society. The new style of LyM which emerges in Tanzania’s cities could be classified as an urban youth language instantiating youth identity on a discourse level. It seems to be on the brink of spreading beyond the group of the youth, becoming a marker of an urban identity. One of its salient features is an emblematic lexicon which is created by deliberate manipulation of Standard Swahili and – to a much lesser extent – of English items. The strategies used for manipulation clearly reflect its general character of a jocular opposition to linguistic norms and a spirit of challenging social consensus. In this, LyM fits with what is found in other urban youth languages all over Africa, but at least in two respects it deviates from this general pattern: 1) there is no massive integration of borrowings neither from English nor from indigenous languages; 2) LyM does not take recourse to the strategy of morphological hybridisation. This stands out in comparison to “neighbouring” Sheng which has lots of input from English, Kikuyu and Luo. This is taken to be an outcome of Tanzania’s monolingual endoglossic policy of Swahilisation, contrasting with Kenya’s indeterminate standing.
regarding Swahili, English and major indigenous languages, reflecting an implicit trilingual exoglossic concept in language policy (Reh & Heine 1982: 191).

Urbanisation and globalisation give rise to a new social group in Africa: the urban youth who are under pressure to create and establish their identity (linguistically) in contrast to traditional schemes of identity and cosmopolitan Western style identities. The study of LyM contributes to the understanding of discourse practices that constitute youth (sub)culture and construct youth identity in a Swahili context. Moreover, it gives a deep insight into the creativity of Swahili speakers, “into their attitudes and imagery, as well as into the boundless potentialities of the language” (Ohly 1987a: 16). A lesson to be learnt here is that linguistic globalisation in this case is not equivalent to “English worldwide” – which is in contrast to what is suggested by Dixon (1997: 147 f.) in the context of his conjectures about language death worldwide in the course of the “punctuation” of globalisation. Yet, many questions, especially the ones pertaining to gender aspects, metaphor theory, and actual use in discourse, remain to be answered by future in-depth studies of *Lugha ya Mitaani* in Tanzania.

### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama cha mapinduzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Codeswitching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disc</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excl</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interj</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKK</td>
<td>Kamusi ya Kiswahili - Kiingereza (TUKI 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKS 1</td>
<td>Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu (TUKI 1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKS 2</td>
<td>Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu 2nd edition (TUKI 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LyM</td>
<td>Lugha ya Mitaani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LzM</td>
<td>Lugha za Mitaani</td>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>os oneself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phr</td>
<td>phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sb</td>
<td>somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Standard English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so someone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Standard Swahili</td>
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<tr>
<td>sth something</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>Tanzanian Shillings</td>
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<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verb</td>
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</table>
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Appendix 1: Lugha ya Mitaani texts written by John Degera

The following presents a selection of three short texts written by John Degera in 2000: the Maamkizi present some typical exchanges of greetings among youths. The Barua ya Kiswahili cha Mitaani demonstrates the use in a letter written in LyM. Finally, Vijana wa mitaani summarises how Degera perceives male “street youths”, as he lists indicators to recognise them, such as hair-style, clothing, way of walking – and style of speaking, namely LyM – which suggest that Degera himself associates LyM with uhuni.

Maamkizi (Greetings)

Mambo vipi, mshikaji? (= habari gani rafiki)
  techele (= poa, safi)
  baridi (= safi)
  poa (= safi)
  joto (= safi)

Hali vipi?
  techele (= poa, safi)
  poa, nipe dili (= nzuri, nieleze / nikueleze siru fulani)

Kidanka? (= hali yako?)
  chee (= nzuri)

Misheni? (= mipango / mpangilio wako)
  chelea pina (= nzuri sana, safa sana, barabora)

Barua ya Kiswahili cha Mitaani (A letter in LyM)


Standard Swahili translation:

picha. Sasa, marafiki, mnanieleza vipi kuhusu jambo hili? Sasa kesho napanda ndege kwenda ulaya. Au nitoroke kwa meli kwenda Afrika kusini?

English translation:

How is it, my friends? I hope you are alright. Things are fine with me. So you have not told me any story, is there something wrong? Calm down and prick up your ears, so that I tell you a secret: there was a day when the police came to me and wanted that I give them dope so that they could arrest me. You see, my friend, I ran away and managed to escape them. You see, friends, when I escaped, there were newspaper reporters who took fotos of me. Now, friends, how could you explain this thing to me? So tomorrow I will get a flight to Europe. Or should I illegally board a ship to South Africa?

Vijana wa mitaani (Street youths)


Jinsi ya kuji[h]adhari nao ni hivi: Kwanza utagundua maneno yao wanayoongea ni ya kimitaani kama "oya mshikaji", "oya brother", "oya mlami", "babulake", "mshirika" n.k. Hayo maneno ndio yanayotumia kama "mambo" - "poa", "mitikasi" - "fuleshi". Fuleshi ni neno lililotozana na "fresh" (English).

Ukiwa kwenye daladala, maneno wanayotumia ni: "oya pailoti, weka tuta!" (= We dereva, simamisha!); "Haya washirika, tunaitwa mbele!" (= haya jamani, tushuke)
Appendix 2: Diachronic change in the campus lexicon at Teacher Training College Nachingwea 1986-2005.

The original wordlist was published on the occasion of the 10 years jubilee of the college in 1986 (Mbaga 1986). In 2005, Reuster-Jahn discussed it with the students whom she then met at the college. Only 12 out of 32 items have remained (2, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32). Roughly one third have been replaced by other terms. Five terms have vanished without being replaced, probably because their referents in the real world have disappeared. Many terms seem to be special to this college jargon, whereas about ten recent terms - such as *nyali, mapozi, mikwara* etc. - can be classified as general *LyM*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>1986 Translation in Kiswahili and English</th>
<th>2005 (plus use)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>zima moto (a kind of beans) mbaazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyali / chakula cha mungu</td>
<td>nyali / uzinduzi / chenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kumdengulia (ingratiate oneself)</td>
<td>kuwa na mapozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kipleti (get little food on one’s plate)</td>
<td>kupigishwa mswaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kupiga chanya (get food twice)</td>
<td>kurivenji / kurisiti “nimerivenji, nimerisiti”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kijibwa cha kizungu (girlfriend or boyfriend)</td>
<td>koloni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kumvesha magunia (a girl pretending to love a boy in order to get anything from him)</td>
<td>“amepigwa mchanga wa macho”, “anamshikisha mapembe”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kuotesha uyoga / kitubio (flirtation talk under trees)</td>
<td>“wapo kwenye kitalu”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kuopoa (kuopolewa)</td>
<td>kitendo cha mvulana kupata rafiki wa kike (seduce, get a girlfriend)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kunyagesa</td>
<td>kumsumbua au kumtafuta msichana au mvulana kwa nia ya kufanya naye mapenzi (ingratiate oneself to a girl or boy in order to start a sexual relationship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kudoji (&lt; SE dodge)</td>
<td>kutegea vipindi au kazi (skive off work or class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ponjoro au m hindi</td>
<td>mtu mvivu (lazy bone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>vyuku (&lt; SS kuku)</td>
<td>nyama ya kuku (chicken meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>miaka tisa</td>
<td>wanachuo mwaka wa kwanza (first year’s students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kingston Jamaica</td>
<td>bweni dogo la wavulana (small dormitory for male students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Buganda</td>
<td>bweni la wavulana (regular dormitory for male students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bunyoro</td>
<td>bweni la wasichana (dormitory for female students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>kujikandanga</td>
<td>kufaidi (to profit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>dezo au ubwete</td>
<td>vitu vya bure bila kugharamia (anything one can get free)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>lumpeni</td>
<td>mtu asiye na cheo cho chote hapa chuoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>dingi</td>
<td>baba (hutumika kwa kumwita Mkuu wa Chuo) (father; here: college principal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35 In 2005 the college offered only short courses of nine months.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>gangwe</td>
<td>mtu mjeuri au anajifanya mjuaji (sly person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>kinaa</td>
<td>kumfanyia mtu uchochezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>kupiga kebo</td>
<td>kuchukua nafasi ya mbele katika foleni kumpita aliyetangulia hasa wakati wa kupata chakula (jump the queue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>kobisi</td>
<td>kumdharau mtu ye yote, hasa unapomwangalia kama humfahamu, humwoni, lakini unamwona (pretend not to notice somebody)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>kuchinja / kuukata</td>
<td>kupata nafasi nzuri zaidi, hasa kazi au shughuli yo yote nzuri (get something better than expected, especially applying to work assignments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>kulizima</td>
<td>kutega kazi ukiwa bwenini saa za asubuhi saa 11.30 na saa za jioni 9.15 (skive off work by staying in the dormitory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>mpango, michuzi</td>
<td>pesa (money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>majogoo</td>
<td>viazi vitamu, vilivyvo vitukwa; vidogo huitwa vifaranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>mikwala (mikwara)</td>
<td>kumwekea mtu vizingiti (hamper somebody) “nimemwekea mikwara”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>mitulinga</td>
<td>kazi (work)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: Dictionary of Lugha ya Mitaaani

-a kidosi adj -a uhakika sure, rich, certain
Derivation from LyM *mdosi 'rich man, Indian, European'
Mambo yake ya kidosi.
Mambo yake ni ya uhakika.
> mdosi

-a kufa mtu n.phr mno, kupita kiasi very much, exceedingly, terribly
Hyperbolic extension of SS *kufa 'die' plus *mtu 'person'.
Jana tulipiga keroro ya kufa mtu.
Jana tulikunywa pombe kupita kiasi.
> ile mbaya, kichizi, kinoma, kishenzi, kwa kwenda mbele

-a nguvu n.phr zuri sana, kubwa sana, ghali very nice, very big, expensive
Expression meaning 'of strength'.
Ile arusi ilikuwa ya nguvu.
Ile arusi ilikuwa kubwa na nzuri.
Demu ametilia kijasti cha nguvu.
Msichana amevaa nguo ndogo yenye gharama.
Woch la nguvu kinoma.
Saa nzuri na ghali sana.
> kwa kwenda mbele, -a kufa mtu

achia mistari v.phr imba nyimbo za Bongo Fleva rap verses
Metaphorical expression: "release lines".
Aliachia mistari ya traki yake.
Aliimba sehemu za wimbo wake.
> chana mistari, dondosha mistari, mitindo huru

ado ado adv, n 1. pole pole 2. kidogo kidogo 1. slowly 2. a little
< ?
1. Twende zetu Kariakoo ado ado.
2. Lets go slowly to Kariakoo.
2. Nimechukua ado ado tu.
2. I have taken only a little bit.
> narenare

akademiki buzi n.phr mwanaume
anayetumika na msichana kwa kumfanyia kazi za shule man who is used by a girl to help her with academic work in exchange for a sexual relationship
Transfer from SE 'academic' plus LyM *buzi; metaphorical expression with dysphemistic flavour: "academic goat".
Used at university campus.
Asha ana akademiki buzi.
Asha ana mwanaume ambaye anamsaidia katika kazi za shule.
Yule mshikaji ni akademiki buzi hapa chuo.
Yule rafiki anawafanyia kazi za masomo wasichana.

alasiri n 100 TSh 100 TSh
Double metonymic semantic extension of SS *alasiri 'afternoon' > 'afternoon newspaper Alasiri, which costs 100/- TSh, mainly used by street vendors called "wamachinga".
Hilo embe bei gani? - Alasiri.
Hilo embe bei gani? - Shilingi mia moja.
> jiti, nyeto, pini, hais

alora adj, adv nzuri well, good
Transfer from Italian 'alora'. Not common.
Hali? - Alora!
Hali? - Nzuri!

antena n sikio ear
Dysphemistic and hyperbolic metaphorical extension of SE 'antenna'.
Usitege antena!
Usisikilize!
Umejuaje? - Antena yangu imekamata hilo.
Umejuaje? - Nimesikia ulilolisema.

anti n° 1. ita mwanamke 2. ita msenge 3. msichana mzuri 1. address of a woman 2. address of homosexual man 3. beautiful girl Semantic extension of transfer from SE 'aunt', replacing SS *shangazi 'aunt' in certain contexts. Also attested for Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 1).
Hallo anti, nina shida kidogo na wewe.
Hallo dada, nina shida kidogo na wewe.
Lile anti lililovaa shati ya bluu.
(Augmentative)
Yule mwanamke mwenye mkubwa aliyevaa shati ya bluu.
Yule anti ni mzuri.
Yule mwanamke ni mzuri.
Nilimwona anti Juma.
Nilimwona anti Juma.
> sista, bwabwa, chakula, choko, kaka poa, mshumaa

anza v ondoka make off, go
Ellipsis of SS *anza safari 'start journey'
Anza, bwana!
Toka hapa, bwana!
Mama Ina, mimi naanza sasa.
Mama Ina, mimi naondoka sasa.
> ambaa, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa,
kula kona, lala mbele, tambaa, timka, timua,
toa kiwingu, yeya

apeche alolo adj, n? ishiwa pesa, kosa pesa bankrupt, broke
< ? Attested in older Swahili slang as *apeche alolo 'penniless, broke' (Ohly 1987a: 21). *Arosto is now more in fashion.
Nipo apeche alolo.
Nimeishiwa pesa.
> arosto, chalala, mabaga, majalala, waka

arosto, rosto n ishiwa pesa, kosa pesa bankrupt, broke
Niko arosto.
Nimeishiwa pesa.
Niko rosto kweli.
Nimeishiwa hela kweli.
> rosti

asali wa moyo n.phr mpenzi wa kike au wa kiume girlfriend, boyfriend
Metaphorical extension of SS *asali 'honey' plus *moyo 'heart', which is also reflected in the transfer of *asali from class 9 to class 1. Popularised by Bongo Fleva song "Asali wa moyo" (Gangwe Mobb 2001).
Kariibu chakula asali wangu wa moyo.
Kariibu chakula mpenzi wangu.
> laazizi

baba askofu n.phr 1. mfiraji 2. kind and generous man 1. homosexual man 2. mtu mwenye roho nzuri ambaye yu tayari kutoa msaada 1. Metonymic hyperbolic extension of SS *baba askofu 'father bishop', referring to scandals about homosexual and pedophile catholic priests in the USA 2. Metonymic extension of SS *baba askofu 'father bishop', based on christian altruism
1. Ah, wewe ni baba askofu tu.
2. Ah, yule ni baba askofu bwana.
2. Ah, yule ni mtu mzuri sana, anapenda kutoa msaada.
> basha

baba wa taifa n.phr noti ya shilingi 1000 note of 1000 TSh, issued in 2003
Metonymic extension of epitheton of President Nyerere *baba wa taifa 'Father of the Nation', based on his portrait printed on the note. Since late 2003.
Bei gani? - Baba wa taifa wavili.
Bei gani? - Noti mbili za elfu moja.
> buku, tenga

babake, babake n.phr jamaa yangu, rafiki my friend
Semantic extension of SS *babake (contraction of *baba yake) 'his/her
father', motivation of use of 3. person possessive unclear, only in direct address (vocative); expression "his father".

Sema babake! - Poa tu!
Vipi rafiki? - Nzuri tu!

> babu lake, kachula, kichaa wangu, mshikaji, mwana, mwangu

**babu kubwa, bab kubwa** n.phr safi kabisa, siyo kawaida very nice, extraordinary
Metaphorical extension of SS *babu 'grandfather' plus SS *kubwa 'big, great, large'.
Katalogi ya chuo ni babu kubwa.
Tovuti ya chuo ni safi kabisa!
Jana tulikwenda kwenye arusi, ilikuwa babu kubwa.
Jana tulikwenda kwenye arusi, ilikuwa safi kabisa.

**babu lake, babu yake** n.phr jamaa yangu, rafiki (miti miongoni mwa vijana wenye urafiki wa karibu) my friend (address among befriended youth)
Semantic extension of SS *babu 'grandfather', motivation of use of 3. person possessive unclear, only in direct address (vocative): "his grandfather".
Chwe[e] rega, babu lake, dongo limeyeyuka.
Hakuna, jamaa yangu, ugali umeisha.
Du, babu lake, bonge la dili nikugee.
Du, rafiki, nikuuleze siri kubwa.
Du, acha, babu lake, bonge la bahati.
Du, acha, rafiki, bahati kubwa.

**balungi** n5/6 titi kubwa large female breast, tit Dysphemistic extension of SS *balungi 'grapefruit, pomelo'. Rare.
Yule ana mabalungi makubwa.
Yule ana maziwa makubwa.
> mtindi, tikitimaji, nido

**baluni** n 1. matoke makubwa 2. maziwa makubwa 3. magari aina ya Toyota "Chaser" na "Mark II", yenye sehemu ya nyuma iliyo 1. big behind 2. big breasts 3. car models Toyota "Chaser" and "Mark II" with rounded back
Metaphorical semantic extension of transfer from SE 'balloon', motivated by its form.
Ohly (1987a: 23) has *baluni both for 'pregnancy' and 'be pregnant' in older Swahili slang.

Mohamedi kanunua gari Toyota baluni.
Mohamedi kanunua gari Toyota "Chaser" with rounded back.

**bamba** v kuwa -zuri be nice
Semantic extension of SS *bamba 'seize'.
Mademu wa Bongo wanabamba kinoma.
Wasichana wa Dar es Salaam ni wazuri sana.

Du, huyu demu ana bonge la bambataa!
Du, huyu msichana ana matoke makubwa!
Huyu msichana ana matoke ya bambataa.
Huyu msichana ana matoke makubwa.
> haja kubwa, kibinda, mkundu, ndómbolo, taarabu, tukunyema, shuzi, wowowo 3. macho ya samaki, mayai

**bana** v 1. kaa kwa kujificha 2. jificha 3. wekea mtu vikwazo 1. sit and hide 2. hide 3. hinder sb Dysphemistically motivated extension of SS *bana 'squeeze'.
1. Oya, naenda kubana kijiweni.
1. Oya, naenda kukaa na kujificha kijiweni.
> egesha, kaza

**bandapanda** n viatu virefu vyenye soli nene (HipHop)-boots with thick sole
Semantic extension of SS *banda 'shed, hut' plus *panda 'climb'? Now replaced by lakuchumpa.
> buti, ndula, lakuchumpa, la kuparama

**bangaiwa** v caus bahatisha kupata cho chote; uza cho chote chenye maslahi; bahatika kwa kuhangaikahangaiwa try one's luck in making some money; sell sth for profit
< ?
Nimebangaiwa buku teni.
Nimebahatisha shilingi elfu kumi.
Bwana, sasa hivi unafanya shughuli gani? - Mshikaji, sina kazi nafanya kubangaiza tu.
Bwana, sasa hivi unafanya shughuli gani? - Rafiki, sina kazi, nabahatisha kupata cho chote.

bangaloo n5/6 nyumba kubwa na nzuri
big and nice house
Transfer from SE 'bungalow'.
Lile bangaloo ni letu.
Nyumba ile nzuri na kubwa ni yetu.

bania v punja mtu kitu ambacho anastahili
kupewa, nyima mtu kitu reduce the share of somebody
Semantic extension of SS *bania 'press to'.
Unanibania.
Unanipunja, hutaki niendele.
> kiwingi, gozigozi

barida adj baridi, shwari cool
Derivation from SS *baridi 'cool, cold', by change of final vowel -i to -a.
Not common
Hali vipi? - Barida tu mwana.
Hali vipi? - Poa tu rafiki.
> baridi, poa, shwari

baridi adj safi good
Semantic extension of SS *baridi 'cool', hyperbolic calque of SE 'cool'. Proper reply to greetings such as *hali vipi?
> barida, poa, joto

basha n5/6 mfiraji homosexual man
Semantic extension of SS *basha 'king in a pack of playing cards'; also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 23). In KKS 1 and 2. Basha is derived from *pasha (Shepherd 1987: 250).
> bara askoju

bastola n9 nyonga kubwa large hips
Metaphorical extension of SS *bastola 'pistol', motivated by form of pistol worn in holster on hips in "cowboy-style".
Yule ana bastola.
Yule ana nyonga kubwa.
> bunduki, pisto[l], silaha, mvinyo

bati n9 sarafu ya TSh 100 coin of 100 TSh
Metonymic extension from SS *bati (class 5/6) 'white hard metal'. Coinage by Bongo-Fleva artist Ngwair in the track "mikasi", which became popular. Mostly used by the street vendors called "Wamachinga"
Sasa we una bati usiku huu unaenda wapi, wakati hiyo bati hata soda tu hupati.
Ngwair (Mikasi)
Sasa wewe una shilingi mia, usiku huu unaenda wapi, wakati kwa hizoo shilingi mia hata soda tu hupati.
> alasiri, hais, jiti, nyeto, pini

baunsa n5/6 1. mtu mnene, aliye panuka
kifuani, mbabe 2. mlinzi mlangoni 1. fat person, sb with broad chest 2. doorkeeper, bouncer
Semantic extension of transfer from SE 'bouncer'. Also attested for Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 2).
2. Baunsa akatutia ndani ya klabu bure.
2. Mlinzi wa klabu alitutia ndani ya klabu bure.
> njamba njemba

bee numeral mbili two
Hapa ni mtu bee tu.
Hapa ni watu wawili tu.
Nipe chumvi ya chuma bee.
Nipe chumvi ya shilingi mbili.
> dala, taraa

bebelebebele n fujo, patashika commotion, chaos
Mechi ya leo itakuwa bebelebebele.
Mechi ya leo itakuwa patashika.
> songombingo

bei ya mchekea n.phr bei rahisi sana
ridiculously cheap
Metonymic extension of SS *chekea 'laugh at', motivated by context
Hii suruali nimenunua kwa bei ya mchekea.
Hii suruali nimenunua kwa bei rahisi sana.
Mwanamke wa mchekea.
Mwanamke ambaye anakubali kirahisi sana.
> maharage ya Mbeya

beki tatu n.phr msichana wa kazi, mfanyakazi wa ndani housegirl
Metaphorical or metonymic extension of football player on position "back 3" (sweeper).
Beki tatu wa kina Juma ni magoli! Msichana wa kazi wa kina Juma ni mzuri sana!

bendera n9 division "F" katika matooke ya mitihani division "F" in school results
Metonymic extension of SS *bendera 'flag' based on form: the silhouette of a flag resembles the shape of an "F".

bene disc nzuri well, good
Transfer from Italian *bene 'well, fine, alright'. Used as a reply to greetings such as *mambo vipi? Not common.
Mambo vipi? - Bene!
Habari gani? - Nzuri!

bi mkubwa n.phr mama mother
Metonymic extension of SS *bi mkubwa 'big lady, old lady', not used as address
>
>bizi

bibisii, BBC n9 1. Kiingereza 2. mtu ambaye anazungunza sana, msera oo vy 1. English language 2. sb who talks a lot, sb who can't keep a secret
Onomastic synecdoche of SE 'BBC' (British Broadcasting Corporation).
Jamaa yule, usimwambie siri, yule ni BBC.
Jamaa yule, usimwambie siri, atasema tu.
> redio mbao, redio saba saba, ung'eng'e, tema ngeli, sleng, ingia external

bifu n ugomvi quarrel, fight
Transfer from American slang 'beef' with the meaning 'quarrel, fight'.
Wameibua bifu.
Wameanza ugomvi.
>
kosovo

bingo n5/6 1. pesa (ya kubahatisha) 2. kijana au mwanamume anayetoa au kununua kitu kwa msichana kwa lengo la mapenzi; mwanamume anayetivana pesa na mwanamke 1. money (got by chance) 2. man having a short term relationship with a (unmarried) woman who aims at getting money out of him
Hyperbolic extension of SS *bingo 'game of hazard, game of chance', also a TV-show.
1. What business do you have? - I just try my luck (in the informal sector with any kind of small business).
1. Natafuta bingo, bwana.
1. Natafuta pesa, bwana.
1. Juma amezikamatai bingo.
1. Juma amepata pesa.
2. Yule msichana ana bingo.
2. That girl has a boyfriend whom she fleeces.
2. Nimempata bingo wa kuchuna.
2. Nimempata mwanamume wa kumtoza pesa.
>
>bizi

bip[u] v kupiga simu na kukata let mobile telephone ring, then cut
Transfer from SE 'beep'.
Umenibip.
Umenipigia simu ukakata (ili nikupigie mimi).
>
> promota

bishoo, bishololo n5/6 mtu anayejisikia, mtu ambaye anapenda kujionesha fly guy
Transfer from SE 'big show' or from SE 'be show off'. The ending -lolo has an emphatic meaning.
Yule mshikaji ni bishoo tu!
Yule mshikaji anapenda kujionesha tu!
>
>bitozi, tozi

bitti n kitisho, viitho threat
Two etymology were offered: 1. Terminal clipping of transfer from SE 'rivet', pronounced as "ribiti", used metaphorically 2. Transfer of SE 'beat'.
Usinichimbe biti.
Usiniteisch.
Unaniweka biti.
Unanitisha.
>
mkwaro, chimba biti

bitozi n5/6 mtu anayejisikia pasi na uwezo wa mambo ambayo anajivunia fly guy, boaster, braggart
Metonymic extension of SE 'smart beetles'; in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 24) attested with the meaning 'nice guy'. One explanation was: This is because of the VW beetle, which makes much sound but can't go fast.
Yule jamaa, bitozi kweli yule.
That guy, he pretends to have everything.

*bishoo, tozi*

**blant[i]** n *msokoto wa bangi joint (marijuana)*
Transfer from American slang "blunt", meaning a hollowed out commercial cigar used to smoke marijuana. The lexeme is an onomastic synecdoche of the cigar brand "Phillies Blunt"

*Masela wameingia kati kula blanti.*
Marafiki wameenda nyumbani kuvuta bangi

*blangibling, bringbring* v *meremeta, ng'aa* glitter, shine, be nice
Metonymic extension of English slang 'bling' for 'jewellery'.

*Pamba inablingbling.*
Nguo nzuri inameremeta.

**bonga** n5/6 *mtu asiywe na akili, mjinga, mpumbavu* fool, stupid person
Metaphorical extension of SS *boga* 'pumpkin'; especially used by teachers to call unable pupils. Attested in older Swahili slang as 'head' (Ohly 1987a: 24).
Old and common.

*Weewe ni boga nini?*
*Weewe huna akili?*

**boka** n5/6 *bwege, mjinga* good-for-nothing, simpleton, fool
< ? Derived from the character "Kaboka Mchizi" in the cartoon "Songombingo ya Kaboka Mchizi" by A. Kingo in the newspaper "Kasheshe". This character likes to get drunk and to steal.

*Rafiki yangu usiwe boka.*
Rafiki yangu usiwe mjinga.

**mbwiga, mnyela, ndula, poyoyo, uboka**

**bomba** adj/n 1. *zuri* 2. *hali ya kulewa* 1. beautiful, nice, handsome 2. drunkenness
Transfer from Italian "bomba" 'bomb', used in colloquial expressions like "x é bomba" 'x is very nice, super'. Italian sailors could be the source. Or semantic extension of SS *bomba* 'syringe, big pipe, pump'; probably derived from the meaning 'hard blow' attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1986a: 24).

1. *Demu yuko bomba.*
1. Msichana ni mzuri sana.
1. *Mademu bomba wameibuka.*
1. Wasichana wazuri wa mukama.
1. *Tangazo: Buzz ni bomba*
1. Commercial: Buzz (Mobile phone company) is nice.

1. *Aisei, shosti leo umepigilia pamba, utemoka bomba.*
1. Aisei, rafiki, leo uwevaa nguo nzuri sana, utemoka safi.
1. *Hapa nilipo nipo bomba kweli.*
1. Hapa nilipo nimelewa sana.
> 2. *bunduki, bwi, chicha*
**LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA**

**bombastiki** n5/6 msamiati mgumu difficult, extraordinary vocabulary
Transfer from SE 'bombastic'. Very common in schools and colleges.
_Mabombastiki ya mwalimu ni makali._ Misamiati ya mwalimu ni mgumu sana.

**bomu** v 1. _omba vibaya_ 2. _ongopea_ 1. beg from someone, esp. money, cadge for, sponge 2. tell lies in order to get money
Metaphoric extension of SE 'bomb'.
1. Walevi wa madawa ya kulevya hawaoni haya kumbomu kita mtu.
2. Nimeshaomba hela kwa mama, kwa kumdanganya kuhusu matumizi, twende zetu.

**bomba** n/adj 1. _kitu kibaya_ 2. _feki, bandia_ 1. bad thing 2. fake
Transfer from SE 'bomb', metaphorically used.
1. Yule amenibomu.
2. Hii mali ni nzima au bomu?

**bondo** n5 _ugali_ porridge
_Bondo la leo zuri utafikiri beche._ Ugal i wa leo mzuri utafikiri wali.
> _sauz_ *donja, dongo, nafaka, nguna, sembe*

**bonga** v 1. _ongea_ 2. _zungumza kwa lengo la mapenzi_ 3. _ongea kitu cha wongo_ 1. talk 2. talk with the intention of seducing sb 3. speak false words, cheat
< ? In older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 25) attested with the meanings 'seduce; mix somebody up'. Also attested for Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 3).
1. Bonga, basi.
2. Nimebonga naye.
3. Nimezungumza naye kwa lengo la mapenzi.

**bonga ung'eng'e** v.phr 1. _ongea lugha ya Kiingereza_ 2. _ongea mambo yasiyoyleweka_ 1. speak English 2. speak incomprehensively
1. Dysphemistic extension of older Swahili slang *bonga ung'eng'e 'talk nonsense'.
2. The singing and voice of the bird *chiriku* is called *ung'eng'e: Chiriku anasema ung'eng'e 'the Chiriku bird is speaking ung'eng'e'. It has different melodies and can sing very fast. In LyM *ung'eng'e means 'English'.

**bonge** n5 1. _kitu kikubwa, kitu kizuri, kitu kinene_ 2. _mtu mnene_ 1. big thing, nice thing 2. fat person
Semantic generalisation of SS *bonge 'lump, clod' almost always used as a qualitative head noun in genitival constructions. In older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a) attested as *bonge 'big thing' (25) and as *kibonge 'beauty; brutal person' (43).

1. Lorand leo katnga bonge la mzula.
1. Lorand leo kavaa kofia kubwa..
1. Du babu lake, bonge la dili tikugee.
1. We rafiki, nikueleze siri kubwa.
1. Du acha, babu lake, bonge la bahati.
1. We acha, rafiki, bahati kubwa.
1. Du, huyu demu ana bonge la bambataa!
1. Du, huyu msichana ana mataka makubwa!
1. Bonge la Coca Cola.
1. Chupa ya 0,5l ya Coca Cola.
1. Bonge la mama.
1. Mwanamke mnene.
2. Bonge yule amekuja.
2. Yule mtu mnene amekuja.
2. Yule ni bonge la jitu.
2. Yule ni mtu mkubwa na mnene kupita kiasi.

**Bongo** n.prop.loc Dar es Salaam Dar es Salaam

Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of augmentative derivative of SS *ubongo 'brain'. The term came up in the 80s, when it was forbidden to migrate to Dar es Salaam without permission. People who went there without permission were caught in the 'operesheni kuzuia uzururaji' (Operation 'prevent loitering'). Therefore it was very difficult to stay in Dar es Salaam. The term's use is now on the decline.

Utikaa Bongo lazima uchemshe ubongo.
If you live in Dar es Salaam, you have to use brains.
> Dizim

**Bongoland** n.prop.loc Tanzania Tanzania

Composite made of LyM "Bongo" 'Dar es Salaam' and transfer from SE 'land'. Not as common as "Bongo".

Ili uweze kuishi Bongoland, lazima uwe na miradi.
Ili uweze kuishi Tanzania, lazima uwe na miradi.

**bontaun** v.phr mtoto wa mjini, mtu wa mjii

town-born child, person

Metonymic extension of SE 'born' plus 'town'. There is a range of orthographic varieties: bon-taun, bon-town, born-town. The expression also features prominently in a cartoon about two football teams "Bush Stars", a rural team, and "Born Town", an urban team, published in the magazine "Sani".

Unajua mi' ni bon-town.
Unajua mimi ni mtoto wa mjini.
> mbushi

**bravo** adv 1. nzuri 2. hongera 1. well, good 2. congratulations Transfer from Italian 'bravo'. Not common.

Hali? - Bravo!
Hali? - Nzuri!

**braza** n5/6 1. kaka 2. rafiki 1. brother 2. friend

Yule braza kanisaidia.
Yule kaka kanisaidia.
> broo

**brazameni** n5/6 rafiki friend
Transfer from American slang *brotherman 'friend'. There is a connotation of 'being better off than a *msela'. The female counterpart is *sista du.

Mabrazameni wamekuja.
Marafiki wamekuja.
> broo, sista du

**broo** n5/6 kaka, rafiki friend, bloke, brother
Truncation of SE 'brother' attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 25) as *bro.

Soo broo, wacha noma!
Hapana kaka, usilete balaa!
Mnacheki, washikaji, wakati nasevu mapaparazi wakanifotoa picha.
Mnaona, marafiki, wakati nilipotoroka, waandishi wa habari wakanipiga picha.
Yule broo kawamba bonge la kombati.
Yule kaka kavaa vest nzuri.
> bloo, braza

**buku** n9/10 noti ya shilingi 1000 ya zamani note of 1000 TSh. (since 2003 no longer in use)

Metonymic extension of SE 'book',

motivated either (a) by the design on the front side of the note which could be interpreted as showing a book, or (b) by the fact that these notes usually came in bundles resembling a book.

> baba wa taifa, tenga bunku teni n shilingi 10000 10000 TSh. Metonymic extension of SE 'book' and 'ten': 'ten 1000 TSh. notes'.

bukua v soma sana study intensively
Metonymic extension of derivative based on SE 'book' or metonymic extension of SS *bukua 'discover, reveal, uncover, ferret out scandal'? Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 25). In KKS2.

Degera anabukua sana.
Degera studies very much.

> chima, keshana na vitabu, Joni Kisomo bulingibulingi

bunduki n10 1. bia aina ya Lager 2. hali ya kulewa 3. nyonga kubwa 1. Lager beer 2. drunkenness, state of being drunk 3. large hips
1. Metaphorical extension of SS *bunduki 'gun', based on the higher content of alcohol compared to other kinds of beer.
2. Metaphorical cum metonymic extension of SS *bunduki 'gun': "bunduki" is name for Lager beer, because it is said to be stronger than other kinds of beer. Also another etymology was offered: Just as a gun is controlled by its owner, a drunken man is driven by alcohol - he has no control over himself.
3. Metonymic extension of SS *bunduki 'gun', motivated by form of pistols worn in holster on hips in "cowboy-style".
2. Jana nilimwona jamaa yuko bunduki.
2. Jana nilimwona jamaa aliyelewa sana.
3. Yule ana bunduki.
3. Yule ana nyonga kubwa.
3. Duh! Mary amefungasha mibunduki ya kufa mtu.
3. Duh! Mary ana nyonga kubwa sana.
>2. bomba, bwi, chicha, keroro, tungi, zimika
>3. bastola, pisto[!], silaha, mvinyo

bunya v kula kwa fujo guzzle
Oya, lete hiyo mihanjumati tuibunye.
Oya, lete hiyo vyakula vizuri tuvile.

bunyanga v pata pesa bila kutarajia na kuzitumia ovoyo get money without having expected it, and squander it Metaphorical extension of *bunya 'guzzle'.
Wanafunzi walibunyanga kinoma.
Wanafunzi walipata pesa bila kutarajia na hawakutumia kwa busara.

bunyenye n mtu mnene fat person
< ?
Yule ni bunyenye.
Yule ni mnene.

bushi n kijijini rural area
Dysphemistic hyperbolic extension of SE 'bush'.
Alivyo utafikiri katoka bushi jana.
Alivyo utafikiri katoka kijijini jana.
Yule anaishi bushi.
Yule anaishi kijijini.

buti n5 kondomu condom
Euphemistic hyperbolic extension of SS *buti 'boot'
2. Bwana, unapotaka kuchukua demu angalia, lazima uwe na buti.
2. Bwana, unapotaka kufanya mapenzi na msichana, lazima uwe na kondomu.
2. Nisaidie buti. (dukani)
2. Nisaidie kondomu. (dukani)
> ndomu, soksi

butua v piga mateke kick, kick the ball wildly
Derivation from transfer from SE 'boot'.
Mchezaji yule anabutua tu mpira uwanjani.
Mchezaji yule anacheka na mpira ovoyo, hachezi vizuri.

butuka v.stat 1. jipokonya 2. ongea ovoyo, ropoka 1. tear os off sb 2. speak carelessly
Metonymic extension of derivative of LyM *butuka 'kick (the football) wildly'.
1. Unacheki, bloo, basi, nikabutuka nikawasevu.
1. Unaona, rafiki, basi, nikajipokonya nikawatoroka.
2. Pita anapenda kubutuka akiona watu.
2. Pita anapenda kuropoka akiona watu.

buzi n5/6 mwanamume anayeliwa pesa na mwanamke kwa ajili ya mapenzi; mwanamume ambaye anamsaidia mwanamke matumizi kwa ajili ya kufanya mapenzi naye man having a sexual relationship with a woman who aims at getting money out of him; temporary sexual partner of a woman, who is well-off and maintains her; (well-off) man who provides financial support for a woman in exchange for a sexual relationship.

Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of augmentative derived from SS *mbuzi 'goat'.

Mary amepata buzi.
Mary amepata mwanamume ambaye anampa pesa.
Mary anamchuna buzi.
Mary anapata pesa kutoka kwa mwanamume ambaye anatembea naye.
Hata ukinuna buzi tumelichuna. (Khanga writing)
Hata ukinuna, namefanya mapenzi na mtu mwenye uwezo na nimeshapata cho chote toka kwake.

bwaba n5/6 msenge homosexual man
Euphemistic extension of SS *ubwaba 'soft cooked rice'.

Masela eh! Huyo bwaba anafanya nini hapa maskani?
Marafiki eh! Huyo msenge anafanya nini hapa nyumbani?

bwana n5/6 rafiki friend
Semantic extension of SS *bwana 'master, Sir'. Used by men and women to address men and women alike. Very old and common

bweche, beche n5 wali cooked rice
?< For the meaning 'gruel' attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 23).

bwenzi n aina ya unyoaji wa nywele style of haircut for men

bwabwa n5/6 msenge homosexual man
Euphemistic extension of SS *ubwaba 'soft cooked rice'.

Masela eh! Huyo bwaba anafanya nini hapa maskani?
Marafiki eh! Huyo msenge anafanya nini hapa nyumbani?

bwimbi n9/10 kokeni cocaine
Metonymic extension of SS *bwimbi 'ground corn mixed with sugar'.

Bye n5 callbox
"Excessively drunk".

Bye n5 callbox
"More than full!"

Chacha n5 callbox
"Be broke"

Chacha n5 callbox
"Turn sour, go bad"

Palma n5 callbox
"Cool, nice, good, fine"

Palma n5 callbox
"Used in greetings as a reply to *hali vipe or *mambo."

Kolboksi n5 callbox
"Good, go well"

Kolboksi n5 callbox
"Turn sour, go bad"

Kolboksi n5 callbox
"Used in greetings as a reply to *hali vipe or *mambo."

Kolboksi n5 callbox
"Good, go well"
chachandu n9/10 1. kichombezo cha chakula
2. shanga za kiunoni  1. spicy appetiser 2. waist lace made of beads
2. Metaphorical semantic extension of 1; 1. and 2. very common
2. Kama mwanamke hana chachandu si mwanamke tena.
2. Kama mwanamke hana shanga za kiunoni si mwanamke tena.

chagizwa v.caus.pass  tiwa ari, sukumwa na ari be made eager
Semantic extension of SS *chagiza 'insist, pester'
Vijana walichagizwa na munkari wao wa ngono.
Vijana walisukumwa na hamu yao ya kufanya mapenzi.

chai n9 rashwa bribe
Euphemistic metonymic extension of SS
*chai 'tea', also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 26). The metaphor of
'sipping chai' is used to signal the warming-up phase of any procedure. In
this spirit, the bribe is conceptualised as the necessary preliminary which sets

Pokea chai kidogo!
Kula rashwa!
Nipe chai, basi!
Nipe pesa nikanywe chai nikufanyie kazi yako.
Unanipa kazi bila hata chai, bwana?
Unanipa kazi bila kutangulizwa cho chote, bwana?
> chai ya rangi, soda, kitu kidogo

chai ya rangi n.phr 1. hafifu 2. rushwa ndogo
1. broke, miserable 2. small bribe
Metonymic extension of SS *chai ya rangi 'black tea'.
1. Mambo zao zinakuwa wasiwasi, chai ya rangi
2. Jamani, aliniomba nimfanyie kazi yake, nikamwambia nipe chai, chai yeneyewe ilikuwa ya rangi.
2. Jamani, aliniomba nimfanyie kazi yake, nikamwambia anipe pesa kidogo kwanza, lakini alichonipatia kilikuwa kidogo kuliko nilivyotegemea.
> chai, soda

chakula n7 msenge, shoga homosexual man
Euphemistic extension of SS *chakula 'food, meal'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987: 26).

Mwana, unamcheki huyo bwege, nas'kia eti ni chakula?
Rafiki, unamwona huyo bwege, nasikia eti ni msenge?
> anti, bwabwa, choko, kaka poa, mshumaa

chalala v kutokuwa na pesa be broke
< ?
Nimechalala kishenzi.
Nimeishiwana na pesa kabisa.
> apeche alolo, arosto, majalala, waka

chale n10 hisia ya kitu fulani sense, sentiment, premonition
Semantic extension of SS *chale 'incision, tattoo'?
Chale zikamcheza.
Amehisi kitu fulani / Ameshtuka.
> machale, magutugutu

chali n5/6 mvulana, kjana boy, young man
Transfer from Sheng *chali 'young man, friend' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 4)?
> mchali

chana v 1. nenepa 2. fanya vizuri katika mtihani 1. grow fat 2. do well in exam
Metaphorical extension of SS *chana 'tear'.
1. Siku hizi Declare kachana kishenzi.
2. Alichana sana mtihani yake.

chana mistari v.phr imba nyimbo za "rap" rap verses
Metaphorical extension of SS *chana 'tear' plus *mistari 'lines'.
Alishika maiki na kuanza kuchana mistari ya traki yake.
Alishika maiki na kuanza kuimba wimbo wake.
> achia mistari, dondosha mistari, shusha mistari

chana neti v.phr kupa msichana mimba impregnate
Metaphorical expression "tear the net", based on the image of a hard-hitted ball tearing the net of a goal in a football match. Jamaa kapiga bao kachana na neti. Jamaa kafanya mapenzi na msichana, kama mimba.

**chapa maji**<sup>9/10</sup> pombe ya kienyeji locally brewed beer
Metonymic extension of SS *ng'aa 'shine, gleam'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 26). In KKS 2.

Yule amechapa maji. Yule amekunywa sana.

**chapa nao**<sup>9/10</sup> pesa; kahaba; malaya female prostitute, commercial sex worker
Probably dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *chang'aa 'shine, gleam'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 26).

Machangudoa wanakabiliwa na hatari ya ukimwi. Prostitutes are at risk of getting infected with AIDS.

**chapaa**<sup>n9/10</sup> pesa money
Transfer from Kenyan Sheng.

Bwana, hili gazeti unauza chapaa ngapi? Bwana, hili gazeti unaliuza kwa shilingi ngapi?

Usiniletee matatizo, mimi nataka chapaa. Usiniletee matatizo, mimi nataka pesa.

> **faranga, goto, mapene, mkwanja, mshiko, ngawila, uchache**

**chapa maji** v.phr kunywa sana pombe drink alcohol excessively
Metaphorical and euphemistic extension of SS *chapa 'hit' plus *maji 'water'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 26). In KKS 2.

Punguza kumchapa nao kila siku. Punguza kufanya mapenzi kila siku.

chapa maji

**chapia** v.appl 1. danganya 2. kosea katika matamshi, hasa ya maneno ya Kiingereza 1. lie, cheat 2. mispronounce words, esp. in English
Metaphorical extension of applicative derivation of SS *chapa 'hit'; probably ellipsis of the older Swahili slang phrase *chapa viboko 'cheat, dupe, take somebody in' attested in Ohly (1987a: 26).

Mara nyingi unachapia unapojaribu kuzungumza Kiingereza. Mara nyingi unakosea katika matamshi unapojaribu kuzungumza Kiingereza.

**chauchau** n mbeya, mtu anayependa kusengenza wenzake gossip, sb who likes to spread rumours
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of Bi. Chau, a character in a TV programme who was a gossip par excellence.

Shoga tuondoke chauchau ameshafika. Shoga tuondoke mbeya ameshafika.

**chee** id kwa bei rahisi cheap
< ? Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 27). In KKS 2.

Nilikwenda Kariakoo nimekuta nyanya chee. Nilikwenda Kariakoo nimekuta nyanya kwa bei rahisi.
Gari lenyewe bei chee.
Gari lenyewe bei rahisi.

**chechetuka** v.stat kujipendekeza, nyenyekea ingratiate os with sb, curry favour with sb

*Akijua una dili za mshiko tu anaanza kuchechetuka.*
*Akijua una mipango ya pesa tu anaanza kujipendekeza.*

**cheki** v.ona, hakikisha, tazama see, make sure, watch

Metonymic extension of SE 'check'. The less adapted *check is also used in texts.

*Njoo tucheki kioo.*
Come and let's watch the video.
*MaTZQ walikucheki.*
Mapolisi wageni walikuona.
*Mnacheki, washikaji, wakati nasevu mapaparazi wakanifotoa picha.*
Mnaona, marafiki, wakati nilipotoroka, waandishi wa habari wakanipiga picha.
*Mjage, basi, hapa geto kunichekichia! Godi anatucheki.*
Mungu anatuangalia.
*Tomorrow nitakucheki kwenye runinga.*
*Kesho nitakuona kwenye video.*
*Sijui tutakucheki wapi tena.*
*Sijui tutakuona wapi tena.*

> **chekishia**

**chekibobu** n.kijana anayeviweka, mtu anayeviweza, kijana wa mjini, kijana mhuni male youth who is boasting, male urban youth

Transfer from American slang *checkbob.*

*Lakini wewe mwenye chekokibobu u'shamaliza.*
Lakini wewe mweneye we ni kijana anayeviweka, umeshajua mbaya yote.
*Ali ana mambo ya kichekichobu.*
*Ali ana mambo ya kihuni (au ya ujana).*

> **sista du**

**chekishia** v.caus.appl angalia watch, look at,

Derivation from LyM *cheki 'see'.

*Leo kuna muvu poa sana tukalichekishe.*
Leo kuna video nzuri sana tukaangalia.
*Mjage, basi, hapa geto kuchekishia! Njoooni, basi, kuniangalia hapo chumbani!*
*Iko dei tutakuchekishiana mitaani.*

Iko siku tutaonana katika pitapita zetu.

> **cheki**

**chelea pina** v.phr safi nice, well

Probably coined by rap artist II Proud in 1996 in his song "Moja kwa moja": *chelea pina - zali zalina noma sina.*
Especially used in greetings. Now on decline.
*Mambo? - Chelea pina!*
*Mambo? - Safi tu!*

**chemsha** v.caus toa jasho nyingi bila mafanikio; kushindwa; kushindwa katika kufanya kazi do something in vain, invest much effort without any result

Metaphorical extension of SS *chemsha 'boil'.
*Umechemsha usingemwambia.*
*Umekosea usingemwambia.*
*Ah! Timu yetu ilichemsha kabisa!*
*Ah! Timu yetu haikuweza kufanya vizuri.*

> **nyemka, tokota**

**chemsha** v.stat toa jasho nyingi bila mafanikio; kushindwa; kushindwa katika kufanya kazi do something in vain, invest much effort without any result

Metaphorical extension of SS *chemsha 'boil'.
*Based on the image of cooking beans or maize where boiling is the first stage in its preparation. The image implies that one gets stuck in the first steps of a complex task, struggling hard, but without being able to get past the initial stages.*

*Degera amechemsha.*

**chenza** n5 mwanamke asiye bikira woman who is not a virgin

Metaphorical extension of SS *chenza 'tangerine'* Used in contrast to *chungwa 'orange' denoting a virgin. Concept: A tangerine is easier to peel than an orange.

*Hoya lile ni chenza.*
*Hoya, yule ni mwanamke asiye bikira.*

> **chungwa**

**chesa** n9 msichana bikira virgin

Metaphorical extension based on the name of the car model Toyota "Chaser" which has high prestige. Used in contrast to *gofu 'girl who is not a virgin any more'. Rare.

> **gofu**
cheza bingo v.phr bahatisha try one's luck; participate in a game of chance
Metaphorical extension of SE 'bingo' (game of hazard, game of chance), which is also performed in Tanzanian TV; expression "play bingo".
Vipi una dili gani? - Nacheza bingo.
What are you doing in order to get something? - I try my luck in some commerce.

cheza chesi v.phr hadaa, danganya, tumia njia isiyo halali kwa ujanja manoeuvre, cheat
Metaphorical extension of SE 'chess'; expression "play chess". Not common
Nilicheza chesi polisi wakaniachia.
Nilidanganya polisi wakaniachia.

chee, chechee disc mzuri good, alright
< ? Standard reply to greetings such as *kidanka, or *danka. Probably
development of the older Swahili slang forms *chee 'easy; free of charge' (Ohly 1987a: 27).
Yule ni msichana kama wa chee!
Yule ni msichana mzuri sana.

chicha n halì ya kulewa kupita kiasi drunkenness
Metonymic extension of SS *chicha 'lees, residuum after beer has been strained', motivated by the image of 'draining something to the lees', probably also related to the older Swahili slang *chicha 'native beer' attested in Ohly (1987a: 27).
Niko chicha.
Nimelewa sana.
> bwi, bomba, bunduki, keroro, tungi

chikichia v.appl 1. eleeka, ondoka 2. angalia kwa makini 3. ficha, ficha sana, k.m. katika sehemu za siri 4. lala na msichana; danganya msichana (meaning provided by female informant) 1. head for, go away 2. watch carefully 3. hide, hide very well, e.g. in private parts 4. sleep with a woman
Metonymic extension of derivates of SS *chikicha 'cut with a sawing motion, as with something blunt'.
Aliponidakisha mshiko tu nimechikichia.
Aliponipa pesa tu nikaondoka.
Mwanafunzi alichikichia kama mwalimu anawiona.

Mwanafunzi aliangalia kwa makini kama mwalimu anamwona.
Nimempa shilingi 200 aniletewa machungwa.
Kaniletea ya shilingi mia na hamsini, hamsini kachikichia.
Nimempa shilingi 200 aniletewa machungwa.
Kaniletea ya shilingi mia na hamsini, hamsini ameficha mfukoni.
Alichikichia mishiko yote.
Alificha pesa zote.

chikopa n halì ya kupendeka kwa mavazi smart look
< ? Introduced through a song by Fid Q (Bongo Fleva)
Suti uliyovoia imekutoa chikopa.
Suti uliyovoia imekupendeka.

chimba v somsana study intensively
Metaphorical extension of SS *chimba 'dig'.
Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 27).
Kuchimba kitu gani bwana, siyo bongo!
Kusoma kuna maana gani bwana, Dar es Salaam hakuna!
> bukua, chimbo, Joni Kisomo, kesha na vitabu

chimba biti v.phr tisha kwa maneno threaten verbally
Metaphorical extension from SS *chimba 'dig' plus LyM *biti which see
Usinichimbe biti.
Usinitishie.
Wandago walichimba biti la kutisha.
Mapolisi walitishia sana.
> mikwara

chimbo n5/6 1. nyumbani 2. maficho 3. sehemu ya kubukua 1. home 2. hiding place 3. retreat to study
Dysphemistic extension of SS *chimbo 'mine'
Twende chimbo!
Twende nyumbani!

chini adv mambo ya ngono sex
Metonymic extension of SS *chini 'beneath, below'.
Huyu jamaa anapenda chini sana.
Huyu jamaa anapenda mambo ya ngono sana.

chinja v 1. mwanamke kutoza pesa kwa
mwanamume 2. mwanamke kufanya mapenzi kwa ajili ya kupata pesa 1. women: extract money from men 2. women: make love in order to get money
Hyperbolic extension of SS *chinja 'slaughter'.
Mshikaji anamaindi kuchinja kinoma.
Yule rafiki anapenda sana kufanya mapenzi.
> chuna, buzi

chizi n 1. mtu afanyaye mambo ya kihunihuni
2. rafiki 1. cheater, hooligan 2. friend
Dysphemistic extension of SS *chizi 'stupid person, crazy person'. In older Swahili slang as 'white man, European' (Ohly 1987a: 28).
1. Yule mtu si wa kufanya naye biography, chizi kweli yule.
1. Yule mtu si wa kufanya naye biography, mambo yake ya kihunihuni.
2. Chizi wangu vipi?
2. Rafiki yangu vipi?
> mento, kichizi, mhizizi

choo n7 matatizo, ovyo, baya trouble, something problematic, shit, bad
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *choo 'toilette'. Very popular in late 1990s.
Mambo yaliwuwa choo.
Mambo yaliwuwa mabaya.
> kasheshe, kimeo, kizaazaa, msala, noma, sheshe, soo, zali

choo paspoti saizi n.prh choo chenyu kuta fupi na ambacho hakina paa outside toilet with low wall and no roof
Hyperbolic extension of SS 'toilet' and SE 'passport size'. In such a toilet the head and shoulders of a person can be seen from outside - like a passport photograph; expression 'toilet of passport size'.
Choo chetu cha paspoti saizi.
Choo chetu hakina kuta ndefu.

choli v iba steal
Transfer and semantic extension of Gujarati *choli 'thief'.
Babu kwa kucholi umezidi sana.
Rafiki kwa kuiba umezidi sana.
> chomoa

choma v semea (kwa kuongeza uongo) denounce, sell out (by exaggerating)
Metaphorical extension of SS *choma 'roast; pierce'.
Unaenda kuchoma kwa mshua.
Unaenda kusemea kwa baba.

chomboa v iba, dokoa steal as a pick-pocket
< ? Seems to be variant of LyM *chomboa.
Nimetoka sokoni, nilipopita mtaa wa Kongo wakaibaa ndizi wakawaka ndizi kwenyeni kapu langu.
Nimetoka sokoni, nilipopita mtaa wa Kongo wakaibaa ndizi kwenyeni kapu langu.
> chomoa

chomekea v 1. tongozza 2. ingiza jambo mahali ambapo halikutarijwa 3. ingiza gari mbele ya mwingine bila utaratibu mzuri 1. seduce 2. chip in 3. overtake car in a hazardous way, because the space is very small
Semantic extension of SS *chomekea 'stick into'.
1. Tulipokuwa tukiongea na yule demu kuhusu masomo nilichomekea swala la mapenzi, likajibu.
1. Tulipokuwa tukiongea na yule demu kuhusu masomo nilingiza swala la mapenzi, likafaniikiwa.
2. Kwenye kikao nilichomekea ishu ya likizo
fupi.
2. Kwenye kikao niliingiza swali la likizo fupi katika agenda.
3. Amenichomekea, afande.
3. Ameniwekea gari mbele bila utaratibu, afande.

chomoa v. sep 1. ondoka ghafla bila kupanga toka mwanzo 2. kataba, katalia ombi au shauri 3. iba 4. toa 1. make off, go away abruptly 2. refuse to respond to an advice, or to a request 3. steal 4. give

Semantic extension of SS *chomoa 'pull out, unplug, extract, bring to light', related to the older Swahili slang *chomoa 'pinch, pick up sb's pocket, lend' (Ohly 1987a: 28).

1. Alisimama katika foleni, akachomoa.
1. Alisimama katika foleni, akaondoka ghafla.
1. Dereva wa daladala alichomoa mchuma.
1. Dereva wa daladala aliondoshia gari.
2. Alichomoa shauri.
2. Alikatalia shauri.
2. Nimempa dili kachomoa.
2. Nimempa kazi kaikataa.
4. Yule alichomoa pesa.
4. Yule alitoa pesa.
> timua

chomoka v.stat kimbia, toroka run away, run away from

Stative derivation / backformation of SS *chomoza 'make a way out, come out'; also attested in the older Swahili slang *chomoa mbio 'run fast' (Ohly 1987a: 28), which is also still in use. In KKS 2.

Washikaji, chomokeni! Mamwela kibao wanakatiza maskani.
Jamani, kimbieni! Mapolisi wengi wanapita nyumbani.

Vicenti alichomoka mama yake.
Vicenti alimtoroka mama yake.
Vick alichomoka mbio na kuipokea barua hiyo.

Vick alikimbia upesi na kuipokea barua hiyo

chomokea v. kumwendea msichana kwa nia ya kumtongoza approach a girl in order to seduce her Metaphorical extension of stative plus applicative derivation of SS *chomoa 'extract, take out'?

Wanadai eti kuna mchizi wetu anamchomokea demu wao.
Wanadai eti kuna rafiki yetu anamwendea msichana wao kwa nia ya kumtongoza.

chonde inj. tafadhali, naomba please Transfer from a local Bantu language, e.g. Yao, Makonde, Mwera. Also attested in older Swahili slang as *chondechonde 'please, please' (Ohly 1987a: 28)

chonga v. 1. ongea sana 2. toboa siri, eneza maneno (ya uongo) 1. chatter, talk uselessly 2. give away secret, leak information

Metaphorical extension of SS *chonga 'carve'; probably ellipsis of the SS phraseme *chonga maneno 'invent a story'.

1. Jamaa anachonga kweli.
1. Jamaa anapenda kuongea sana.
1. Unachonga siku hizi.
1. Unaongea siku hizi.
2. Yule amechonga.
2. Yule ametoboa siri yangu.
> -pakaza

chuchu saa sita n.phr maziwa yaliyochongoka, maziwa yasiyoanguka female breast that points upwards, so that the nipples point also upwards like the hands of a clock in the 12 h position

Hyperbolic metonymic extension of SS *chuchu 'nipple' and *saa sita '12 o'clock', based on the image of the position of the hands of a clock at 12 h; expression "nipple 12 o'clock".

Moto kaumbika, chuchu saa sita. Msichana ameumbika, matiti yake yamechongoka.
> matiti saa sita

chuma n. bastola pistol

Metonymic extension of SS *chuma 'iron'. In KKS 2 with remark "msemo". Also in KKS 1.
Dereva teksi alivamiwa na majambazi.
Hakutaka kuwaachia gari, wakamtolea chuma.
Dereva teksi alivamiwa na majambazi.
Hakutaka kuwaachia gari, wakamtolea bastola.

> mguu wa kuku

*chuma n msichana mzuri, mtu au kitu chenye maana beautiful girl, girlfriend (or other treasured objects)*

Metonymic extension of SS 'iron', related to the older Swahili slang item *chuma 'beauty' and the phraseme *mtoto chuma 'lovely girl' and *kama chuma 'fine, O.K.' (Ohly 1987a: 28). Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 5).

*Miye n'nacho chuma changu.*

*Miye n'anye msichana wangu.*

*Jamaani, yule ni chuma kweli.*

*Jamaani, yule ana maana kweli.*

*Yule msichana chuma kweli.*

*Yule msichana bomba kweli.*

*chuna v toza pesa, pata kitu fulani kwa njia ya kufanya mapenzi na mwanamume* extort money, extort money from a man in a sexual relationship

Metaphorical extension of SS *chuna 'flay'.

*Common, ten years old.*

*Wanachoju wa watoto wa miini ni kuwachuna wote wanaozubaa.*

*Wanachoju wa watoto wa miini ni kuwotoza hela wote wanaozubaa.*

*Nimechuna shilingi elfu tano.*

*Nimepata shilingi elfu tano kwa njia ya kuijuza.*

> chinja, buzi

*chuna buzi v.phr mwanamwe kutoza pesa kwa mwanamume ambaye anatembea naye have a sexual relationship with a man in order to get money out of him*

Metaphorical extension of SS *chuna 'flay' and *buzi 'big goat'.

*Mary anachuna buzi.*

*Mary ana mwanamume ambaye anampatia pesa.*

*Hata ukinuna buzi tumelichuna.*

(Khanga writing)

*Hata ukinuna, nimefanya mapenzi na mtu mwenye uwezo na nimeshapata cho chote toka kwake.*

> buzi

*chungwa n5 mwanamwe bikira virgin*

Metaphorical extension of SS *chungwa 'orange'. Used in contrast to *chenza 'tangerine' denoting a woman who is not a virgin any more. An orange can not be peeled as easily as a tangerine.

Introduced through a song by Suma Lee.

*Hoya lile ni chungwa.*

*Hoya, yule ni mwanamwe bikira.*

> chunya

*chupi n9/10 msichana, mwanamwe girl, young woman*

*Dysphemistic synecdoche of SS *chupi 'underpant'. Attested in older Swahili slang as 'mini skirt' (Ohly 1987a: 29)*

*Kulikuwa na chupi nyingi.*

*Kulikuwa na wasichana wengi.*

*chwee, chwee rega disc hakuna there is none*

*Probably development of the older Swahili slang forms *chee 'easy; free of charge' and *chewale 'cheap, free of charge' (Ohly 1987a: 27) plus metaphorical extension of SS *rega 'be careless; be limp, be loose, be slack'.

*Chwee [rega], babu lake, dongo limeyeyuka.*

*Hakuna, jamaa yangu, ugali umeisha.*

*chákari n hali ya kulewa drunkenness*

*Ellipsis of expression *amelewa chákari 'he is extremely drunk'; SS *chakari 'more than usually'. Probably originally metaphorical extension of SS *chakari 'hangman'.

*Yuko chákari.*

*Amelewa sana.*

> bunduki, bwi, chicha, bunduki, keroro, tungi, zimika

*chéléa pina disc nzuri sana, safi sana, barábara very good*

*Semantic extension of SS *chéléa 'be apprehensive' plus unidentified second element *pina? Standard reply to greetings such as *kidanka, *hali vipi or *mambo vipi. Sometimes heard as *bina. Coined (?) and popularised through Bongo Fleva song "Moja kwa Moja" by II Proud on Album "Ndani ya Bongo" in*
The song has a line "Chelea pina zali zalina noma sina". On decline.

"Tuliza boli, kicha wangu, mambo chélea pina."

Subiri mambo, rafiki yangu, mambo mazuri sana.

"Natumanini mpo fiti, mambo chélea ya (?) pina."

Natumanini mpo wazima, mambo mazuri sana.

"Mambo chélea na nguvu pina."

"Mambo safi sana."

"dakika moja mbele" n.phr mtu asiye na akili stupid person

Metaphoric expression: "one minute ahead".

> zezeta, zoba, ziro

"dakisha" v.caus pa give

Dysphemistic extension of SS *daka 'grab'.

"Alinidakisha mshiko."

"Juzi nilimdakisha fuba."

"Juzi nilimpa pesa."

"dala" n 1. sarafu ya shilingi 5 2. tano 1. coin of 5 TSh. 2. five

Metonymic extension of SE 'dollar', dating from the time, when one US-Dollar was worth 5 TSh (early 1980s).

2. Mchezaji wao namba dala aliwasaidia sana wasifungwe.

2. Mchezaji wao namba tano aliwasaidia sana wasifungwe.

> gobole, gwala; bee, taraa

"dalika" v ambukiza ugonjwa, hasa ukimwi infect with a disease, especially AIDS

<?

"Amemdalika."

"Amemwambukiza."

> dalikwa ngoma

"dalikwa ngoma" v.phr ambukizwa na ugonjwa, hasa ukimwi get infected with a disease, especially AIDS

<? Passive form of LyM *dalika 'infect' plus LyM *ngoma 'AIDS'.

"Amedalikwa ngoma."

"Ameambukizwa ukimwi."

> dalika, ngoma

"damdam, damu damu" n hali ya kuwa rafiki wa karibu, lakini siyo mpenzi relationship

between close friend

Semantic extension of SS *damu 'blood'.

"Mimi na Juma ni damdam."

Mimi na Juma tuna uhusiano wa karibu sana.

"Wewe na mimi damu damu."

Wewe na mimi tupo wa karibu sana.

"Dar kombinein" n aina moja ya kitu au mtindo (wa kuva) unaonea wakati fulani jijini Dar any item or fashion (of clothing) which comes up in Dar es Salaam and lasts for some time

Metonymic extension of SS *Dar 'Dar-es-Salaam' plus transfer from SE 'combine'.

Expression: 'Dar es Salaam combine'.

"Ile ngu ni nzuri lakini imekuwa Dar kombinein."

Ile ngu ni nzuri lakini imevaliwa na watu wengi.

"data" v hangaika, changanyikiwa get puzzled, get nervous, be confused

Metonymic semantic extension of SE 'data': having too much data causes confusion.

"Kila unapopita mpaka kudata."

"Wanafunzi mpaka kuchanganyikiwa."

> datisha

"datisha" v caus hangaisha puzzle, make nervous

Causative derivation of LyM 'data'.

"Kila unapopita masela unawadatisha."

(Ngwair 2005: She Gotta Gwan)

Kila unapopita wanaume unawahangaisha.

"debe" n5/6 1. meli; gari 2. disco 1. boat, ship; 2. discotheque

Dysphemistic extension of SS *debe 'tin, can'.

1. Leo nataka kuzamia debe kwenda bondeni.

1. Leo nataka kuzamia meli kwenda Afrika Kusini.

1. Fr. Celestino na Rolani wamekwea debe kwenda Gumbu.

1. Fr. Celestino na Rolani wamepanda gari kwenda Gumbu.

2. Tulijirusha debe mpaka liamba.

2. Tulistarehe katika disko mpaka asubuhi.

"debweza" v kulegeza nguo (suruali) katika kiuno loosen clothes at waist

<110>
dedi v kufa die
Extension of transfer from SE 'dead'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 6).
Amadedi.
Amekefa.
> kata kamba

dege la jeshi n.phr (n5) 1. mtu asiyejijali 2. malaya, hasa yule anayeshukiwa kuwa ameathirika na ukimwi 1. untidy person 2.prostitute, especially one who is suspected to have been infected by HIV
Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of augmentative of SS n.phr. *ndege ya jeshi 'bomber'.
2. Mshikaji usifuatilie lile luzi, ni dege la jeshi, ni soo!
2. Rafiki, usifuatilie yule msichana, ana hatari ya ukimwi, ni balaa!

dei n9 siku day
Transfer from SE 'day'.
Dr. Gwassa dei fulani kamotoa na mtutu.
Dr. Gwassa siku fulani kaondoka na pikipiki.
Ipo dei fulani mamwela waliminji jeshi
niwagee ganja ili wanisobe rupango.
Ipo siku fulani polisi waliminji jeshi
niwape bangi ili wanichukue gerezani.
Ipo dei nitakuja kukukill.
Ipo siku nitakuja kukuua.
Ms[h]irika, ipo dei tutawamba masuru ya jeans.
Rafiki, ipo siku tutavaa suruali za jinsi.
Iko dei tutachekishiana mitaani.
Iko siku tutaoanah kati kipopi zetu.

dele adv kita siku daily
Transfer from SE 'daily'.
Dele mi' natimba skani.
Kila siku mimi naingia kijiweni.

dewaka n5/6 mtu mwene ajira ya kubahatisha, mtu mwene kazi isiyo na mkataba labourer; worker without contract
Transfer from SE 'day worker'.
> ushanta

demua n5/6 mwanamke ambaye hajaelwe, msichana mzuri unmarried girl, lady, beautiful young woman
Semantic extension of SE 'dame', also reported for older Swahili slang as *dem (Ohly 1987a: 30) and for Sheng (Moga & Fee 1993, Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 6).
Yule demu yako bomba.
Msichana yule ni mzuri sana.
Yule demu yako pini.
Yule msichana ni mzuri sana.
Yule demu yako magoli.
Yule msichana ni mzuri sana.
Mademu ni mapepe.
Wasichana ni wahuni.
Mademu bomba wameibuka.
Wasichana wazuri wamekuja.
Du, huyu demu ana bonge la bambaataa!
Du, huyu msichana ana matako makubwa!
> kipopo, mlupu
denda n5 busu mdomoni French kiss
Metonymic extension of SS *denda 'saliva'.
Nikamdaka Tom nikampa denda.
Nikamdaka Tom nikampa busu mdomoni.
Tulipeana denda jepesi.
Tulipeana busu jepesi mdomoni.
> piga denda
denge n9/10 mtindo wa nywele wa kipolisi na kiastru haircut of police style: the hair is shaved around the ears
Metonymic extension of SS *denge 'goat pen built on poles, raised off the ground'.
Mimi huwa napenda sana kunoa denge.
Mimi huwa napenda sana mtindo wa nywele wa kipolisi.
> bwenzi, pank[i]
dent[i] n5/6 mwanafunzi, mwanachuo, hasa msichana student, mainly female
Initial clipping of SE 'student'.
Madent wa Kurio leo wamevinga makatalogi.
Wanafunzi wa Kurio leo wamevaa nguo nzuri.
Denti yule amefanya fujo.
Wanafunzi yule amefanya fujo.
desa n5/6 karatasi au kitavu cha kutumia katika mtihani kwa kuangalizia majibu bila ruhsaa notes and books used for cheating in exams
< ? Popular in schools and colleges.
Wanafunzi walifaulu kwa madesa.
Wanafunzi walifaulu kwa kuchungulia majibu kwenye karatasi.
> kibuti

desa v danganya katika mtihani cheat in exams
Semantic extension of SS *desa 'show off, put on airs'? Popular in schools and colleges.
Juma anapenda sana kudesa.
Juma anapenda sana kudanganya katika mtihani.

dilei v chelewa be late, be delayed
Semantic extension of transfer from SE 'delay'.
Alipodilei tu mzee mzima nikakunjuka.
Alipochelewa tu mzee mzima nikakimbia.
Amedilei.
Amechelewa.

dili n5/6 1. siri, jambo 2. biashara, mpango, kazi 1. secret, affair 2.business, project, work
Semantic extension of SE 'deal'.
1. Oya mshikaji, njoo nikupe dili kiaina hapa chobi.
1. We rafiki yangu, njoo nikueleze siri kuhusu kitu fulani hapa pembeni.
1. Nipe dili!
1. Nieleze siri!
1. Sasa, washikaji, mmanitonya vipi kuhusu dili hili?
1. Sasa, marafiki, mmanieleza vipi kuhusu jambo hili?
1. Yupo mlami mmoja jina Lorand kanigea dili kuwa atanigeea chesa.
1. Yupo mzungu mmoja jina Lorand kanieleza siri kuwa atani pa gari.
2. Nimempa dili kachomoa.
2. Nimempa kazi kaikataa.
> ishu, michongo

dingi n babu; mkuu wa sehemu; mtu muhimu mwenye pesa; mzee father, daddy; leading man; important man with money; old man
< ? Since 1980s.
Habari za dingi?
How is your father?
Huyu ni dingi yangu.
Huyu ni babu yangu.
Huyu dingi mdosi kweli.
Huyu babu tajiri kweli.
> mdingi, mshua

Disiem n aina ya gari la abiria Toyota DCM small bus "Toyota DCM"
Acronym.

dizaini n mtindo, staili, muundo design, style
Transfer from SE 'design'.
Nimependa sana dizaini ya kitanda kile pale.
Nimependa sana mtindo wa kitanda kile pale.
> staili

Dizaini dizaini n. phr mambo ya uongo, mambo ya utapeli cheating, lieing
Euphemistic extension of reduplication of LyM "dizaini".
Acha dizaini dizaini zako hapa.
Acha mambo ya utapeli yako hapa.

Dizin n.prop.loc Dar es Salaam Dar es Salaam
Derived from the acronym DSM for Dar es Salaam. Almost obsolete.
Kila mtu anatamani japo kufika tu Dizin.
Kila mtu anatamani japo kufika tu Dar es Salaam.
> Bongo

dola n Shilingi 1000 1000 TSh.
Transfer from SE 'dollar'. Used in connection with prepaid telephone cards. "Dola moja" denotes a voucher of 1000 shillings. By the time Vodafone introduced prepaid cards they gave the value in dollars, but they were paid in Tanzanian shillings.
Nipe vocha ya dola tano.
Nipe kadi ya simu ya shilingi elfu tano.
Nahtaji vocha ya nusu dola.
Nahtaji kadi ya simu ya shilingi mia tano.

doma n sarafu ya shilingi 100 coin of 100 TSh.
< ? Not common.
> alasiri, hais, jiti, nyanga, nyeta, pini

domo gundi n.phr mtu asiyepe au asiyewea kuzungumza, mtu mzito wa kuzungumza rhetorically slow and clumsy person
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *domo 'big lip' and *gundi 'glue'; expression "glue lip'.
Yule jamaa domo lake gundi yule.
Yule ni mzito wa kuongea.
Yule ni domo gundi.
Yule ni mzito wa kuongea.
> domo zito, domo zege, domo limejaa kokoto

domo limejaa kokoto n.phr tabia ya mtu asiyependa au asiyeweza kuzungumza, mtu mzito wa kuzungumza rhetorical clumsyness and slowness
Dysphemistic extension of SS *domo 'big lip' and *jaa kokoto 'be full with gravel'; expression 'big lip full of gravel'.
Domo lake limejaa kokoto, hawezi kuongea.
Yule ni mzito sana wa kuongea.
> domo gundi, domo zito, domo zege

domo lina ujauzito idiom kutokuwa na uwezo wa kuzungumza vizuri be clumsy in speaking
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *domo 'big lip' and SS *ujauzito 'pregnancy': "big lip with pregnancy".
Domo lake lina ujauzito, hawezi kuongea.
Yule ni mzito sana wa kuongea.
> domo gundi, domo zito, domo zege

domo zege n.phr mtu asiyependa au asiyeweza kuzungumza, mtu mzito wa kuzungumza rhetorically slow and clumsy person
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *domo 'big lip' and *zege 'concrete'; expression "big lip of concrete''.
Mdomo wake mzito sana, ni domo zege.
Yule ni mzito sana wa kuongea.
> domo gundi, domo limejaa kokoto, domo lina ujauzito, domo zito

domo zito n.phr mtu asiyependa au asiyeweza kuzungumza, mtu mzito wa kuzungumza rhetorically slow and clumsy person
Dysphemistic extension of SS *domo 'big lip' and *zito 'heavy'; expression 'heavy big lip'.
Yule hawezi kuongea, ni domo zito.
Yule hajui kuongea.
> domo gundi, domo limejaa kokoto, domo zege

dona n5 ugali wa mahindi yasiyokobolewa porridge made of maize flour from non-husked maize
Metonymic extension of SS *dona 'maize flour made from non-husked maize'.
According to Gower (1958: 251) the word was used in the 1950s with the meaning of 'maize flour'. It was derived from the name (MacDonald) of the owner of the first flour mill erected in Morogoro in Tanganyika.
Maisha ya jeli ni magumu, kila siku dona kwa maharage.
Maisha ya gerezani ni magumu, kila siku ugali kwa maharage.
> bondo, dongo, nguna, sembe
dondosha mistari v.phr imba nyimbo za "rap" rap verses
Metaphorical extension of SS *dondosha 'drop' plus *mistari 'lines'; expression "drop lines".
Akadondosha mistari ya traki zake.
Akaimba mistari ya wimbo wake.
> achia mistari, chana mistari, shusha mistari
dongo n5 ugali porridge
Dysphemistic extension of augmentative derivation of SS *udongo 'clay'.
Mshirika, leo n'na ubao kinoma, twenzetu kanigee dongo!
Rafiki, leo nina njaa sana, twende ukanipe ugali!
Chwe[ef] rega, babu lake, dongo limeyeyuka.
Hakuna, jamaa yangu, ugali umaisha.
Kama dongo hola, nigee basi hata ganja tu.
Kama ugali umaisha, nipe hata bangi tu.
> bondo, dona, nguna, sembe
du interj. alama ya mshangao ah, oh < ? Very common, colloquial.
Du bloo, leo umevaa bonge la saa.
Alaa, kaka, leo umevaa saa kubwa.
dungu n5 kitu ambacho kwa juu si cha mraba, bali ni cha mviringo, k.m. basi aina ya Toyota Hiace anything which has a rounded top, e.g. bus model Toyota Hiace
Metaphorical extension of SS *dungu 'stage or platform, raised from the ground and often roofed over, for a watchman guarding crops on a plantation'.
Cognitive motivation: form.
Juma siku hizi anaendesha hais dungu.
Juma siku hizi anaendesha Toyota Hiace.
> panki
demolo
emoro n 1. chupa ndogo ya Coca Cola  2. mtu mfupi
1. 200 ml bottle of Coca-Cola  2. short person
Onomastic synecdoche based on Emoro, the name of a very small singer in the
Congelese soukous band "Empire Bakuba". The founder Pépé Kallé was 2m10 tall. In their live shows both the giant Kallé and the dwarf Emoro danced to enchant the public (see: http://www.geocities.com/MotorCity/Spe edway/4939/frames/art_bakuba.html).

Nimeenda bichi nikakutana na emoro.
Nimeenda bichi nikakutana na mtu mfupi sana.

sista P, pimbi

emsi n5/6 msanii wa Bongo Fleva Master of ceremony (MC) in HipHop culture
Transfer from English.
Emsi huyo alishika maiki. (Sani 214:6-7)
MC huyo alishika mikrofoni.

endesha v.caus harisha have diarrhoea
Metaphorical extension of SS *endesha 'drive'.
Jana niliendesha sana wacha mchezo.
Jana niliharisha sana.

fagilia v sifia kitu au mtu praise sth or sb
Metaphorical extension of SS 'sweep at, sweep away'. Cognitive motivation: sweeping somebody is like cleaning him from all bad things, thus only good ones remain.
"Akihutubia, Rais Mkapa 'alifagilia' wagombea f..." (Nipashe, 7.5.2005)
"Akihutubia, Rais Mkapa aliwagisifi
wagombea [...]."
"Jamaani tumfagilie sherehe yake" - "Wawaaah!"
"Jamaani tumisifie sherehe yake" - "Ndiyo!"

famba adj 1. bovu (kitu) 2. bandia (pesa) 1. sth rotten, bad  2. fake (money)
Hoya, mbona umenipa pamba famba ile.
Hoya, mbona umenipa nguo mbou.
Ameniletea famba.
Ameniletea pesa bandia.

faranga n9/10 pesa money
Transfer from French 'franc'.
Oya nige faranga.
Rafiki nipe pesa.
Katika mzunguko yangu nimepata faranga.
Katika mzunguko yangu nimepata pesa.

fasta, fasta fasta adv upesi, haraka, chapu chapu! quickly, fast, quick quick!
Transfer from SE 'faster'.
Mbina uko fasta sana.
Mbina una haraka sana.
Nenda fasta fasta urudi.
Nenda haraka urudi.
Kwenye simu: Ongea fasta fasta, hela yenyewe ni ndogo.
Kwenye simu: Ongea haraka, hela yenyewe ni ndogo.
Fanya fasta mshikaji.
Fanya haraka rafiki.

fegi n9/10 sigara cigarette
Transfer of SE 'fag', also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 33). Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 8).
Mshikaji, nigezegi nipige pafu moja, nimekalukwa.
Rafiki, naomba sigara nivute kidogo, nimeishiwa.
Nipatie fegi mbili hapo.
Nipatie sigara mbili hapo.

feki adj., n ya bandia fake
Transfer from SE 'fake'.
Hii mali ni nzima au feki?
Hii mali ni nzima au ya bandia?

feruzi n ukimwi AIDS
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the rapper Ferooz, who had a song about AIDS. Also, Feruzi is a Haya name, and AIDS started in Tanzania among the Haya in Kagera Region. Not common.
Ana feruzi.
Ana ukimwi.

fia v.appl penda mtu kupita kiasi be very much in love
Hyperbolic ironic extension of SS *fia 'die
for', also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 33).

Nimekufia.
Nimekupenda kupita kiasi.

> zimia

fiddodido n 1. mtu mwembamba sana 2. mtindo wa nywele kwa wanaume: pembeni ya kichwa hakuna nywele, juu nywele zinakuwa nyingi 1. very slim person 2. certain haircut preferred by males: sides of head are shaved, but on top there is hair left

Metonymic extension of "Fido Dido", a character from a commercial of Pepsi Cola, which was used in Tanzania at the end of the 90s. Fido Dido, a gawky, cornball, very successful licensed character, was invented in 1985. He is very slim and has a triangular head with eight locks of scary, stand-up hair (see: http://www.rmlicensing.com/ENG/Fido/fidodido.htm).


fiesta n shati ya kiume yenye mikono mifupi kind of T-Shirt for men

Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the music festival "Fiesta". In the year of the first festival (ca. 2000) the T-Shirts appeared. Not common.

fīti adj.inv zima, zuri fit
Transfer from SE 'fit'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 8).

Natumaini mpo fiti, mambo chelea ya pina. Natumaini mpo wazima, mambo mazuri sana.

Mambo yapo fiti, mshirika?
Mambo yapo mazuri, rafiki?
Je, wewe uko fiti?
Je, wewe uko sawa?

> fresh

foma limau n.phr simu ya mkononi kubwa big-sized mobile phone

Onomastic synecdoche based on soap brand "Foma limau" which is a bar soap.
Cognitive motivation: form.

> mshindi, mcche wa sabuni

foto n9/10 picha, nakala photo, photocopy
Transfer from SE 'photo'.

Washirika, tuishie, mapaparazi watatuchukua foto. Jamani, tuondoke, waandishi wa habari watatupiga picha.

fotoa v piga picha mtu au kitu take a photo of sb or sth

Derivation based on SE 'photo'.


fresh[i] adj, adv zima, zuri, safi, salama fine, well, fresh

Transfer from SE 'fresh', attested in various forms of adaptation ranging from *fresh over *freshi to *fuleshi. Primarily used as reply to greetings such as *vipi, *mambo or *mitikasi.

Hali yake yuko fresh.
Hali yake yu mzima.
Mambo freshi gado!
Mambo yanaendelea vizuri sana!
Lorand kawamba gamba kiufuleshi.
Lorand kavaa suruali maridadi.
> fuleshi

**fuba** n5 pesa money  
< ? There could be a connection to *fupa 'highly paid job' as attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 34).
Nilimdakisha fuba.
Nilimpa pesa.
Majita wamenitaiti, wamelamba fuba lote.
Wahuni wamenibana, wamechukua pesa zote.
Yule ana fuba kweli.
Yule ana pesa kweli.
> mapene, nkwanja, mshiko, uchache

**fuga ndevu** v.phr kuwa na mpenzi wa kiume kwa mwanamume live with a homosexual partner (men)  
*fuga as 'cohabit' attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 33)

**fuleshi**  
> fresh[1]

**full kipupwe** n.phr hewa iliyopozwa sana, k.m. katika gari air cooled by air condition, e.g. in a car  
Metaphorical extension of SS *kipupwe 'rainy season'; expression "full rainy season". Obviously coined by *Bongo Fleva* artist Prof. Jay in his track "Zali la mentali" (the luck of the crazy one) in 2001.
Gari iko full kipupwe.
Katika gari kuna hewa baridi sana.
> kiyoyozi

**funga (ma)kamba** v.phr ongopa, sema u+wong'o, danganya fikisi  
Metaphorical extension of SS *funga 'tie' plus SS *kamba 'rope'; expression "tie the rope". Referring to the image of sb being tied inside (kumfunga mtu ndani).
Jamaa kanfunga kamba.
Yule amenidanganya tu.
Amenfungia kamba.
Amenidanganya.
Anafunga kamba tu hapa.
Anasema uongo tu hapa.
Yule jamaa kwa makamba achana naye.
Yule mtu kwa uongo amezidi, humwezi.
> kamba, piga fikisi

**fungasha [nyuma]** v kuwa na matako makubwa have large buttocks  
Semantic extension of SS *fungasha 'fasten sth behind sth else'. Mainly in the phraseologisms "fungasha nyuma" and "fungasha mzigo".
Yule amefungasha.
Yule an matako makubwa.
Yule mama amefungashia mzigo.
Yule mama ana matako makubwa.
Sasa alianza kufungasha nyuma.
Sasa alianza kuwa na matako makubwa.
> jazia

**funika bovu** v.phr fanya vizuri kupita wengine, kitu kizuri kupita vingine excel  
Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of SS *funika 'cover' and *bovu 'bad, rotten'; expression "cover the bad thing".
Ile party iliikuwa funika bovu.
Ile party ilikuwa nzuri hakuna mfano.
Kwenye diskotikionita bovu.
Kwenye diskotikionita kupita kiasi.
Jana uliikuwa bovu babaake.
Jana uliupenda kupita kiasi, rafiki.

**fweza** n10 fedha money  
Derived from SS *fedha 'money'. Since 1990. The augmentative *mafweza is more common.
Sina fweza.
Sina fedha.
> mafweza

**fyeka mnazi** v.phr ua mtu kill sb  
Euphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *fyeka 'weed' and *mnazi 'coconut tree'; expression "weed/cut the coconut tree".
Kiongozi wa majambazi kasaema 'fyeka mnazi'.
Kiongozi wa majambazi kasaema 'kwue'.

**gado** adj, adv tayari; kamili, hodari, shupavu ready; brave  
Semantic extension of SE 'guard' or based on SS *gadi 'prop, shore'?  
*Mambo fresh gado!  
Mambo poa tayari!
Nipo gado.
Nipo kamili.
**gamba** n5/6 1. jinsi nzito 2. kitambulisho
heavy jeans 2. identity card
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS
*gamba 'bark'.
1. Lorand kawamba gamba kiufuleshi.
1. Lorand kavaa jinsi nzito safi sana.
2. Tumepewa magamba yetu jana.
2. Tumepewa vitambulisho vyetu jana.
> suru, ngozi

**gamu** n5/6 dawa ya kulevya, hasa aina ya
mirungi drugs
Transfer from Sheng (Kenya) *gamu (< SE
'gum'). It denotes "glue" in Kenya
(Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 8), but in
Tanzania it means *mirungi 'stimulant
herb'.
Walilevywa sana na gamu.
Walilevywa sana na madawa ya kulevya.
Mshikaji nige gamu yangu.
Rafiki nipe dawa yangu ya kulevya.

**ganda** v simama sehemu moja kwa muda
mrefu stand at a place for a long time
Metaphorical extension of SS *ganda
'coagulate, become hard; stick to?'
Attested as 'be garbled, be distorted' in
older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 35).
Ulikuwa ukitganda nyumbani.
Ulikuwa ukitganda nyumbani.
Kwa nini umemgandisha mwenzio hapa?
Kwa nini unamalazimisha mwenzio
kusimama hapa kwa muda mrefu?
*Mbona jana ulinigandisha.
*Mbona jana hukutokea pale sehemu
tulipokubaliana kikutana.

**ganja** a bangi Indian hemp, marijuana
Transfer from Jamaican Patois *ganja
'marijuana'.
Kama dongo hola, nigee basi hata ganja tu.
Kama ugalie umeisha, nipe hata bangi tu.
*Ipo dei fulani mamwela waliniija kutaka
niwagee ganja ili wanisobe rupango.
Ipo siku fulani polisi waliniija kutaka niwape
bangi ili waniichuke gerezani.
> kijiti, msuba, ndumu, blant

**ganjia** v.appl patia, pa. gawia kitu, hasa pesa
pass, give, share sth (especially money)
Probably generalised derivation from Sheng
*ganji 'money or property with which to
accomplish a given project; capital'
(Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 8).
Niganjie, basi.
Nipatie, basi.
Poa, tega antena nikuganjie dili!
Tulia, tega masikio nikueleze siri!

**gashi** n5/6 msichana mzuri girl, young,
beautiful woman
< ? According to Gower (1958: 253) derived
from Japanese 'geisha'. Also attested in
older Swahili slang as 'desirable woman'
(Gowert 1958: 253), and 'desirable
woman; woman; homosexual man
(queen)' (Ohly 1987a: 35).
Yule ni gashi wangu.
Yule ni msichana wangu.
> pini

**gawa dozi** v.phr patia kipigo kikali, shinda
beat sb heavily, defeat
Metaphorical extension of SS *gawa 'divide,
share' plus transfer from SE 'dose';
expression "share a dose". Very
common.
*Nikaona ananiletea longolongo ndo'
nikaanza kungawia dozi.
Nikaona kwamba analeta maneno ya uongo
ndiyoo nikaanza kumpa kipigo kikali.
*Simba mwaka huu kazi yao kugawa dozi tu.
Simba mwaka huu kazi yao ni kushinda tu.

**gea** v gawia, patia, toa, kupa share, pass, give
Metonymic dysphemistic extension of SS
*gea 'throw away, leave'.
*Vipi mbona hamnigei stori, kuna soo au
noma, washikaji?
*Vipi mbona hamnipe habari, kuna tatizo au
aiibu, marafiki?
*Ipo dei fulani mamwela waliniija kutaka
niwagee ganja ili wanisobe rupango.
Ipo siku fulani polisi waliniija kutaka niwape
bangi ili waniichuke gerezani.
*Du babu lake, bonge la dili nikugee.
*We raflki, nikueleze siri kubwa.
*Yupo mloni mmoja kanigee dili kuwa
atarigee cheser.
*Yupo mzungu mmoja kanieleza siri kuwa
atanipa gari.
*Ali alinigea fisi jana.
Ali alinipa shilingi hamsini jana.

**gei** v gawia, patia, toa, kupa share, pass, give
Metonymic dysphemistic extension of SS
*gea 'throw away, leave'. Also attested in Sheng in the form *nigei 'give me' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 25). Seems to be restricted to the northern parts of Tanzania.

Mshikaji, nigei fegi nipige pafu moja, nimekalukwa.
Jamaa, naomba sigara nivute kidogo, nimeishiwa.
Mshirika, leo n'na ubao kinoma, twenzetu kanigee dongo!
Rafiki, leo n'na njaa sana, twende ukanipe ugalii!
Kama dongo hola, nigei basi hata ganja tu.
Kama ugalii umaisha, nipe hata bangi tu.
Oya bloo, nigei uchache kiaina.
Rafiki, unipe pesa kidogo.

**gemu** n9 mczeo game, match
  Transfer from SE 'game'.
  Gemu ya jana ni patulo.
  Gemu ya jana imekuwa sare.

**geto** n chumba wapola vijana, chumba cha masela, maskani youths' (shared)
  sleeping room; room, quarter

Du washikaji, hamwoni noma kuvinjari getoni!
La jamani, hamwoni aibu kuzunguka chumbani!
Mfage, basi, hapo geto kunichekishia!
Njoooni, basi, kuniangalia hapo chumbani!
Mie naenda geto.
Mie naenda maskani.

**glasi** n5/6 miwani glasses
  Synecode of extension of SE 'glass'.
  Yule kapigilia glasi.
  Yule amevaa miwani.
  > tivi, macho manne

**gobole** n 1. kitu kikubwa (na cha zamani) 2. simu kubwa ya mkononi 3. sarafu ya shilingi tano ya zamani 1. something big (and outdated) 2. big mobile phone 3. coin of 5 TSh
  Metonymic transfer of *gobori 'old muzzle-loading gun', based on its big size. In Kenyan Sheng as "kobole" with the meaning of "coin of KSh. 5" (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 15). The Kenyan 5-Shillings-coin is much bigger than the other coins, in Tanzania it is the second-biggest coin, but both are polygonal.

3. Nimewenda vijijini nikashangaa kukuta sarafu ya shilingi tano bado inatumika.

> dafa, gwaala

godi n mungu god
  Transfer from SE 'God'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 9).
  Godi anatucheki.
  Mungu anatuanagalia.
  Godi akujalie safari poa.
  Mungu akujalie safari nzuri.

**gofu** n9/10 gari ndogo ya polisi (VW Golf)
  small police car (VW Golf)
  Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the car model "Golf".
  Polisi na gofu yao wakilima mitaa yetu.
  Polisi na gari yao wakilima mitaa yetu.

**gofu** n9 msichana asiye bikira girl who is not a virgin any more
  Metaphorical extension based on the name of the car model Volkswagen "Golf" which has low prestige. Used in contrast to *chesa 'virgin'. Rare.
  > chesa

**gogo** n garimoshi, treni passenger train
  Dysphemistic extension of SS *gogo 'log, trunk (of tree)', or onomastic synecdoche of the name of the Central Tanzanian ethnic group? Not widely known.
  Enzi zetu tulikuwa tunapanda gogo bure.
  Enzi zetu tulikuwa tunapanda garimoshi bure.

**goli** n5 sehemu ya kazi work-place
  Metaphorical extension of SS *goli 'goal'.
  The same meaning is in older Swahili slang attested for *bao, which in Standard Swahili denotes also 'goal' (Ohly 1987a: 23).
  Hili siyo goli langu, ni diewaka tu.
  Hapa siyo sehemu yangu ya kazi, nafranya kazi kwa muda tu.
  Hapa ndipo golini kwangu.
Hapa ndipo sehemu yangu ya kazi.

golikipa n5/6 1. mtu ambaye anapokea tu, mtu ambaye anasubiri vitu vya kuletewa 2. mama wa nyumbani 1. someone who is only receiving 2. housewife

Metaforical extension of SE 'goalkeeper'.
1. Unajidai hutaki kuwa golikipa.
2. Golikipa ni mgonjwa.

2. Mke wangu, mama wa nyumbani, ni mgonjwa.


gonga ikulu v.phr ongea pointi, pata kitu kizuri talk sense, get something nice

Semantic extension of SS *gonga 'knock' and *ikulu 'state house': "knock at the state house". Not common.
Hapo amegonga ikulu.
Hapo ameongea pointi.

gonga ngozi v.phr fanya mapenzi na msichana sleep with a girl, make love with a girl

Metaphorical expression "hit the skin"; SS *gonga 'hit, knock at' plus SS *ngozi 'skin, hide'.
Yule dada du! Nishamgonga ngozi!
Yule dada du! Nimeshalala naye kimapenzi. > kula ngozi, kaza, piga bao

gonga pombe v.phr kunywa pombe drink alcohol

Semantic extension of SS *gonga 'hit' plus *pombe 'alcohol'.
Amegonga pombe.
Amekunywa pombe.
Amegonga mvinyo. (Prof. Jay)


goto n5 fedha money

Derived from SS *gota 'knock, tap, strike'? In Sheng attested for the meaning 'ten cent coin' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 9).
Oya, nisusie goto langu.
Oya, nipe pesa zangu.
> chapa, mapene, mkwanja, mchuzi, mshiko, ngawila

gozi n5/6 1. kiatu cha ngozi halisi 2. mpira wa soka 3. noma, longolongo 1. shoe made of leather 2. football 3. trouble, lies

Hyperbolic metonymic extension based on an augmentative derivation of SS *ngozi 'skin, hide'.
> bandapanda, buti, dula, lakuchumpa, ngozi, tumba

gozigozi n1. hali ya kumzibia riziki mtu 2. poteza muda, zubaa 1. disrupt habit 2. lose time

< ? There seems to be no direct association with SS *ngozi 'skin', as informants rejected this notion.
1. Amenileteta gozigozi.
1. Amenizibiza riziki yangu.
1. Usiniveke gozigozi.
1. Usinizibiza riziki.
2. Acha gozigozi.
2. Acha kuzuhaa.
> kiwingu, bania

gubeli, gubelgubeli n5/6 malaya prostitute

< ? *guberi 'harlot' attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 36).
Shangingi gubeli limefika.
Malaya mnene mwenye umbo tata amefika.
> mama huruma

gwala n5 1. sarafu ya shilingi 5 1. coin of 5 TSh.

< ?
Nipe gwala langu la jana.
Nipe shilingi tano zangu za jana.
> dala, gobole

gwiji n5/6 mtu maarufu, mchawi expert, sorcerer

Metonymic extension of SS *gwiji 'expert'? Huyu ni gwiji wa hapa.
Huyu ni mchawi wa hapa.

hais n9/10 sarafu ya shilingi 100 coin of 100 TSh.

Onomatopoeic synecdoche based on the name of the bus model Toyota "Hiace" for which a fare of 100 shillings used to be charged until recently.
> jiti, nyeto, pini, alasiri

haja kubwa n.phr mataka makubwa big behind

Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *haja kubwa 'stool, excrements'.
Yule amefungashia haja kubwa.
Yule ana matakao makubwa.
>bambataa, kibinda, mkundu, ndómbolo, taarabu, tukunyema, shuzi, wowowo

haluu inj alama ya mshangao expression of surprise
Derived from SE 'hallo'?  
*haluu! Umependeza.  
Aisee! Umependeza.

hola n hamna, hali ya kukosa, hali ya kutuwanikia there isn't
Metonymic extension of the expression "hola", used by children in a game called "rede", where two players try to hit a third one with a ball. "Hola" means 'you didn't hit me'.  
*Kama dongo hola, nigea basi hatata ganja tu.  
Kama ugali hamna, nipe hatata bangi tu.  
*Nimekwenda nikakuta hola.  
Nimekwenda nikakuta hamna.

homligi n mambo ya binafsi private matters
Semantic extension of SE 'home league'.  
Hoya, usiniingilie homligi yangu.  
Hoya, usiniingiliie katika mambo yangu ya binafsi.

hoya, oya excl we! hey!  
< ? Used as a call for attention.  
Hoya mshikaji, njoo nikupe dili kiaina hapa chobi.  
We rafiki yangu, njoo nikueleze siri kuhusu kitu fulani hapa pambeni.  
Hoya mshikaji, tuliza mapepe, usiwe na mzuka!  
Rafiki, tuliza haraka, usiwe na wasiwasi!  
Hoya pailoti, weka tuta!  
We dereva, simamisha!

ibuka v 1. kuja, chipukia, tokea 2. pata 3. fanikiwa 1. come, appear 2. get 3. succeed  
Semantic generalisation of SS *ibuka 'pop up, appear (of a problem), emerge, resurface'.  
1. Mademu bomba wameibuka.  
1. Wasichana wazuri wamekuja.  
1. Majambazi wameshajibuka huku.  
1. Majambazi wameshachipukia huku.  
2. Umeibukia maisha.  
2. Umefanikiwa katika maisha.  
2. Ameenda machimbo kaibuka.  
2. Ameenda machimbo kafanikiwa.

3. Yule mtu baada ya kufilisika kaibuka tena.
3. Yule mtu baada ya kufilisika karudia tena halu nzuri.

ile mbaya n.phr sana, kupita kiasi, kabisa, mno very much, exceedingly, too much  
Dysphemistic semantic extension of SS *baya 'bad'.
*John ananipending ile mbaya.  
John ananipenda kupita kiasi.
* Tulikwenda kwenye pati, tukajichana ile mbaya.  
Tulikwenda kwenye pati, tukala kupita kiasi.  
> kwa kwenda mbele

ingia external v.phr badili lugha (Kiingereza au Kilugha) ili watu wasiohusika wasielewe swith to other language (English oder ethnic language) in order that bystanders cannot understand.  
Onomastic synecdoche of the name of the English language radio programme "External Service" aired by Radio Tanzania; expression "enter external [service]".
*Sasa wameingia external.  
Sasa wameanza kusema Kiingereza.
*Samahani, tunaingia external kidogo.  
Samahani, tunabadili lugha kidogo.
*Samahani, tuko external kidogo.
Samahani, tunasema lugha nyingine kidogo.

ingia lainsi v.phr kubali agree  
Metaphorical extension of SS *ingia 'enter' plus transfer from SE 'line'; expression "enter the line".  
*Demu namchombeza lakini haingii laini.  
Msichana namtongoa lakini hakubali.
*Nilkwenda kuongea naye biashara fulani, ameshajingia laini, kesho mambo poa.  
Nilkwenda kuongea naye biashara fulani, ameshakubali, kesho mambo safi.

ingia mitini v.phr jificha, potelea mbali, kimbia hide oneself, disappear, run away  
Semantic-pragmatic extension of SS *ingia mitini 'enter the wood'.  
*Leo Degera kaingia mitini.  
Leo Degera kajificha.
*Mwenzetu kaingia mitini.  
Mwenzetu katoroka na pesa.

inglish figa n.phr msichana mwembamba,
msichana mzuri, umbo dogo wa mtu slim lady, beautiful lady
Transfer from SE 'English figure'.
Yule ni inglish figa.
Yule ni msichana mwembamba.
Duh! Yule sholi ana inglish figa.
Duh! Yule msichana ni mwembamba.
Aisee! Jack ni inglish figa!
Aisee! Jack ni mwembamba.
> figa, kimóbitele, kipótabo

inspekta n mchunguzi, mdadisi, mpelelezi, mtu mwene tabia ya kujitia, mbeya, mkorofi nosy and inquisitive person
Metonymic extension of SE 'inspector'.
Inspekta sema basi unataka nini?
Hey, inspector, what do you want?
Unajifanya inspekta hapa.
Unataka kujua mambo yasiyokuhusu.

ishia v.app ondoka make off, run away
Metonymic extension of derivation of SS
*ishia 'finish, come to an end'.
Washirika, tuishie, mapaparazi watatuchukia foto.
Jamani, tuondoke, waandishi wa habari watatupiga picha.
Kapten John Degera kaishia na nzogolo ughabuni.
Kapten John Degera kaondoka na treni nchi za mbali.
Du brother, unaishia majuu la!
We rafiki, unaondoka kwenda ulaya!
Ishia mbali huko!
Toka hapa!
> timua, toa kiwingu, chomoa, anza, yeya, timka, kipa, jikata, jiszanza

ishu n3/4 mambo ya faraghani secret or private matters, affairs. In older Swahili slang attested with the meaning 'food' (Ohly 1987: 38).
Transfer of SE 'issue'.
Njoo tuongee ishu kidogo.
Njoo tuongee faragha kidogo.
> dili, mhongo

jamaa wa virungu n.phr mtu anayeomba vibaya someone who is sponging, scrounging
Semantic extension of SS *jamaa 'guy' plus *virungu 'clubs'; expression "guy with clubs".
Yule jamaa wa virungu hafai.
That scrounger doesn't fit.
> piga kirungu, piga mzinga

jambazi n5 mwanamke asiye na mapenzi ya dhati, anayefanya mapenzi kwa ajili ya kujikimu woman who has no true love, who goes with men in order to get a living
Metaphorical extension of SS *jambazi 'rogue'.
Mji huu una wanawake majambazi wenge sana.
Mji huu una wanawake majambazi wenge sana wasiye na mapenzi ya dhati.
> shankupe, shuga memmi

janta n5/6 mhuni, mtu ambaye hana mke; hata mwanamke mhuni wild youth, bachelor (only exceptionally used for women).
Probably transfer from SE 'giant' or Sheng *janta 'secret project' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 11).
Vipi janta wangu?
Vipi rafiki yangu?
Yule ni janta wangu.
Yule ni rafiki yangu.
> mjita, msela

jazia haja kubwa v.phr kuwa na matakoni makubwa have a big behind
Derivation of SS *jazia 'fill' plus *haja kubwa 'excretion', dysphemistic expression for "buttocks".
Yule amejazia haja kubwa.
Yule ana matakoni makubwa.
> jazia sehemu za nyuma, mavi, shuzi

jazia kifua v.phr kuwa na maziwa makubwa have big breasts
Semantic extension of SS *jazia 'fill' 'female breast'.
Yule mama amejazia kifua.
Yule mama ana maziwa makubwa.
> fungasha

jazia sehemu za nyuma v.phr kuwa na matakoni makubwa have large buttocks
Semantic extension of SS *jazia 'fill' 'female breast'.
Yule mama amejazia sehemu za nyuma.
Yule mama ana matakoni makubwa.
> fungasha, jazia haja kubwa

jeitano n Jumatano Wednesday
English pronunciation of abbreviation J for SS *juma, used for the days of the week beginning with "Juma": Jumamosi (J1),

**jero** n noti ya shilingi 500 note of 500 TSh.
Semantic extension of a truncated version of the name of the car model Mitsubishi "Pajero", motivated by the simultaneous appearance and prestige of both items. A note of this value was first issued in 1997.

Bwana nataka unipe vocha ya jero.
Bwana nataka unipe kadi ya simu ya shilingi mia tano.

**jeruhi** n5/6 abiria alipaye sehemu ya nauli tu, k.v. wanafunzi passenger who does not pay full
Derived from verb *jeruhi 'wound', meaning "wounded person". Metaphor used by daladala personnel to denote passengers who pay a reduced fare. The image comprises "wounded people" (who pay a reduced fare, e.g. students) and "corpses" (LyM *maiti; who pay nothing, e.g. soldiers)

Tumebeba majeruhi wengi.
Tumebeba abiria wengi wanaolipa sehemu ya nauli tu.
> kiroba, maiti

**ji** Id kimya silence
(Transfer of) ideophone in some Bantu languages, e.g. Mwera, Yao, Makonde, representing silence. Perhaps since long in use by Swahili speakers in spoken language?

Mbona hatuonani bwana, tangu kipindi kile [...] ndio jii!
Mbona hatuonani bwana, tangu kipindi kile [...] ndio kimya!

**jiachia** v.phr 1. ondoka eneo la tukio, kimbia 2. pumzika 1. go away, run away, leave a place 2. make a pause, rest
Metaphorical extension of reflexive form of applicative derivation of SS *acha 'leave'.
1. Amejiachia.
1. Amekimbia.
1. Jiachie bwana.
1. Toka hapa, bwana.
1. Baada ya kutoafikiana niliamua kuiachia kuepusha ugomvi.
1. Baada ya kutoafikiana niliamua kuondoka kuepusha ugomvi.
2. Nikimaliza mithani nitajiachia.
2. Nikimaliza mithani nitapumzika.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, kula bunda, lala mbele, piga bunda, tambaa, timka, timua, toa kiwingu, yeya

**jibu** v kuwa zuri, tokuwa na matatizo be o.k.
Metaphorical extension of SS *jibu 'answer'. Kuna mambo nasubiria, yakijibu itakuwa freshi.
Kuna mambo nasubiria, yakwi mazuri itakuwa safi.
> jibu, jipa, kaa freshi

**jichana** v.phr kula vizuri sana, kufaidi kwa chakula (na vitu vingine) eat very good food, enjoy food (and other things like drinks)
Hyperbolic extension of reflexive form of SS *chana 'slit'.
Tumeenda hotelini tumejichana chipsi na soda.
Tumeenda hotelini tumekula chipsi na soda. > sunda

**jichanganya** v.phr 1. fanya kosa 2. hama, potea 2. make a mistake 2. move, change address
Semantic extension of reflexive form of SS *changanya 'mix'. Attested in older Swahili slang as *changanya 'go away, move away; bolt' (Ohly 1987a: 26).
1. Ah, nilijichanganya, bwana.
1. Ah, nilifanya kosa, bwana.
2. Nimejichanganya mjini.

**jichenga** v.phr ingia enter
Metonymic extension of reflexive form of SS *chenga 'evade'
Amejichenga kitaani.
Ameingia nyumbani.

**jichimbia** v.phr hamia sehemu kwa kutumia njia za panya zisizo halali, na bila kutaka kurudi disappear; leave the town or, illegally, emigrate to another country without planning to come back
Metaphorical extension of reflexive form of applicative derivation of SS *chimba...
'dig'.
Bora njichimbie huko Bongo.
Bora nizame huko Dar es Salaam.

> zama

**jicho la mamba** n5 saa yenyen rangi ya shaba
watch of copper colour
Metaphorical extension of paraphrase of SS
*jicho 'eye' plus SS *mamba 'crocodile';
expression "crocodile's eye".
Du bloo, leo umewamba bonge la jicho la
mamba.
Du, kaka, leo umevaa saa kubwa rangi ya
mamba (shaba).

> kidonda

**jicho la tatu** n.phr 1. mtazamo wa hekima au
busara 2. bangi 1. wise consideraton 2. Indian hemp, marijuana
Metaphorical extension of SS *jicho 'eye'
and SS *-a tatu 'third'; expression "third
eye".
1. Mambo yale lazima uyaangalie kwa jicho
la tatu.
1. Mambo yale lazima uyaangilie kwa
hekima na busara.

> ganja, kijiti, majani, ndumu, nyasi

**jicho nyanya** n.phr hali ya kulewa sana
drunkenness
Metonymic extension of SS *jicho 'eye'
and *nyanya 'tomato', motivated by the
redness of one's eyes when drunk.
Yupo jicho nyanya.
Amelewa sana.
> bwi, bomba, bunduki, keroro, tungi

**jidunga** v.phr 1. tumia madawa ya kulevya
kwa kujichoma sindano 2. starehe, furahia,
 kunywa au kula (kitu fulani) 1. use drugs by
injection 2. enjoy something
Double metonymic extension of reflexive
form of SS *dunga 'pierce, bore'.
1. Washikaji kujidunga ni noma mnapoteza
bure!
1. Marafiki, kutumia madawa ya kulevya
kwa kujichoma sindano ni vibaya,
makufa bure!
2. Anajidunga kunywa pombe.
2. Anafurahia kunywa pombe.

**jiegsha** v.phr kaa, tulia, pumzika sit, rest
Generalisation of reflexive form of SS
*egesha 'park'.
Oya, naenda kujiegsha kjiwieni.
Oya, naenda kukaa kjiwieni.
Juma anajiegsha kule.
Juma anapumzika kule.

> bana

**jigamba** v.phr jisifia, jiona bora kuliko
wengine boast
< ?
Juma anajigamba sana na vito vyake vya
thamani.
Juma anajisifia sana na vito vyake vya
thamani.

**jikata** v.phr ondoka go away, make off
Metonymic extension of reflexive form of
SS *kata 'cut', referring to the separation
from a group by going away. Also
attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga
2003: 13).
Ah, mimi najikata bwana.
Ah, mimi naondoka bwana.
Jikate, bwana!
Toka hapa, bwana!
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jisanzua, kipa, timka,
timua, toa kiwingu, yesa, yeya

**jikoki** v.phr jiandaa, vaa vizuri, jiweka sawa
prepare, dress os well
Probably metaphorical extension of reflexive
form of SS *koki 'cock a gun'. Known
from taarab lyrics.
Machizi wamejikoki freshi!
Marafiki wamejiandaa vizuri (hasa kwa
d Slovakia nguo nzuri).

> jipeki

**jikweza** v.phr jipa sifa nyingi pasi na uwezo
boast without reason
Metaphorical extension of reflexive form of
causative derivation of SS *kwea 'climb'
Acha kujikweza, wewe ni mchovu tu.
Acha kujipa sifa wewe huna kitu.

> jipaisha

**jimama, lijimama** n5/6 mwanamke mwenye
mwili mkubwa na mrefu, bonge la mama,
mwanamke mnene na anayependeza;
pengine anahusishwa na tabia ya kufanya
mapenzi na watoto wadogo big lady; sugar
mammy
Augmentative derivation of SS *mama.
Babu jimama lile limeathirika.
Rafiki yule mwanamke mnene labda ameathirika na ukimwi.
> tinginya, nyambizi

**jinsi** n suruali ya jeans jeans
Transfer from SE 'jeans'.
Mshirika, ipo dei tutawamba masuru ya jeans.
Rafiki, ipo siku tutavaa suruali za jinsi.
> mpayuko

**jipa** v.phr pendeda, tokuwa na matatizo be o.k.
Metaphorical extension of reflexive form of SS *kupa 'give'.
Kama mambo yanajipa, tuyese zetu.
Kama mambo ni mazuri, twende zetu.
Mambo yakijipa, kesho tutaenda kweneje muziki.
Mambo yakwiwa mazuri, tutakwenda kweneje muziki.
> jibu, kaa freshi, tiki

**jipaisha** v.phr jipa sifa nyingi pasi na uwezo boast without reason
Metaphorical extension of reflexive form of causative derivation "paisha" (LyM) of SS *paa 'fly'
Acha kujipaisha, wewe ni mchovu tu.
Acha kujipa sifa wewe huna kitu.
> jikweza

**jipeki** v.phr jiandaa, vaa vizuri, jiweka sawa prepare, dress os well
Transfer from SE 'pack'.
Machizi wamejipeki freshi!
Marafiki wamejiandaa vizuri (hasa kwa kuvaa nguo nzuri).
> jiba, kaa freshi, tiki

**jurusha** v.phr furahi, furahia, kwenda dansi, kunywa pombe, fanya mapenzi enjoy in different contexts, party
Hyperbolic extension of reflexive form of SS *rusha 'make fly, make rush, throw'.
Anajurusha kweneje ukumbi wa sherehe.
Anafurahia mambo kweneje ukumbi wa sherehe.

**jisanzua** v.phr ondoka go away, make off
Metonymic extension of reflexive form of SS *sanzua 'take sth away without permission of the owner'.
Baada ya maonjezi marefu nikajisanzua.
Baada ya maonjezi marefu nikaondoka.
Jismanzua, bwana!
Toka hapa, bwana!
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, kipa, timka, timua, toa kiwengo, yeya

**jishaua** v.phr jidai; jisifasifia hata bila kuulizwa, jipelekaapeke mbele ya watu, jiona bora kuliko wengine pasi na uwezo wa mambo claim falsely to be well off, boast Dysphemistic extension of reflexive form of SS *shaua 'make a useless show, be silly'? In older Swahili slang *shaua 'show off, display' (Ohy 1987a: 75).
Juma anapenda kujishaua.
Juma anapenda kujidai.
> jishebedua, jishongondo

**jishebedua** v.phr jipendekeza sana, jidai, jisikia, jipitishapitisha mbele za watu flatter, ingratiate os
< ?
Acha kujishebedua mbele za wanaume.
Acha kujipitishapitisha mbele za wanaume.
> jishaua, jishongondo

**jishongondo** v.phr jipitishapitisha katika nafasi ambayo mtu hana uwezo nayo, jidai, jipitishapitisha mbele za watu flatter, ingratiate os
< ?
Acha kujishebedua.
Acha kujipitishapitisha mbele za watu.
> jishaua, jishebedua

**jiti** n5 sarafu ya shilingi 100 coin of 100 TSh
Hyperbolic extension of SS *jiti 'big tree'; motivation unclear.
Acha utani mbele ya jiti langu.
Acha uzushi, nipe mia yangu.
> hais, nyeto, pini, alasiri

**jiwe** n5 1. pesa 2. msichana 3. shahada ya kwanza 1. money 2. girl 3. first degree
Metaphorical extension of SS *jiwe 'stone'.
Also attested in older Swahili slang as 'girl who yields to nobody in strong language' (Ohy 1987a: 40).
1. Mshikaji ana jiwe baya.
2. Rafiki ana pesa nyingi.
3. Jiwe langu umeliona?
2. Msichana wangu umemwona?
3. Masela wamebonda jiwe lao.
2. Rafiki ana jiwe baya.
3. Msichana wangu umemwona?
3. Masela wamebonda jiwe lao.
3. Marafiki wamebonda kujidai.
> jisanzua, bwana!
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

> chuma, kijaa

joblesi kona, joblesi n.phr kijiweni place where jobless youths meet
Transfer from SE 'jobless' and 'corner'; expression "corner of the jobless".
Leo nitakuwepo joblesi kona pale.
Leo nitakuwepo kijiweni pale.
> kijiweni

Joni Kisomo n.phr mtu ambaye anasoma sana, hata kwa kukesha someone who studies intensely, even during the night
Onomastic synecdoche based on a nickname composed of transfer from SE 'John' plus diminutive of SS *somo 'subject, lesson'.
Yule si ni Joni Kisomo? Hana muda wa kustarehe.
Yule si anasoma sana? Hana muda wa kustarehe.

juu ya mawe n.phr kuwa bila kazi be without job
Metaphorical expression 'on the stones', based on the image of a car which is broken down and jacked up on stones.
Niko juu ya mawe karibu mwezi sasa.
Niko bila kazi karibu mwezi sasa.
Kukaa juu ya mawe kwa maisha ya sasa hivi ni shida.
Kuwa bila kazi kwa maisha ya sasa hivi ni shida.

juu ya mstari n.phr safi, nzuri fine, o.k.
Metonymic extension of expression used for headlines in (news)papers, meaning "main point". Used as reply in greetings.
Mambio vipi? - Juu ya mstari!
Mambio vipi? - Safi!

jumba bovu n.phr matatizo kwa ajili ya kitu ambacho mtu mwenyewe hajafanya trouble on cause of being accused for sth one has not done
Metaphorical extension of augemtative SS *jumba 'big house' plus *bovu 'dilapidated'; expression "big dilapidated house".
Baada ya mtoto kupotea jumba bovu liliniangukia.
Baada ya mtoto kupotea nilipata matatizo makubwa sana.
Washikaji kuweni makini jumba bovu linaweza kuwaangukia.
Marafiki kuweni makini, maweza kusingiziwa makosa ambayo hamjafanya.
> shobo

kaa freshi v.phr kuwa zuri, tokuwa na matatizo be o.k.
Metonymic extension of SS *kaa 'sit' plus transfer from SE 'fresh'.
Kama mambo yanakaa freshi, tutakwenda muziki.
Kama mambo yatakuwa mazuri, tutakwenda kwanye muziki.
> jibu, jipa, tiki

kabwela n 1. mtu mjanja mtafutaji 2. mtu asiye na kitu, mtu mwenye hali ya chini, asiye na uwezo 3. mtu asiye na mke 1. sly and deceitful person 2. poor person, powerless person 3. man without wife
Semantic extension of SS *kabwela 'poor person; fraud, hypocrite, deceiver; arbitrary and unfair use of force'? There are partly contradictory glosses for this item. Morino & Nakazima (1993: 739) have "mtu wa kawaida asiye na pato kubwa" which seems to fit best here, confirmed by older Swahili slang *kina kabwela 'people of low income group' (Ohly 1987a: 45). However, Rechenbach 1968, mentions two deviant meanings: (1) (unfair, arbitrary) use of force / power, (2) a person who conceals his true motives / acts on false pretenses (who claims to need something which he really does not need, etc.), hypocrite, deceiver, fraud. Ohly (1987a: 41) finally gives 'insecticide' as a older Swahili slang meaning.
Hassani ni kabwela usisadiki yote asemayo.
Hassani ni mjanja usisadiki yote asemayo.
Kabwela kama mimi nitaweza wapi, bwana? A poor guy like me, how could I afford?

kachala n rafiki friend
< ? Attested in older Swahili slang with the meanings 'old and worn' and 'ugly girl' (Ohly 1987a: 41).
Bora kachala wangu umekuja unitoe na jiti.
Ni vema, rafiki, umekuja, unipe shilingi mia.

kachaso n9/10 pombe kali sana haramu,
gongo illicit hard liquor
< ?
Ulikuwa chicha sana jana, lazima utakuwa ulichanganya na kachaso!
Ullewe sana jana, lazima utakuwa ulichanganya na gongo.
kaka poa n.phr msenge, shoga homosexual
man
Euphemistic extension of SS *kaka 'brother'
and *poa 'cool, relaxed'; expression 'cool
brother'.
Peter ni kaka poa.
Peter ni msenge.
> anti, bwabwa, chakula, choko, mshumaa
kalikiti n dawa ya kutilia nywele mawimbi
curl kit
Transfer from SE 'curl kit'.
Asha ameweka kalikiti nywele zake.
Asha ameweka dawa ya mawimbi nywele
zake.
kalukwa v 1. ishiwa pesa  2. kuwa na shida
ya akili 1. run out of money
< ? Derivation from colloquial Swahili
*kauka 'be broke'. Intervocalic *l
suggests influence from another Bantu
language.
Mshikaji, nige fegi nipige pafu moja,
nimekalukwa.
Jamaa, naomba sigara nivute kidogo,
nimeishiwa pesa.
Yule amekalukwa.
Yule ni chizi.
> pigika, rosti, uawa, mabaga
kama hana akili nzuri v.phr safi kabisa,
vizuri sana very well
Dysphemistic hyperbolic extension of SS
*hana akili nzuri 'he / she has no brains'.
Ameimba kama hana akili nzuri.
Ameimba vizuri sana.
> kishenzi, kinoma
kama kawa n.phr kama kawaida as always
Terminal clipping of SS *kawaida in "kama
kawaida".
Nitakuona kesho kama kawa.
Nitakuona kesho kama kawaida.
kama Kenya n.phr safi, nzuri fine, o.k.
Metonymic extension of SS *Kenya, based
on the comparatively high living
standards there. Used as reply in
greetings.
Mambo vipi? - Kama Kenya!
Mambo vipi? - Safi!
kamba n uongo lie
Ellipsis of LyM expression "funga
(ma)kamba' 'tell lies'.
Acha kamba we we.
Acha uongo we we.
> funga (ma)kamba, piga fiksi
kamua v 1. pata faida  2. fanya mambo kwa
bidii ili kupata faida  3. furahia 1. get profit
2. work hard to get profit 3. enjoy
Metaphorical extension of SS *kamua
'squeeze out, make sb bankrupt'
1. Leo tumekamua.
1. Leo tumepata faida.
2. Usilale babu! Kamua tu.
2. Usizubae, rafiki! Fanya bidii ili upate
faida.
kandamiza v.caus 1. kula  2. fanya mapenzi
mwanamume kwa mwanamke  3. pata pesa,
pata faida 4. soma 1. eat 2. make love (man
to woman) 3. get money, get profit 4. read,
study
Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of SS
*kandamiza 'press heavy on sth,
suppress'.
1. Twende kukandamiza msosi.
1. Twende kula chakula.
1. Hoya, tunakwenda zetu mgahawani
kukandamiza.
1. Hoya, tunakwenda kula chakula
mgahawani.
2. Wapi bwana? - Naenda kukandamiza
demu.
2. Wapi bwana? - Naenda kufanya mapenzi
na demu.
4. Naenda kusoma kitabu.
kanyaga miwaya v.phr pata ukimwi get
infected with HIV
Metaphorical extension of SS *kanyaga 'step
on' and augmentative plus plural from SS
*waya 'wire' expression 'tread on wires'.
Ame*kanyaga miwaya.
He/She has been infected with HIV.
kapelo n9/10 polisi police
< ?
Kapelo zitatia timu.
Polisi watakujia kwa kundi.
> njago, mvwela

karaghabao, kalaghabao, kalaga baho n hasara loss
< ?
Sijapata lo lota, karaghabao.
Sijapata lo lote, hasara tu.
Kama wewe huamini kalaga baho.
Kama wewe huamini, hasara yako.

karai n5 division "C" katika matooke ya mitihani division "C" in school results
Metonymic extension of SS *karai 'metal basin' based on form: the silhouette of a basin (in upright position) resembles the shape of a "C".

karume n9/10 sarafu ya shilingi 200 coin of TSh. 200
Onomastic synecdoche based on Karume, the name of the first president of Zanzibar whose portrait is on the coin.
Bej gani? - Karume.
Bej gani? - Shilingi mia mbili.
> mbala

kasheshe n vurugu, vurumai, tukio baya,
matatizo, patashika furore, mayhem
Euphemistic extension of SS *sheshe 'beautiful' by use of pejorative prefix *ka- (class 13)? In KKS 2.
Pale kuna kasheshe gani?
Pale kuna vurugu gani?
Noma bwana, umwache, usimfanyie kasheshe.
Si vizuri, bwana, umwache, usimfanyie vurugu.
Jamaa ameleta kasheshe.
Jamaa ameleta vurugu.
> zohali, sheshe, nama, soo

kashikashi n9 fujo kubwa, pilikapilika kubwa great chaos
< ? Probably derived from LyM *kashkesh 'mayhem' or from SS *kashfa 'scandal, libel'.
Kashikashi kubwa iliwapata majirani.
Fujo kubwa iliwapata majirani.
Nilimletea kashikashi mpaka akenipa change.

kataa v acha mtu, kana mtu leave sb
Metonymic extension of SS *kataa 'refuse, reject'. New in 2005.
Nilipomwona amelewa chakari nilimkataa.
Nilipomwona amelewa sana nilimwacha.

kata gogo v.phr kwenda haja kubwa, toa choo kavu defecate, shit
Hyperbolic extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus SS *gogo 'log'; expression "cut a log".
Acha, nikakate gogo sasa.
Acha, nikaende haja kubwa.

kata kamba v.phr kufa die
Semantic extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus SS *kamba 'rope', also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 42); expression "cut the rope".
Asha amekata kamba.
Asha amekufa.
> poteza, vuta kamba

kata kei / kata k. v.phr suruali inayokaa kiunoni loosely fitting trousers, low cut trousers
Euphemistic abbreviation of LyM "kata kundu" 'cut the big anus'
Yule amevaa kata kei.
Yule amevaa suruali ya mlegezo.
Keni anapenda kuvaa kata kei.
> kata kundu, mlegezo

kata kilauri v.phr kunywa pombe drink beer
Metonymic extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus derivation of SS *bilauir 'drinking-glass, tumbler', similar phrase attested in older Swahili slang *kata matindi 'drink liquor' (Ohly 1987a: 42). Not common.
Leo tumekata kilauri.
Leo tumekunywa pombe.
> ulabu

kata kundu v.phr suruali inayokaa kiunoni loosely fitting trousers, low cut trousers
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus augmentative *kundu of SS *mkundu 'anus'; expression "cut the big anus".
> mlegezo, kata kei
kata shingo v.phr 1. tazama kitu au mtu, hasa msichana, kwa kugeuza shingo, shangaa 2. acha kutazama (kitu/mtu fulani) kwa kugeuza shingo 1. stare at sth or sb who is moving, esp. a woman by turning the neck 2. stop staring at sb
Hyperbolic extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus SS *shingo 'neck'; expression "cut the neck".
1. Ame kata shingo.
1. Ame angalia kwa kugeuza shingo.
2. Kata shingo, bwana.
2. Acha kutazama kwa kugeuka.

kata stimu v.phr katisha tamaa disappoint, frustrate
Metaphorical extension of SS *kata 'cut' plus SE 'steam'; expression 'cut the steam'.
Umenikata stimu.

katalogi n5/6 1. nguo au viatu vizuri na vya kisasa, vyenye thamani kubwa; fasheni 2. katalogi, tovuti 1. nice modern cloth of quality and fashion 2. catalogue, website
Euphemistic extension of SE 'catalogue'; clothing catalogues are in use to see what is in fashion.
1. Madent wa Kurio leo wanatinga makatalogi.
1. Wanafunzi wa Kurio leo wamevaa matishati mazuri.
2. Katalogi ya chuo ni babu kubwa!
2. Tovuti ya chuo ni safi kabisa!

kauka v 1. kaa kimya, nyamaza 2. isha kwa hela 1. keep quiet 2. run out of money
Stative derivation of LyM *kausha 'be quiet'.
1. Baada ya baba kurudi watoto walikauka.
1. Baada ya baba kurudi watoto walinyamaza.
1. Evaristo alikauka kama vile hamfahamu kabisa.
1. Evaristi alikaa kimya kama vile hamfahamu kabisa.
2. Mwanangu nimekaukiwa na mbumba.
2. Rafiki nimeishiwa na pesa.
> 1. kausha, uchuna, kula

kausha v puza, jifanya kutosikia, nyamaza, tulia be silly, play the ignorant fool, be quiet
Metaphorical extension of SS *kausha 'cause to dry up'?

kawoshi, kaoshi n fulana bila mikono sleeveless T-shirt
Transfer from SE 'carwash', based on the habit of men to wear sleeveless T-shirts when washing cars in order to avoid the clothes getting wet.
Nataka kwenda Kariakoo kununua kawoshi ya kuvaa jioni.
Nataka kwenda Kariakoo kununua fulana isiyoo na mikono ya kuvaa jioni.
> sing'lendi

kaya n bangi Indian hemp, marijuana
Transfer from Jamaican Patois *kaya ‘marijuana’.
Yule anavuta kaya.
Yule anavuta bangi.
> blanti, ganja, jicho la tatu, kijiti, majani, mneli, ndumu, nyasi

kaza v caus 1. bana 2. fanya juhudi 2. tomba, fanya mapenzi 1. press 2. make an effort 3. copulate, make love, have sex
Semantic extension of SS *kaza 'tighten'.
1. Acha kunikazia.
1. Acha kunibania.
2. Timu pinza ilikaza sana.
2. Timu pinza ilicheza vizuri sana kwa kubana.
3. Ulimkazia demu wake.
3. Ulifanya mapenzi na demu wake.
3. Walikuwa wanakazana.
3. Walikuwa wanafanya mapenzi.
> bana, piga bao, piga nao, tia
kedekede adj maridadi, ya aina nyingi, kwa wingi diverse, many
< ?
Choo, bafu, simu, TV na vitu vingine kedekede.
Choo, bafu, simu, TV na vitu vingine maridadi.
Walipika chakula kedekede.
Walipika chakula nyingi.
keroro n1. pombe 2. halia yakeulewa sana drunkenness
Onomastic synecdoche, based on Keroro (from Gikuyu kirooro), the name of an alcoholic drink in Kenya.
1. Jana tulipiga keroro ya kufa mtu.
1. Jana tulikunywa pombe kupita kiasi.
2. Yako keroro.
2. Amelewa sana.
2. Tulikuwa keroro kinoma.
2. Tulilewa kupita kiasi
kerubi n kofi kubwa na la nguvu hard slap on the face
According to one informant transfer from Arab.
Alimpiiga kerubi.
Alimpiiga kofi kubwa.
kesh na vitabu v soma sana study intensively
Hyperbolic extension of SS *kesha 'stay awake all night' and *vitabu 'books'; expression; 'wake with books'.
Juma anakesha na vitabu.
Juma anakesha kwa kusoma.
> bukua, chimba, Joni Kisomo
kiaina adv 1. kwa aina fulani 2. kwa siri, kisiri 1. certain, special 2. secretly
Regular adverbial derivation from SS *aina 'kind', but probably used in a deviant way to talk in a veiled manner about a secret referent in the presence of others without giving away the secret.
1. Oya bloo, ngiee uchache kiaina.
1. Rafiki, unipe pesa kiasi fulani.
2. Oya mshikaji, njoo nikupe dili kiaina hapa chobi.
2. We rafigi yangu, njoo nikueleze kitu fulani kwa siri hapa pembeni.
2. Nipe kiainaaina.
2. Nipe kisirisiri.
> aina aina
kibao adv/adj kwa wingi, -ingi in abundance
Metaphorical extension of class 7 derivation of *bao 'board'? Very common since long, but not attested in KKS2 with this meaning. Attested in older Swahili slang as 'beauty; fine record' (Ohly 1987a: 43).
Walikaji, chomokeni! Mamwela kibao wanakatiza maskani.
Jamani, kimbiene! Mapolisi wengi wanapita nyumbani.
Kanifotoa mapicha kibao.
Akanipiga picha nyingi.
> bwena
kibendi n7 mimba pregnancy
Metaphorical extension of SS *bendi ya shule 'schoolband': The big drum is held in front of the belly. Attested in older Swahili slang as *bendi ya wiki 'pregnant woman' (Ohly 1987a: 24).
Demu huyu ana kibendi.
Msichana huyu ana mimba.
Kiberiti, kibiriti n7 gari ndogo, simu ndogo small car (e.g. Landrover with short chassis, Suzuki 404), small mobile phone
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *kiberiti 'match-box'.
Kuna kiberiti kimoja ambacho kimepita.
Kuna gari ndogo ambayo imepita.
> kipanya
kibinda, kibinda nkoi n7 tako kubwa fat buttock
Metonymic extension of refrain of a song from Kofi Olumide (DR Congo): kibinda kibinda kibinda - he, kibinda nkoy. The dance style to that song requires movements which emphasize the buttocks.
Huyu demu ana bonge la kibinda.
Huyu msichana ana matakana makubwa.
> bambataa, mkundu, ndóbólo, shuzi, taarabu, tukunyema, wowowo
kibongo n7 lugha ya mitaani ya kisasa, lugha ya vijana recent forms of colloquial and youth language
Derived from "Bongo", the nickname of Dar es Salaam, which is perceived as centre of linguistic creation.
Ah, sasa ameingia kibongo.
Ah, sasa ameanza kusema kibongo.
>Bongo

kibosile n7 bosi, mtu mwene yepesa nyaingi boss, rich person
Probably derived from SE 'boss'.
Kibosile wetu amerudi.
Bosi wetu amerudi.
> mdosi, mnene, pedeshee

kibuti n7/8 karatasi au kitabu cha kutumia katika mitihani kwa kuangalia majibu bila ruhusa notes and books used for cheating in exams
< ? Popular in schools and colleges.
Wanafunzi walifaulu kwa vibuti.
Wanafunzi walifaulu kwa kuchungulia majibu kwenywe karatasi.
> desa

kichaa wangu n7/8 address: rafiki yangu, hasa kati ya wanaume address: my friend, esp. from man to man
Dysphemistic extension of SS *kichaa 'lunacy; crazy person'; expression 'my crazy one'.
Tuliza boli, kichaa wangu, majibu kwenywe karatasi.
> desa

kicheni pati n.phr 1. sherehe katika arusi wanaposhiriki wanawake tu. 2. mkusanyiko wa wanawake wengi 3. gari aina ya Suzuki Vitara, au Suzuki RAV4 (magicambayo mara nyingi huendeshwa na wanawake) 4. simu ya mkononi ndogo aina ya "Panasonic" 1. a ceremony within the wedding celebrations where only women are admitted 2. a place where there are many women 3. car model "Suzuki Vitara", or Mitsubishi RVR (which are often driven by women) 4. small mobile phone "Panasonic"
Semantic extension of SE 'kitchen party', which forms part of the wedding ceremonies. At the kitchen party only women have access. Used to denote things mainly used by women, or events where a lot of women are present.
3. Anna anandoesha kicheni pati siku hizi.
3. Anna anandoesha Suzuki RAV4 siku hizi.
> 3. mama koku

kichizi adv sana, mno very much, exceedingly
Derivation from SS *chizi 'stupid person, crazy person'.
Juma anaumwa kichizi.
Juma anaumwa sana.

kidampa n7 kidampa tu. Kidampa - dampu.
Kidampa - chee.
> mchizi

kidanka, danka disc hali (yako)? how is it?
< ? Used as a greeting. The reply is *chee.
Kidanka - chee.
Mambo vipi? - Safi.

kideo n7/8 sinema, video, runinga cinema, video, TV set
Morphological appropriation of SE 'video', and metonymic extension.
Yule mtu kavaa nguo kama kideo.
Yule mtu kavaa nguo ovyo ovyo.
Yule mlevi anacheza kideo.
Yule mtu anacheza kama katika video.
Unataka nije hapana kilwa kutufuta pesa zangu, unafanyanyi mimi kideo?
Unataka nije hapana kilwa kutufuta pesa zangu, unafanyanyi mimi kitu cha
kutazama?
> piga deo

**kidonda** n7/8 *saa* watch
Metaphorical extension of SS *kidonda* 'wound'.
*Oya, una kidonda kikali.*
*Oya, una saa sahi sana.*
> *jicho la mamba*

**kidosho** n7/8 *msichana mrembo* beautiful girl, young woman
< ? Attested in older Swahili slang
(Reynolds 1962: 204).
*Vidosho wa siku hizi bei mbaya.*
*Wasichana wa siku hizi ni ghali kuwapata.*
> *mdosho*

**kidudu** n7/8 1. *kitu ambacho ni kidogo, kizuri* ama kibaya 2. *nguo ya kisasa* 1. little thing, nice or bad 2. fashion cloth
Semantic extension of diminutive derivation of SS *mdudu* 'insect', motivation unclear.
*Atakununulia vidudu chungu nzima.*
*Atakununulia vitu chungu nzima.*
*Kakununulia vidudu chungu nzima.*
*Kakununulia nguo nzuri za kisasa chungu nzima.*

**kidudu mtu** n.phr *mtu mbaya, mtu anayetisha* bad person, someone who is threatening
Semantic extension of diminutive of SS *mdudu* 'insect plus SS *mtu* person'.

**kiepe** n7/8 *kiazi* potato
< ?
*Jana nimenunua viepe.*
*Jana nimenunua viazi.*
> *viepe yai*

**kifaa** n7/8 *msichana mzuri kwa umbo na tabia* beautiful and well-mannered girl
Metaphorical extension of SS *kifaa* 'utensil'.
*Mimi nina kifaa vile vile.*
*Mimi nina msichana vile vile.*
> *chuma*

**kifaru** n7 *noti ya shilingi 5000 iliyotolewa* 2003 note of 5000 TSh. issued in 2003
Metonymic extension of SS *kifaru* 'rhinoceros', based on the picture of rhinos printed on the note.Not common.

**kifriza** n7 *kitambi* pot-belly
< ? Probably metonymic extension of SE 'freezer', based on form.
*Johni mambo yake sasa hivi ni mazuri, ameota kifriza.*
*Johni mambo yake sasa hivi ni mazuri, ameota kitambi.*

**kigagula**
> *gagula*

**kigiza** n7 *kizuizi* obstacle
Metaphorical extension of SS *giza* 'darkness'.
*Ondoka unaniletea kigiza.*
*Ondoka unanisumbua.*
> *kiwingu, bania, usiku*

**kiiyo** n7/8 *mtu anayejisikia, kumbe hamna kitu, mtu aliyeugushi vyeti vya shule,* a person who is supposed to be an expert, but actually is not truely qualified; a person who has forged educational certificates
Onomastic synecdoche of the name of a minisiter, Kiiyo, who used forged certificates of higher education.
*Viiyio Bongoland wako kilaa mahali.*
*Walaghai Tanzania wako kilaa mahali.*
*Wewe huna kitu ni kiiyo tu.*
*Wewe huna kitu, umegushi tu vyeti vya shule.*

**kijasti** n7 *nguo ndogo ya wanawake inayobana* short and tight dress for women
Abbreviation of 'just because' which is an ellipsis of 'just because to attract men'.
*Demu ametilia kijasti cha nguvu.*
*Msichana amevaa kijasti cha gharama.*
*Alikula kijasti bomba.*
*Alivaa nguo ndogo na ya kubana nzuri sana.*

**kijiti** n7 1. *msokoto wa bangi 2. dara* a division one in results of examination at O- and A-level
Metonymic extension of SS *kijiti* 'small stick', based on form.
2. *Ametundika kijiti.*
2. *Ametundika "division one".*
> 1. *blant[i], ganja, mneli* 2. *vijiti viwili*

**kiiwe** n7/8 *mahali pa kukutania vijana / majobless* place where jobless youths meet
Metonymic extension of diminutive of SS *jiwe* 'stone'. Stones are used to sit on.
Or metaphoric extension of SS *jiwe 'stone', based on the property of being stationary and immovable.

Pale pana kijiwe changu.
Pale pana mahali pangu pa kikutana na marafiki.

kijiwe n.loc mahali pa kikutana vijana / majorbless corner or place where jobless youths meet

Metonymic extension of locative of diminutive of SS *jiwe 'stone'. Stones are used to sit on, in other cases the youths sit on logs.

Vijana wanakutana kijiwe na kupiga stori.
Vijana wanakutana kijiwe na kuongea.
Oya, naenda kuegesha kijiwe.

Vijana wanakutana kijiweni na kupiga stori.
Vijana wanakutana kijiweni na kuongea.
Oya, naenda kuegesha kijiweni.

kijiweni n.loc mahali pa kikutana vijana / majorbless corner or place where jobless youths meet

Metonymic extension of locative of diminutive of SS *jiwe 'stone'. Stones are used to sit on, in other cases the youths sit on logs.

Vijana wanakutana kijiwe na kupiga stori.
Vijana wanakutana kijiwe na kuongea.
Oya, naenda kuegesha kijiwe.

kiri n7 Kiingereza English language
Metonymic extension of SS *kikirista 'Christian ways, Christian language'.

Now in decline. Sometimes heard as *kikristo.

kilala n7/8 simu ya mkononi mobile phone
Metonymic extension of nominalisation of LyM *longa 'chat'.

Nahitaji kununua kialalanga aina ya Nokia.
Nahitaji kununua simu ya mkononi aina ya Nokia.
<k longa, foma limao, kiberiti

kimwana n7/8 msichana mzuri, binti mzuri pretty girl

Diminutive of SS *mwana 'child'

kimbipimo n7/8 sketi fupi sana mini skirt

Transfer from SE 'mini'.

Mary amevaa sketi fupi.

kimizo n7/8 msichana ambaye ni rahisi kupata, msichana anayejirahisisha girl who agrees easily to a proposal

Diminutive of LyM "luzi".

Jioni itabidi nimpitie msichana.

kimbuva n7/8? 1. kitu kibovu kibovu, kitu ambacho kimechokachoka 2. malaya 1. sth broken, old, outworn 2. prostitute

< ?. Common.

Simu yako ni kimbuva.
Simu yako ni kitu kibovu.
Simu yako siku hizi kimbuva.
Simu yako siku hizi ina matatizo.

kimoto n7/8 1. msichana mwembamba, msichana mswizi 2. umbo mdogo wa mtu 1. slim lady, beautiful girl 2. small figure

Metaphorical extension derived from the name of the mobile phone corporation
"Mobitel". Not pejorative.
1. Yule ni kimóbitel.
1. Yule ni msichana mwembamba.
> figa, kipótabo, English figure

**kinaa** n tatizo, balaa problem
Metaphorical extension of SS *kinaa*
'satiety'.
_Ee bwana, usituletee kinaa hapa._
_Ee bwana, usituletee balaa hapa._
_Hoya tusileteane kinaa hapa._
_Hoya, tusileteane matatizo hapa._
> shobo, noma

**kinabo** n7/8 mshamba layman, country
bumpkin
< ?
_Kinabo analeta soo!_
_Mshamba analeta aibu!_
> mporipori, wa kuja

**kinari** n7 kiberiti match
Diminutive of SS *nari* 'fire'. Not common.

**king'asti** n7 1. msichana mrembo na
mwembamba 2. mcumbua 1. beautiful, slim
girl 2. girlfriend, fiancée
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of
a girl in a song of Mr. Nice called
King'asti; the chorus sings: King'asti I
need u, I love u.
_Huyu ni king'asti wangu._
_Huyu ni mchumba wangu._

**kinoma** adv sana, vizuri sana, kwa kupita
kiasi very much, terribly
Adverbial derivation of LyM *noma*
'trouble'.
_Mshirika, leo n'na ubao kinoma, twenzetu
kanigee dongo!_
_Rafiki, leo n'na njaa sana, twende ukanipe
ugali!_
_Woch la nguvu kinoma._
_Saa yenye nguvo cubwa.
Tulikumaindi kinoma._
_Tulikuzoea sana._
_Nina njaa kinoma._
_Nina njaa vibaya sana._
> kishenzi, kwa kwenda mbele, ya kafa mtu
< noma

**kinywaji** n7/8 pombe alcoholic beverage
Euphemistic generalisation of SS *kinywaji*
'drink'.
_Twende tukapate kinywaji._
_Twende tukapate pombe._
> maji, tungi

**kioo** n7 video video
Metonymic extension of SS *kioo* 'mirror';
older Swahili slang has a different
meaning 'a beauty' (Ohly 1987a: 45).
_Njoo tucheki kioo._
_Coming and let's watch the video._
_Wanaangalia kioo._
_Wanaangalia filamu._

**kipa** v 1. elekea 2. ondoka, toka 1. move
towards 2. make off
< ?
1. Nakipa skonga.
1. Naelekeea shuleni.
2. Kipa, bwana!
2. Toka hapa, bwana!
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jisanzua, jikata, timka,
timua, toa kiwingu, yeya

**kipanya** n7 gari ndogo small car
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of
diminutive of SS *panya* 'mouse, rat'.
_Nimepanda gari kipanya._
_Nimepanda gari dogo._
_Umekuja na gari gani? - "Kipanya Suzuki."
"Umekuja na gari gani?" - "Na Suzuki
dogo."_
> kiberiti

**kipepe** n7 mshamba layman, country-bumpkin
Onomastic synecdoche of "Komredi
Kipepe", a character in a popular cartoon
who is a hunter.
_Acha kuwa kipepe._
_Acha kuwa mshamba._
> kinabo, mporipori

**kipepsi** n7 kiwiko elbow
Onomastic synecdoche of brand name
"Pepsi", based on similarity of form of
elbow and bottle-neck.

**kipimbi** n7
> pimbi

**kipodozi** n7/8 poda ya kujipodoa cosmetics,
make-up
Derived from SE 'powder' plus suffix -zi.
_Uso wake ulikuwa wa mwiringo usiohitaji
kukolezwa kwa vipodozi vya aina yoyote._
Uso wake ulikuwa wa mviringo usiohitaji kukolezwa kwa poda ya aina yoyote.

kipopo n7/8 msichana ambaye hajaolewa unmarried girl, lady
Metaphorical extension of SS *popo 'bat', probably related to older Swahili slang *limpopo 'a beauty' (Ohly 1987a: 50).
Etymology provided by a female informant: the unmarried girl has not yet settled; just like a bat, she always changes her ways and friends. Not common.
> demu, desa

kipótabo n7/8 msichana mwembamba, msichana mzuri, umbo mdogo wa mtu lady, beautiful lady
Metaphorical extension of SE 'portable'.
*Yule ni kipótabo.*
*Yule ni msichana mwembamba.*
> English figure, figa, kimóbitel

kiroba n7/8 1. mfuko wa unga, sukari, konyagi, maji 2. abiria wasiolipa nauli 3. mtu asiye na umbo mzuri 1. packet of flour, sugar, "Konyagi", 2. passenger who gets a free lift 3. person being in bad shape
Truncation and semantic narrowing of derivation of SS *robota 'packet, parcel'.
Further metaphoric transfer to derive second meaning is motivated by the parallel that luggage is not usually charged for a fare. Common and old.
1. *Nipatie maji ya kiroba.*
2. *Gari imejaa viroba tu.*
3. *Gari limejaa abiria wasiolipa nauli tu.*
> totapaki, sanamu ya michelini, jeruhi, maiti

kirukanjia n7/8 msichana asiyetulia, malaya, mtu anayejitembeza prostitute, sb who has not yet settled down Metaphorical extension of SS *kirukanjia 'nightjar, restless person'.
*Mwanamke yule ni mzuri lakini kirukanjia.*
*Mwanamke yule ni mzuri lakini hajatulia.*

kishenzi adv sana, vizuri sana very much, terribly
Adverbial derivation of LyM *mshenzi 'primitive person'.
*Tulikula blanti kishenzi.*
*Tulivuta bangi kupita kiasi.*
> kichizi, kinoma, kwa kwenda mbele, ya kufa mtu

kishtobe n7 1. rafiki wa kike, mpenzi 2. mwanamke mweneye mataka, kuku mwenye mataka 1. girlfriend 2. woman with big behind, chicken with big behind
According to Blommaert (2003: 18) this term is derived from the name of a big Greek cargo vessel. Now in decline.
1. *Yule ni kishtobe wangu.*
2. *Ah, kuku huyu ana kishtobe.*
2. *Ah, kuku huyu ana mataka makubwa.*

kishua adj enye uhakika, zuri, safiti sure, nice
Derivation of transfer from SE 'sure'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 14).
*Mambo yake ya kishua.*
Mambo yake yana uhakika.
> mshua

kiswanglish n7 lugha ya mitaani ambayo inatumia maneno mengi ya Kiingereza style of non-standard language with many English elements
Code mixing of SS *Kiswahili 'Swahili' plus SE English'. Coinage to denote a code which is basically Swahili with incorporation of English elements.
*Hii sasa ni Kiswanglish.*

kitambi n7 division "D" katika matokeo ya mitihani division "D" in school results
Metonymic extension of SS *kitambi 'belly' based on form: the silhouette of a person with big belly resembles the shape of "D".

 kitaani n.loc nyumbani, maskani at home
Metonymic extension and diminutive of SS
*mtaani 'on the street', 'in the living quarter'

Najitia kitaani.
Naingia nyumbani.

kitimoto n.phr 1. nyama ya nguruwe (ya kuchoma) 2. kiti cha kumkalisha mtu kwa mahojiano makali 3. kikao 1. (grilled) pork meat 2. a seat where one is questioned, "hot seat" 3. meeting

Metonymic extension of compound of SS *kiti 'chair' and *moto 'heat, fire', meaning "hot seat". The metonymy is based on a television debate programme "kiti moto" on the independent channel DTV, where people like politicians were questioned. They had to sit on the "hot seat". Cognitive motivation: one explanation says that one time in the TV programme the topic was the sale of pork meat in butcheries. A second one maintains that some Muslims do not stick very seriously to the prohibition of pork meat. So when they eat it they feel like sitting on a "hot seat". Common.

1. Siku hiyo kila mtu alipika kitimoto.
2. Aliwekwa kitimoto.
3. Tuko kwenye kitimoto.
4. Tuko kwenye kikao.
5. Sili kitimoto.
6. Sili nyama ya nguruwe.
7. Aliwekwa kitimoto.
8. Alihojiwa kikali.
9. Mkuu wa meza mshikaji.
10. Msichana au mwanamke anayependa kufanya mapenzi na wanaume tofauti girl or woman who likes to have various lovers.

Metonymic extension of SS *kitobo 'small hole'. Pejorative.

Asha ni kitobo.

Ashawavea kufanya mapenzi na wanaume wengi.

kitombe n7 mtu anayependa kufanya mapenzi na wanawake tofauti man who has various lovers

Derived from SS *tomba 'copulate'.

Yule ni kitombi tu.

Yule anafanya mapenzi na wanawake wengi tu.

kitopu n7/8 blauzi ndogo ya kike isiyofika kiunoni. short and small top

Transfer from SE 'top'.

Mary amevaa kitopu.
Mary amevaa blauzi ndogo isiyofika kiunoni.

kitu kidogo n.phr rushwa, hongo bribe

Euphemistic extension of SS *kitu kidogo 'something little'. Imported into LyM from Kenya. Old and common.

Kitu kidogo kinasababisha huduma duni za jamii. Bribes cause an abject state of society.

Lete kitu kidogo.
Naomba hela kwanza.
Toa kitu kidogo!
Naomba hela.
TKK.
Kifupisho cha "toa kitu kidogo".

> chai

kivulini n baar bar

Metonymic extension of SS *kivulini 'in the shadow'; in older Swahili slang attested as *kivuli 'sun-umbrella, parasol' (Ohly 1987a: 46).

Oya mshikaji, twenzetu kivulini tukapate kilaji.
Rafiki yangu, twende pamoja bar tukapate vinywaji.

kiwanja n7 1. eneo la starehe (baa, night club) 2. ulaya, nchi ya nje 1. place to relax 2. foreign country (not common)

Metonymic extension of SS *kiwanja 'place of ground'.

1. Twende zetu viwanja.
2. Twende zetu kustarehe.

> debe, kwanja

kiwingu n7/8 kizuizi obstacle

Metaphoric extension of SS *kiwingu 'small cloud'.

Mbona unaniwekeka kiwingu.
Mbona unaniweka kizuizi.
Ondoka unaniletetea kiwingu.
Ondoka unanisumbua.
Ondoa kiwingu chako.
Ondoka hapa.
Toa kiwingu.
Fanya shughuli zako!
> bania, gozigozi, kigiza, mchongoma

kiyoyozi n7/8 mashine inayopoza hewa air
condition
< ?. In KKS 2.
Tuna vipasha joto katika majira ya baridi na
kutumia kiyoyozi katika majira ya joto.
We have heaters in the cold season and use
air condition in the hot season.
> full kipupwe

kizaazaa n7 kasheshe inayomfikia mtu
mwenyewe, balaa, hali ya kutokuwa na
trouble, grief, calamity, misfortune
Semantic extension of derivation from SS
*zaa 'give birth'?; in older Swahili slang
attested as 'confusion' (Ohly 1987a: 46).
In KKS 1 and 2.
Jamaa kaniletea kizaazaa.
Jamaa kaniletea vurugu.
Kizaazaa gani kimenikuta.
Balaa gani imenikuta.
Kizaazaa kimeingia.
Balaa imeingia.
> soo, kimeo, msala

kizungu n7 Kiingereza English language
Metonymic extension of SS *kizungu
'European ways, European language'.
Old and common.
Wanazungumza kizungu.
Wanazungumza Kiingereza.
> kimombo, kikristu, ung'eng'e, BBC

klinoni v 1. baka 2. piga 1. rape 2. beat up
Onomastic synecdoche of the name of Bill
Clinton, former president of the USA,
representing an icon of power.
Angalia asikuklinoni.
Angalia asikubake.
Nitakuklinoni.
Nitakupiga.
> timori, kosovo, pasua mangumi ya jela

kolbaksi n mwanaamke aliyeolewa na
anatembea nje ya ndoa married woman who
has lovers
Metonymic extension of SE 'callbox'.
Asha ni kolbaksi.
Asha antembea na wanaume nje ya ndoa
yake.
> kirukanjia

kombati n nguo yenyeye michoro mingi, suruali
yenyeye mifuko ya nje cloth with camouflage
design, cargo trousers
Metonymic extension from SE 'combat',
motivated by the camouflage design. The
word also appears as *combati in written
form. Before *batiki became more
prestigious, these clothes were also
called *mawingu.
Yule broo kawamba bonge la kombati.
Yule kaka kavaa vest nzuri.

konda n5/6 kondakta conductor
Terminal clipping of SS *kondakta
'conductor'. Also attested in Sheng
(Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 15).
Konda naomba unirudishie chenji yangu.
Kondakta naomba unirudishie chenji yangu.

konda v jali take sth serious
Metonymic extension of SS *konda 'become
emaciated'.
Usikonde.
Usijali.
Ninakukonda wewe.
Nina wasiwasi na wewe.

kong'oli v 1. gonga, piga, angalia 2. fanya
tendo la ndoa 1. click, beat, look at 2. have
sexual intercourse
< ?
1. Usinichezee nitakukong'oli.
1. Usinichezee nitakupiga.
1. Kong'oli hapa.
1. Click here.
2. Usimaindi kukong'oli mademu.
2. Usipende kufanya mapenzi na wasichana.

kong'ota v piga sana, piga kwa fimbo beat up,
beat severely, beat with a stick
Metonymic extension of SS *kong'ota 'beat
sth in order to flatten it'. Also in Kihore
(2004: 9). In Sheng as *ng'ota (Mbaabu
Polisi amenikong'ota kinoma.
Polisi alinipiga vibaya sana.

koromea v karipia, fokea scold
dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS
*koroma 'snore'.
Bosi ananikoromea sana.
Bosi ananifokea sana
kosovo v piga beat up
Onomastic synecdoche of the geographical term Kosovo which became emblematic as an area of conflict, combat and war in 1999/2000 during the Kosovo crisis.
Nitakukosovo.
Nitakupiga.
> klinoti, timori

kosovo n9/10 ugomvi, kupambana trouble, quarrel, fight
Onomastic synecdoche of the geographical term Kosovo which became emblematic as an area of conflict, combat and war in 1999/2000 during the Kosovo crisis.
Nitakuanzishia kosovo.
Nitakuanzishia ugomvi.
Kule kulikuwa na kosovo.
Kule kulikuwa na ugomvi.
Mtu atakuja kuleta kosovo nyumbani kwako.
Mtu atakuja kuleta ugomvi nyumbani kwako.
> klinoti, timori

kota n10 sehemu ya nyumba wanapokaa watumishi quarters of civil servants or personnel of a certain company
Transfer from SE 'quarter'.
Alielekea kota za serikali.
Alielekea nyumba za watumishi wa serikali.
Anaishi katika kota za shirika.

kula blanti v.phr vuta bangi smoke marijuana
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus transfer from E 'blunt', which see; expression "eat marijuana".
Masela wameingia kati kula blanti.
Marafiki wameenda nyumbani kuvuta bangi.
> kula nyasi

kula bunda v.phr ondoka, kimbia go away, run away
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus SS *bunda 'a heap of things'; expression "eat the heap".
Amekula bunda.
Amekimbia.
Kula bunda, bwana.
Toka hapa, bwana.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jiachia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, lala mbele, piga bunda, tambaa, timka, timua, toa kiwingu, yeeya

kula chabo v.phr chungulia vitu visivyomhusu mtu, chungulia dirishani, peleleza mtu, kuwaangalia watu kwa kificho peep, spy
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat'; origin of *chabo unclear.
Kula chabo?
Angalia!
Juma anapenda kula chabo madirishani kwa mwenzie.
Juma anapenda kuchungulia madirishani kwa mwenzie.
> piga deo, piga tochi, kula chasi

kula chasi v.phr chungulia vitu visivyomhusu mtu, chungulia dirishani, peleleza mtu, kuwaangalia watu kwa kificho peep, spy
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat'; origin of *chasi unclear.
Amekula chasi.
Amewaangalia watu kwa kificho.
Acha kula chasi!
Acha kuangalia watu kwa kificho!
> piga chasi, piga deo, piga tochi, kula chabo

kula jiwe v puuza kwa kujikaza sana, jifanya kutosikia, nyamaza, tulia force os to keep quiet, play the ignorant fool
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' and *jiwe 'stone'; expression 'eat a stone'. The emotions which have to be suppressed are compared to a stone.
Amekula jiwe.
Amejikaza kunyamaza.
> kauka, kausha, uchuna

kula konka v.phr kimbia, ondoka run away, go away
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus SE 'corner'; expression "eat the corner".
Amekula konka.
Amekimbia.
Kula konka, bwana.
Toka hapa, bwana.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, lala mbele, timka, timua, toa kiwingu, yeeya

kula kwa macho v.phr ishia kuona tu bila kula chakula chenyewe, angalia kitu bila uwezo wa kukipata see nice food without being allowed to eat, see sth without being able to obtain it
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus SS *macho 'eyes', probably inspired by a
calque? Expression "eat with the eyes". Common, colloquial.

Utakula kwa macho.
Utaona kitu bila kuweza kukipata.

**kula mande** n.phr fanya ngono wanaume
wengi na mwananke mmoja kwa wakati
mmoja, fanya ngono ya kuchangia group sex,
group rape: a number of men with one
woman
< ? In older Swahili slang *tia mande 'sleep
with a woman' (Ohly 1987a: 76).
Zaituni aliliwa mande.
Zaituni alifanyiwa ngono na wanaume wengi
kwa wakati mmoja.
> mtungo

**kula ngozi** v.phr fanya mapenzi na msichana
sleep with a girl, make love with a girl
Metaphorical expression "eat the skin"; SS
*kula 'eat' plus SS *ngozi 'skin, hide'
Mcheki mshikaji, anakula ngozi.
Mwone rafiki yule, anafanya mapenzi na
msichana.
> gonga ngozi

**kula nguo** v.phr vaa nguo wear clothes
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus
SS *nguo 'clothes'; expression "eat
clothes".
Juma alikula nguo kinoma.
Juma alivaa nguo safi sana.
> pigilia nguo

**kula nyasi** v.phr vuta bangi smoke marijuana
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' and
*nyasi 'grass'; expression "eat grass".
Tulikula nyasi mpaka basi.
Tulivuta bangi mpaka tumetosheka.

**kula pamba** v.phr vaa nguo nzuri be nicely
dressed
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' and
*pamba 'cotton'; expression "eat cotton".
Declare amekula pamba kali / ya nguvu /
kwa kwenda mbele.
Declare amevaa nguo nzuri sana.

**kula shaba** v.phr 1. pigwa risasi 2. kutosema
1. get shot 2. not tell sth
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' and
*shaba 'copper'; expression "eat copper".
1. Amekula shaba.
2. Kula shaba, bwana.
2. Usiseme, bwana.

**kula suruali** v.phr vaa suruali wear trousers
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus SS
*suruali 'trousers'; expression "eat
trousers".
Masela walikula suruali za mdebwezo.
Marafiki walivaa suruali za mlegezo.

**kula ugali / wali kwa saiti mira** v.phr kula
ugali/wali kwa nyama au samaki bila mchuzi
eat ugali with meat or fish without sauce
Metaphorical extension of SE 'side mirror',
based on the similarity in form between a
side mirror of a car and a person holding
a piece of meat or fish in his left hand;
expression "eat ugali in the side-mirror
manner".
Nakula ugali kwa saiti mira.
Nakula ugali na nyama/samaki bila mchuzi.
> lumangia

**kula uroda** v.phr fanya mapenzi make love,
have sex
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus SS
*uroda 'sexual intercourse' which might
have been derived from a word for
rocking or swinging, since according to
one informant a child who has played a
game of rocking or swinging might say:
"nimekula uroda".
Wasichana wa siku hizi wananafanya uroda
waziwazi.
Wasichana wa siku hizi wananafanya mapenzi
waziwazi.
Twenetzetu tu kale uroda.
Twendele tufanye mapenzi.
> uroda

**kula vichwa** v.phr 1. pata abiria au wateja
katika sehemu kama: daladala, saloni, piga
picha za passport 2. nyaa nyewe 1. get
customers in: bus, hair saloon, passport
photo studio 2. shave hair
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat' plus
a synecdochical extension of SS *vichwa
'heads'; expression "eat heads". In
business it is heads of customers what
counts. Thus a daladala driver might say
to the conductor *kula vichwa as a
request to collect the fare.
1. Suka alikula vichwa stendi.
1. Dereva alichukua abiria kwenye kituo.
2. Juzi nilimadakisha mkwanja anakiletee machine za kuila vichwa.
2. Juzi nilimpa pesa akaniletee mashine za kunyolea nyewe

**kulakulala** n5/6 mtu asiye na kazi na kutegemea wazazi, anakila na kulakala kwa wazazi wake na hana zaidi person without employment, depending on his parents, sb who eats and sleeps at his parents' place.

Metonymic extension of SS *kula 'eat' and *lala 'sleep'; expression "eat, sleep", denoting so who does not do anything else except eating and sleeping (at his parents' place)

Huyu anleta ujeuri wakati mwenyewe ni kulakulala.
Huyu anleta ujeuri wakati mwenyewe hana kitu wala kazi.

**kunikuka** v.sep.stat kimbia, toka, ondoka run away, go away, make off
Metaphorical extension of SS *kunjuka 'be unfolded'.
Alipodilei tu mzee mzima nikakunjuka.
Alipochelewa tu mzee mzima nikakimbia.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, lala mbele, timka, timua, toa kiwingu, yeya

**kupa saundi** v.phr danganya lie, tell lies
Metonymic extension of SS *kupa 'give plus transfer from SE 'sound'; expression 'give sound'.
Anataka kunipa saundi mimi.
Anataka kunidanganya mimi.

**kuwa na nyimbo** v.phr kuwa na mambo ya kusimulia, kuwa na stori have a stori to tell
Metonymic extension of SS *nyimbo 'songs'.
Juma leo hana nyimbo.
Juma leo hana mambo ya kusimulia.
> piga stori

**kwa bi mkubwa** n.phr Uingereza Great Britain
"At the old lady's place". "Bi mkubwa" refers to Queen Elizabeth II, with emphasis on her age.

> majuu, mamtoni, kiwanja

**kwa chati** n.phr vizuri sana, zuri very nice, very well
Transfer from SE 'chart'
Nachukua pamba, blingbling, kwa chati.
(Ngwair in "Mikasi")
Nachukua nguo safi, mapambo kama mikufu, nzuri sana.
Tule mdeo kwa chati hapa.
Tuangalie vizuri toka kwa mbali.
> ya kuja mtu, kwa kwenda mbele

**kwa kwenda mbele** adv sana, kupita kiasi very much
Semantic extension of SS *kwenda mbele 'go forward'.
Jana nimetesha kwa kwenda mbele.
Jana nimetafu kupita kiasi.
> kinoma, kishenzi, -a kuja mtu, -a nguvu

**kwa Mzee Mandela** n.phr Afrika Kusini South Africa
Onomastic synecdoche of Nelson Mandela, the first president of post-apartheid South Africa.
> sauz, bondeni, kwa Mzee Thabo

**kwa Mzee Thabo** n.phr Afrika Kusini South Africa
Onomastic synecdoche of president Mbeki Thabo of South Africa.
> sauz, bondeni, kwa Mzee Mandela

**kwanja** n disko disco
< ? Probably derived from SS *kiwanja 'open place'.
Jana tulienda kwanja.
Jana tulienda disko.
> debe, kiwanja

**kwenda hewani, paa hewani** v.phr 1. mtu mrefu kwa kimo 2. yeyuka kwa kitu bila kutekelezwa 1. very tall person 2. having failed
Hyperbolic extension of SS *kwenda 'go' plus *hewani 'into the sky'; expression 'go into the air, fly in the air'.
1. Jamaa kapaa hewani kishenzi.
1. Jamaa ni mrefu kupita kiasi.
1. Jamaa kapaa hewani kinoma.
1. Jamaa ni mrefu vibaya sana.
2. Kitu kile kimekwenda hewani.
2. Kitu kile kimeyeyuka bila kutekelezwa.

laga n5/6 bia yo yote ya kisasa any bottled beer
Onomastic synecdoche of SE 'Lager beer'.
Jana tulipiga malaga ya kufa mtu.
Jana tulikunywa bia kupita kiasi.
Jana nilipotoka kazini nilikunywa bia tatu safi.
> dhahabu

lakuchumpa n5 (n.phr) buti lenye soli nene
(HipHop)-boot with thick soles
Nominalised expression < (buti) la
kuchumpa, chumpa being transfer from
SE 'jump'
Msela unapenda kupiga lakuchumpa.
Rafiki unapenda kuvaa viatu aina ya
lakuchumpa.
> bandapanda, la kuparama

lakuparama, lakuparamia n.phr buti boots
Semantic extension of SS *paramia 'climb
over sth without a ladder'.
> lakuchumpa, bandapanda

lala mbele v.phr ondoka go away
Metaphorical extension of SS *lala 'sleep'
plus *mbele 'further ahead'.
Sasa inabidi nilale mbele.
Sasa inabidi niondoke.
Lala mbele, bwana.
Toka, bwana.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, kula
kona, timka, timua, toa kiwingu, yeya

lala mzungu wa nne v.phr lala wawili katika
kitanda kimoja, mmoja anaelekea kichwani,
mwingine miguu pa mwenziiwe two people
sleeping in one bed, but in different
directions: one with head up, the other
with head down.
Semantic extension of SS *lala 'lie' plus
*mzungu wa mne 'king in a deck of
cards', based on the way the figures are
depicted on playing-cards. A couple
sleep in this way if one is sick or if they
have a quarrel. There is also a
connotation of the husband being weak.
Recent.

lamba dume v.phr kuwa na mafanikio, pata
kitu kizuri au chenye nguvu be successful,
get sth nice or powerful
Metaphorical extension of LyM *lamba 'cut
a card'' plus SS *dume 'ace'; expression
"cut an ace".
Leo nimelamba dume.
Safari yangu ya leo ilikiwa yenye mafanikio.

lamba fuba v.phr chukua pesa, iba pesa take
money, steal money
Metaphorical extension of LyM *lamba 'take
a playing-card from the pile of cards'
plus LyM *fuba 'money'; expression
"take money".
Wamelamba fuba lote!
Wamechukua pesa zote!

lamba mweleka v.phr anguka kwa kichwa
chini fall down with head first
Metonymic extension of SS *lamba 'lick'
plus *mweleka 'wrestle'.
John alilamba mweleka chali.
John alianguka kichwa chini miguu juu.
> piga mweleka

lamba njiti v.pigia fimbo, pigia bakora beat,
hit with a stick
Metaphorical extension of SS *lamba 'lick'
plus *fimbo 'stick'.
Akanilamba njiti sita.
Akanipiga fimbo sita.

lambalamba n 1. icecream zinazotengenezwa
kienyefi 2. mwanamume anayependa sana
kufanya ngono 1. icecream 2. man who likes
very much to have sex
Metonymic extension of SS *lamba 'lick'.
1. Lambalamba hii ni tamu.
1. Icecream hii ni tamu.
2. Oya, lambalamba amepita.

laazizi n mpenzi wa dhati, wa kike au wa
kiume girlfriend, boyfriend
Metaphoric extension of SS *azizi 'precious
thing', or transfer from Arabic. In KKS 2.
Wewe ni wangu laazizi.
Wewe ni mpenzi wangu wa dhati.
> asali wa moyo

leta za kuleta v.phr sema mambo ya uongo,
taka kuharibu mambo ya watu talk nonsense,
lie, try to spoil
Semantic extension of SS 'bring what is to
bring'.
We mshikaji, ukileta za kuleta nakupiga beto. We rafiki, ukileta maneno ya uongo nitakufanya fujo. Acha kuniletea za kuleta. Acha kuleta longolongo.

lia v kata tamaa despair, lose all hope, resign oneself

liamba n asubuhi morning
Transfer from another Bantu language, e.g. Yao, Makonde, Mwera Tulijirusha debe mpaka liamba. Tulistarehe katika disko mpaka asubuhi.

lijua jiji v.phr koma cease
Utalijua jiji.
Utakoma.

Utalia mwenzangu jiji utalijua. (East African Melody)
You will despair, you will cease.

liwa v.pass kosa, tapeliwa miss, get cheated
Metaphorical extension of SS *liwa 'be eaten'.
Umeliwa kaka!
Umekosa kaka!

liwa dude v.phr 1. danganywa 2. fanywa mapenzi kinyume cha maumbile (firwa) 1. be cheated 2. receive anal sex
Metaphorical extension of SS *kula 'eat and SS *dude 'worthless person, good-for-nothing'. In Sheng *dude is attested for the meaning 'pregnancy' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 7).

longa v ongea, babaisha chat
Etymology unclear. In KKS 1 and 2.
luzi n5/6 msichana ambaye ni rahisi kupata, msichana anayejirahisisha girl who agrees easily to a proposal, loose girl
Metaphoric extension of SE 'loose ball'.
Bonge la luzi limepita.
Bonge la msichana amepita.
Mshikaji usifuatilie lile luzi, ni dege la jeshi.
Rafiki usifuatilie yule msichana, ana hatari ya kuambukizwa na ukimwi.
> mlupo, kiluzi

mabaga n hali ya kuishiwa pesa, hali ya kukosa pesa be run out of money
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of a band of two Bongo Fleva artists with physical disabilities, "Mabaga fresh".
Niko mabaga.
Nimeishiwa pesa.
> rosti, pigika, uawa

machale n6 hisia ya kitu fulani, mshtukio sense, premonition
Semantic extension and augmentative derivation from SS *chale 'incision, tattoo' (Cl. 9/10).
Machale yamenicheza.
Nimehisi kitu fulani / Nimeshtuka.
Nimetoka hapa machale yakanicheza, kumbe polisi walikuwa wananiatifu.
Nimetoka hapa nikosha kwamba kuna hatari.
Kumbe polisi walikuwa wananiatifu.
Leo nina machale. Sikai eneo hili, polisi watatangukia hapa.
Leo nina hisia hatari. Sikai eneo hili, polisi watatangukia hapa.
> chale, magutugutu

machepele n6 hali ya kukosa utulivu hastiness, nervousness
< ?
Juma ni machepele mno.
Juma hajatulia kabisa.
> mapepe

macho bal[u]bu n.phr macho yaliyotoka kwa mshangao staring gaze
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *macho 'eyes' and transfer from SE 'bulb'; expression "eyes [like] bulbs".
Used especially in saying "macho balbu, shingo feni". Popularised through a song by Vijana Orchestra "Penzi haligawanyiki". The chorus has "Vipi sasa we bwana waleta matata / Kwa vile napendele na nimehatu / Kila nikiipa macho yakutoka / Utadhani balbu, bwana we bwana e / Kila nikiipa wageuza shingo / Utadhani fenj, bwana e bwana e”
Alikuwa macho balbu.
Aliangalia kwa mshangao mkubwa.
> shingo feni

macho manne n.phr miwani glasses
Metonymic extension of SS *macho 'eyes' plus *nne 'four'; expression "four eyes".
Attested for older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 51).
Yule kapigilia macho manne.
Yule anevaa miwani.
> glasi, tivi

macho ya samaki n.phr Toyota "Mark II" aina ya baluni ambayo ina taa nyembamba Toyota "Mark II" (with rounded back) which has narrow tail lights
Metaphorical extension of *macho ya samaki 'fish eyes', based on form of tail lights.
Yule amenunua macho ya samaki.
Yule amenunua Toyota "Mark II" yenye sehemu ya nyuma iliyambwa mviringo na taa za nyuma nyembamba.
> baluni

machovi ya simba n.phr pombe kali haramu, gongo hard liquor; illegally distilled liquor
Metaphorical extension of SS *machovi 'tears' and SS *simba 'lion', attested in older Swahili slang for meaning 'gin' (Ohly 1987a: 51); expression "lion's tears". Based on the concept of lions' tears as a strong liquid.
Amepata machovi ya simba.
Amepata pombe kali isiyo halali.
> maji makali, nipa, supa ya mawe

madongo n6 1. maneno ya kukosoa mtu yasiyo ya moja kwa moja 2. uongo 1. indirect criticism 2. lies
Dysphemistic extension of plural of augmentative derivation of SS *udongo 'clay'.
1. Nimempa kweli madongo yake.
1. Nimempa kweli yake.
2. Juma ni mtu wa madongo tu.
2. Juma ni mtu mwenye kupenda kusema
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Uongo.

mafinyufinyu n6 katuni, vichekesho, maigizo, mizuka ya kuleta ucheshi cartoons, satirical imitation, humorous plays, dramatisation, amusement, ridicule, derision
Metaphorical extension based on derivation from SS *finya 'pinch, tweak, press, squeeze'.
Moyo ana mafinyufinyu kishenzi.
Moyo ana mawenge mengi ya kuleta ucheshi.
Gazeti la Sani limesheheni mafinyufinyu.
Gazeti la Sani limesheheni makatuni.

mafweza n6 fedha money
Derived from SS *fedha 'money'. Common, since 1990.
Ofisi za serikali ni mambo ya mafweza tu.
Ofisi za serikali ni mambo ya pesa (za hongo) tu.
Hapa mjini kila kitu kipo, ni mafweza yako tu.
Hapa mjini kila kitu kipo, ni pesa zako tu.
Mafweza kwangu siyo shida.
Pesa kwangu siyo shida.
> fweza

magoli n6 1. zuri, uzuri 2. uongo 3. kitendo cha kutoa manii wakati wa kujamia 1. nice, beautiful, beauty 2. lies 3. ejaculation
Metaphorical extension of SE 'goal'.
1. Demu yuko magoli.
2. Msichana ni mzuri sana.
2. Nimempiga magoli, akanipa pesa.
2. Nimemsema uongo, akanipa pesa.
> fweza

magutugutu n6 hisia ya kitu fulani, mshtuko sense, sentiment, premonition
Semantic extension of SS *magutu 'stumps', probably related to SS *gutuka 'be startled, be frightened, be surprised', listed as older Swahili slang in (Ohly 1987a: 36).
Usiku nimelala lakini nilikuwa na magutugutu.
Usiku nimelala lakini nilikuwa na hisia ya kitu fulani.
Analala kwa magutugutu.
Analala kwa hisia ya hatari.
> machale

mahanjumati / mahanjuhanju n6 mapochopocho, vyakula vizuri vyene harufu nzuri na viungo vingi. very nice, well prepared food
< ? Common.
Watiki alipokuka mume wangu nilipika mahanjumati.
Watiki alipokuka mume wangu nilipika vyakula vitamu.
Kwenye sherehe mahanjumati ni muhimu.
Kwenye sherehe vyakula vizuri ni muhimu.

maharage ya Mbeya n.phr mwanamke anayeiuta mwili wake, mwanamke anayekubali kila mwanamume woman who sells her body, promiscuous woman
Metaphorical extension of SS expression *maharage ya Mbeya, denoting a variety of beans which do not need long time to be ready in cooking. Mbeya refers to a town in Tanzania. There could also be a connection to older Swahili slang lexeme *haragwe 'vagina' (Ohly 1987a: 37).
Jane ni maharage ya Mbeya.
Jane ni msichana rahisi kufanya mapenzi na mwanamume ye yote.
> mama huruma

maiki n mikrofoni microphone
Transfer from colloquial English *mike 'microphone'.
Ensii huyo alishika maiki. (Sani 214:6-7)
MC huyo alishika mikrofoni.

maindi v 1. penda, zoea, kumbuka, taka, filia 2. topenda 1. like, be used to sth or sb, mind sb 2. like not
Semantic extension of transfer from SE verb 'mind'.
1. Tulikumaindi kinoma.
1. Tulikuzoea sana.
1. Ninamaindi kula bondo.
1. Nimemaindi hicho kitu.
1. Simgamaindi yule.
2. Jamaa ninammaindi sana.
2. Ananimaindi sana.
2. Hanipendi.

**maiti** n abiria astyelipa nauli passenger who does not have to pay the fare
Metaphor used by daladala personnel to denote passengers who by law do not have to pay the fare. The image comprises "wounded people" (who pay a reduced fare, e.g. students) and "corpses" (who pay nothing, e.g. soldiers). Attested in older Swahili slang for meaning 'ugly woman' (Ohly 1987a: 51).

Tumebeba maiti wengi.
Tumebeba abiria wengi wasiolipa nauli.

**majalala** n6 hali ya kutokuwa na pesa mfukoni state of having no money in the pockets
Metaphorical extension of SS *majalala 'dumping ground'.

Niko majalala.
Sina pesa mfukoni.

**majani** n6 1. bangi 2. noti za pesa 1.
marijuana 2. paper money
Metonymic extension of SS *majani 'leaves'.
Attested in older Swahili slang for meaning 'chink, dough, [paper money]'
(Ohly 1987a: 51).

1. Yule ni mtu wa majani.
1. Yule ni mvuta bangi.
2. Sina majani.
2. Sina pesa.

> nyasi, blant

**maji** n6 pombe alcoholic drink
Euphemistic extension of SS *maji 'water'.
Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 51).

Yule anapiga maji sana.
Yule anakunywa sana pombe.

> piga maji, kinywaji, tungi

**maji makali** n.phr pombe kali haramu, hasa gongo illegal hard liquor
Metaphorical extension of SS *maji 'water' plus *kali 'hot, sharp'.

Saa hizi tunataka tupate maji makali tutulize akili.
Saa hizi tunataka tupate pombe kali tutulize akili.

*Mshikaji kwa maji makali, yaani hafai.*
Jamaa anapenda sana kunywa gongo, yaani hafai.

> machoji ya simba, nipu, supu yaまwe

**maji ya dhahabu** n.phr bia, hasa "Kibo Gold" beer, esp. "Kibo Gold"
Partial calque or SS paraphrase of an onomastic synecdoche based on the brand name "Kibo Gold"; expression 'golden water'.

Anapenda maji ya dhahabu.

> ngano, tungi, ulabu

**majita** n6 watu wa kihuni, wa mtaani, marafiki people from the street, friends
According to one informant, the lexeme is derived from Zulu *majita meaning 'friend'.
Popularised through a track by Bongo Fleva formation TMK.

Majita wote walikuwepo.
Marafiki wote walikuwepo.
*Majita wamenitaiti, wamelamba fuba lote.*
Wahuni wamenibana, wamechukua pesa zote.

**majuu** n6 ulaya Europe
Metonymic extension of SS *juu 'up, above', motivated by the fact that people must fly to Europe. Another etymology gives motivation by orientation on maps, i.e. north = up. According to Shafi (p.c. 31.5.03) this term is already obsolete and replaced by *mamtoni.

Leo mchonga kapanda pipa kwenda majuu.
Leo raisi Nyerere kapanda ndege kwenda ulaya.

Sasa tomero nakwea pipa kwenda majuu.
Sasa kesho napanda ndege kwenda ulaya.

*Du, brother, unaisha majuu la!*

Du, rafiki, unaondoka kwenda ulaya!

*Tangu achaguliwe anaenda majuu kama Kariakoo.*
Tangu achaguliwe anaenda Ulaya kama Kariakoo.
> mamtoni, kwa mama

**makuzi** n.6 habari zisizo na maana, uongo words without meaning, lies
Metonymic extension based on SS *kuza 'enlarge'?
Nitolee makuzi mwanangu.
Usiniletee habari isiyo na maana, rafiki yangu.
> miyeyusho

**maliza** v. jua mabaya yote know all bad things
Either ellipsis of SS *maliza masomo 'finish studies' or metonymic extension of SS *maliza 'complete, finish off', also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 52).
Lakini wewe mwenyewe chekibobu u'shamaliza.
Lakini wewe mwenyewe kijana umeshajua mabaya yote

**mama huruma** n.phr mwanamke anayefunza mwili wake, mwanamke anayekubali kila mwanamume woman who sells her body, promiscuous woman
Euphemistic metonymic extension of SS *mama 'mother' and *huruma 'compassion, pity, mercy'. The notion is that the woman feels pity with the men.
**Msichana yule ni mama huruma.**
Msichana yule anajiuza.
> maharage ya Mbeya

**mama koku** n.phr gari aina ya Mitsubishi RVR Car model Mitsubishi RVR
Onomastic synecdoche of the Haya female name "Koku. Cognitive motivation: Many Haya women drive Mitsubishi RVR.
Anna anaendesha mama koku siku hizi.
Anna anaendesha gari aina ya Mitsubishi RVR siku hizi.
> kicheni pati

**mama muuza** n.phr 1. mama muuza pombe, mwanamke anayefanya kazi kwenywe baa au hotelini 2. mama mfanyabiashara 1. woman selling brew, woman working in a bar or restaurant 2. tradeswoman
Ellipsis of the SS phrase *mama muuza pombe (au kitu kingine). Common, colloquial.
**Mama muuza niletee bia mbili hapa.**

**mambo ya isidingo** n.phr mambo ya kilaya Westernised lifestyle, especially in regard to changing partners
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of a South African daily soap "Isidingo" broadcasted by ITV.
**Mambo yako ya Isidingo.**
Mambo yako, leo huyu, kesho yule pale.

**mamtoni, mtoni** n. loc Ulaya, nchi za nje Europe, foreign countries
Metonymic extension of SS *mtoni 'at the river', motivated by the oceans surrounding the African continent.
Jamaa karudi jana kutoka mamtoni.
Jamaa karudi jana kutoka Ulaya.
> majuu, kiwanja, kwa bi mkubwa

**manzi** n. msichana mzuri beautiful girl
Common in secondary schools and colleges.
**Manzi huyu ana taarabu.**
Msichana huyu ana matakwa makubwa.
**Manzi wangu ni mrembo.**
Msichana wangu ni mrembo.
> demu

**mapene** n.6 fedha, fedha nyingi money, much money
Dysphemistic extension based on a transfer from SE 'penny', also attested in older Swahili slang as *pene jike '5 cents' and *pene dume '10 cents' (Ohly 1987a: 67).
**Mapene yamecheua.**
Kuna fedha nyingi.
**Ana mapene.**
Ana mahela mengi.
> chapaa, mkwanja, mshiko, uchache, faranga

**mapepe** n.6 haraka, wasiwasi, uchangamfu wa kupita kiasi, hali ya kutotulia hastiness, hurry, restlessness
Metaphoric extension of SS *pepea 'swing in the wind' or *mapepe 'empty husks of grain', attested in older Swahili slang
with meaning 'empty-headed, naughty'
(Ohly 1987a: 52).

_Oya mshikaji, tuliza mapepe, usiwe na mzunga!_

Rafiki, tulia, usiwe na wasiwasi!
_Hadija mapepe kweli, anahitaji kupepewa._
Hadija ni mchangamfu kupita kiasi, anahitaji kutulizwa.
_An a mapepe huyo, hajatulia._
Huyo anahangaikahangaika, hajatulia.

> wenge

_mapokopoko n6 mapochopocho, vyakula vizuri_ very nice, well prepared dishes, delicacies
Derived from SS *mapochopocho 'delicacies'
_Ninayatemea mate mapokopoko ya huko._
Ninayatemea mate mapochopocho ya huko.

_mashauzi n6 hali ya kujisifia, hali ya kuringa; hali ya kujikomba_ boasting; ingratiating os
Derived from LyM *jishaua 'boast'. Not common
_Anapovaa kiatu kipya huwa ana mashauzi._
Anapovaa kiatu kipya huwa anaringa..

_matanuzi n6 1. starehe ya hali ya juu  2. utumiaji wa pesa nyingi, utumiaji wa pesa kwa fujo_ 1. extravagance  2. careless spending of money
Semantic extension of nominal derivation from SS *tanua 'expand'.
_Matanuzi yana gharama kubwa._
Extravagance is expensive.
_Nakwenda kwenye matanuzi._
Nakwenda kwenye starehe.
_La, jana tulienda klabu, tukafanya matanuzi makubwa sana._
La, jana tulikwenda klabu, tukatumia pesa kwa fujo.

_maturutapu n6 pombe ya kienyeji locally brewed beer_< ? Probably metonymic extension of transfer from Sheng *maturutapu 'drugs in tablet form' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 14).
_Mimi sinywi pombe za mataturutapu._
Mimi sinywi pombe za kienyeji.
> chang’aa, tungi, ulabu

_matiitisa saa sita n6.phr matiti yaliyoichongoka_ breasts of a form where the nipples direct upwards, as to an imagined 12 o'clock marker on a watch
Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of SS *sa saa sita '12 o'clock'.
_Mcheki yule demu kifuani saa sita._
Mwone yule msichana, ana matiti mazuri yaliyoichongoka.
_Yule ana matiti saa sita._
Yule ana matiti yaliyoichongoka.
> maziwa saa sita, chuchu saa sita

_maTZQ n6 mapolisi wageni, wanaoanza kazi ya upolisi_ policemen who start working after having studied at police school
Metonymic extension of acronym based on Tanzanian codes of registration plates for cars where TZ refers to Tanzania and the following letter to the year registration, e.g. Q for the year 1999.
_MaTZQ walikucheki._
Mapolisi wageni walikuona.

_mavi n6 mako to buttocks_
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *mavi 'excrements'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 53).
_Unamwona demu, ana mavi kweli._
Unamwona msichana, ana mako makubwa kweli.

_mavi ya panya n.phr wali cooked rice_
Dysphemistic metaphor based on similarity of form: SS *mavi ya panya 'faeces of rats'.
_Tufinye mavi ya panya._
Tule wali.
> nyali, punja, punje, ubeche, ubwabwa

_mavituz n6 vitu vizuri, mambo mazuri_ nice things, nice matters
Augmentative plural of SS *vitu 'things'.
_Mavituz ni yale yale toka kwa mtu yule yule yule._
_I Proud_
Vitu vile vile toka kwa mtu yule yule yule.
> mavituz

_mavituz n6 vitu vizuri, mambo mazuri_ nice things, nice matters
Hybridisation composed of an irregular augmentative plural of SS *vitu 'things' plus SE plural suffix.
_Hoya, naona mavituz yako._
Hoya, naona mambo mazuri yako.
mavumba n6 fedha money
Dysphemistic extension of SS *vumba 'bad smell of fish'.
Ana mavumba mengi.
Ana pesa nyingi.
> mkwanja, uchache

mayai n6 Toyota "Chaser" yenye sehemu ya nyuma iliyoumbwa mviringo Toyota "Chaser" with rounded back
Metaphorical extension of SS *mayai 'eggs', based on oval form of car.
Yule amenunua mayai.
Yule amenunua Toyota "Chaser" yenye sehemu ya nyuma iliyoumbwa mviringo.

mbumba n9 pesa money
< ?
Mwanangu nimekaukiwa mbumba.
Rafiki nimeishiwa na pesa.
> fuba, mapene, mkwanja, mshiko, uchache, vumba.

mbushi n1/2 mshamba, mtu kutoka kijijini person from a rural area, country bumpkin
Dysphemistic extension of SE 'bush'. The word also features prominently in a cartoon about two football teams "Born town vs Bush stars" published in the magazine "Sani".

mbuzi n9/10 mtu asiyie na uwezo mkubwa wa kufikiria dim, dull, stupid person
Metaphorical extension of SS *mbuzi 'goat'.
We si ni mbuzi tu?
Weve mbuzi toka hapa.

mbwa kachoka phr 1. mshono fulani wa gauni 2. mtu maskini 3. stali ya kufanya mapenzi 1. stile of dress 2. poor person 3. style of sex (doggy style)
Metaphorical extension of SS *mbwa 'dog' plus SS *choka 'be tired', motivation of (1) unclear; expression "the dog is tired".
2. Mimi ni mbwa kachoka, basti, sina hela.
2. Mimi ni mtu maskini, sina hela.
3. Mbwa kachoka ni tamu!

mbwiga n1. mwanamume bila nguvu, bwege 2. rafiki 1. hen-pecked man, simpleton, fool 2. friend
< ? Probably derived from SS *bwege.
Unasemaje mbwiga?
Unasemaje rafiki?
> boka, ndula, poyoyo, uboka

mbádala n9/10 namna nyingine, njia nyingine, tofauti alternative
Derivation of SS *badala 'substitute'.
Anatafuta njia mbádala.
Anatafuta njia kwa namna nyingine.

mchalii n1/2/6 mvulana, kijana, rafiki boy, young man, friend
Derivation from LyM *chalii 'boy, young man'.
Mchalii nige gamu yangu.
Kijana, nipe dawa ya kelevya yangu.
mche wa sabuni n.phr simu kubwa ya mkononi aina ya Siemens C25 big-sized mobile phone, Siemens C25
Metonymical extension of SS *mche wa sabuni 'bar of soap', based on form.
Nataka kununua mche wa sabuni kwa ajili ya kupigishia simu kibandani.
Nataka kununua Siemens C25 kwa ajili ya kupigishia simu kibandani.
> mshindi, foma limau

mchecheto n3 wasiwasi, papara, haraka worries, confusion, pressure < ? In KKS 2.
Mto wacha mchecheto!
Moto wachacha kufanya mambo kwa papara!

mchizi n1/6 mtu hodari, rafiki cool guy, friend
Derived from LyM *chizi 'crazy', in analogy to LyM *kichaa. Another possibility is: metonymic extension based on derivation of older Swahili slang *chizi 'European, white man' (Ohly 1987a: 28), motivated by an attitude of admiration, which is itself derived by metonymic extension from SE 'cheese', motivated by colour. The plural form of class 6, *machizi, is a morphological relic which confirms the assumption that *mchizi is a secondary formation based on a precursor allocated to the singular class 5 possibly identical with Ohly's attestation.
Mchizi wangu amekuja.
Rafiki yangu amekuja.
Mchizi wangu amesafiri.
Rafiki yangu amesafiri.
Machizi wameyeya zao.
Marafiki wameondoka zao.
> mshirika, kichaa, masela

mchonga / mzee mchonga n rais wa kwanza, Mwl. Nyerere nickname of president Nyerere
Dysphemistic antonomastic extension of derivation of SS *chonga 'carve', based on the filed teeth of Mwl. Nyerere.
Leo mchonga kapanda pipa kwenda majuu.
Leo Mwl. Nyerere kapanda ndege kwenda ulaya.
Naona umechinga tenge la mchonga.
Naona umevaa kitenge cha rais Nyerere.
> Mzee ruka

mchongo n3/4 mpango wa kupata pesa, mambo yasiyo halali project to get money, matters, affairs (illegal)
Metaphorical semantic extension of SS *chonga 'carve, forge, chop, sharpen'.
Mchongo yako vipi?
Mipango yako vipi?
Tulikula mchongo bwana.
Tulipata mpango wa kupata pesa.
> dili, ishu, njia za panya

mchongoma n3/4 kizuizi obstacle
Metonymical extension of SS *mchongoma 'type of thorn shrub often used as a hedge'.
Hiyo ni michongoma bwana.
Hicho ni kizuizi bwana.
Bwana naomba usiniwekee mchongoma.
Bwana naomba usiniwekee kizuizi.
> bania, gozigozi, kigiza, kivungu

mchovu n1 1. mvivu 2. mtu asiye na pesa, mtu asiye na kitu 1. lazy person 2. sb without money
Semantic extension of SS *mchovu 'person who soon becomes tired; bore, tiresome person'.
2. Usinibabaishe, kwanza mtu mwenyewe mchovu tu wewe.
2. Usinzungushe, kwanza mtu mwenyewe huna kitu tu wewe.

mchuma n3 1. bunduki 2. gari zuri 1. gun 2. prestigious car
Metonymic extension of *chuma 'iron' plus class 3 prefix, (1) also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 19).
2. Dereva wa daladala alichomoa mchuma.
2. Dereva wa daladala aliondosha gari.

mdahalishi n3 mtandao, intaneti internet
Semantic extension of derivate from SS *dahili 'associate with a person'. Official.

mdebwezo n3 suruali zinazokaa kiunoni loosely fitting trousers, low cut trousers
According to informants derived from SS *tepeta 'loosen'.
Masela walikula suruali za mdebwezo.
Marafiki walivaa suruali za kulegeza.
> kata kundu, kata kei, mlegezo

mdio n3/4 kamera ya video video camera
Initial clipping of SE 'video' plus class 3
prefix to denote something powerful and big.

Mushi amenunua mdeo wa kisasa.
Mushi amenunua kamera kubwa ya video ya kisasa.

> piga mdeo

mdesaji n1/2 mtu ambaye anadanganya katika mitihani sb who cheats in exams
Derivation from LyM *desa 'cheat in exams'.
Juma ni mdesaji.
Juma huwa anadanganya katika mitihani.

> desa

mdingi n1

> dingi

mdosho n1/2 msichana mrembo beautiful girl, woman

< ?
Nimeoa mdosho.
Nimeoa mwanamke mrembo.
Oysterbay kuna wadosho.
Oysterbay kuna warembo.

> kidosho

mdosi n1/2 tajiri, mhindi, mzungu wealthy person, Indian businessman, European

< ? Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 19) for meaning 'rich person'.
Huyu dingi mdosi kweli.
Huyu baba tajiri sana.
Mdosi mwenyewe hana pesa.
Mzungu mwenyewe hana pesa.

mdudu n1 ukimwi HIV, AIDS
Euphemistic extension of SS *mdudu 'insect'.
Ana mdudu.
Ana ukimwi.

> feruza, ngoma, kanyakwa miwaya, ngwengwe, umeme, shoti, virusi

tajiri, mhindi, mzungu

mentalni9/19 1. kijana mwenye maisha ya chini 2. rafiki 2. poor youth 2. friend
Dysphemistic extension of SS *mentali 'crazy person'.
Zali la mentali. (Prof. Jay)
Bahati ya kijana mwenye maisha ya chini.

> chizi

mento n5/6 mwenda wazimu, mpumbavu crazy, stupid person
Transfer from SE 'mental'. Old and common.

Huyu bloo ni mento.
Huyu jamaa hana akili.

meza pini v.phr kaa kimya stay silent when addressed
Metonymic extension of SS *meza 'swallow' and SE 'pin'.
Amemeza pini.
Ameekaa kimya.

meza v puuza, jifanya kutosikia, nyamaza, tulia play the ignorant fool, be quiet
Metonymic extension of applicative derivation of SS *meza 'swallow'.
Meza, bwana.
Usiseme, bwana.
Nilimezea tu.
Nilinyamaza tu.

mgoroko n1 mjingga, mshamba, mtu mpya mjini fool, layman, country bumpkin, so new to the city

< Said to be derived from LyM *mgoroko 'scrubs'.
Yule ni mgoroko.
Yule ni mshamba.

> kinabo, mbushi, mjambamjomba, ugoroko

mguu wa bia n.phr mguu wa mwanamke mwenye umbo mzuri, uliojazia well shaped leg with full shin and slim ankle
Metaphorical extension of SS *bia 'bottle of beer' plus SS *mguu 'leg', based on the image of a turned up bottle of beer; expression 'beer leg'.
Mgguu wa bia ni mguu wa kuvalia kimini.
Mgguu uliojazia ni mguu wa kuvalia kimini.

> mguu wa soda, mguu wa tende, guu la bia, guu la soda, guu la tende

mguu wa kuku n.phr bastola pistol
Dysphemistic metaphoric extension of SS *mguu 'leg' and *kuku 'hen', based on form.
Mtuu mwende pesa sasa anaweza kujipatia mguu wa kuku dukani.
Someone who has money can now buy himself a pistol at a shop.

mguu wa soda, mguu wa pepsi n.phr mguu mwembamba thin leg with well shaped ankle
Metaphorical extension of SS *soda 'bottle of soft drink' plus SS *mguu 'leg', based on the image of a turned up bottle; expression 'soft drink leg'. Considered as less attractive than *mguu wa bia.

mguu wa tende n.phr mguu mnene ulionyooka, bila kuingia kwa chini straight fat leg without well shaped ankle, leg as if the person were sick with Elephantiasis

Metonymic extension of SS *tende 'Elephantiasis' plus *mguu 'leg'; expression "Elephantiasis leg", considered as unattractive.

mgumu n1/2 mtu ambaye hataki kutoa pesa, mtu anayesemekana kutopeka kufanya mapenzi so who does not like to give away money, person who is said to dislike having sex

Semantic extension of SS *mgumu 'sb who is hard, difficult'.

Juma ni mgumu. Juma hapendi kufanya mapenzi.

michosho n4 hali ya kupoteza muda wasting time

Derived from SS *chosha 'make tired'.

Nilikwenda kwake lakini michosho tu. Nilikwenda kwake lakini akanipoteza muda tu.

Hana mpango, michosho tu. Hana mpango, anapoteza muda tu.

Yule ni michosho tu. Yule ananichosho tu.

mikika n4 mateke kicks

Transfer from SE 'kick'. Also attested in older Swahili slang for meaning 'rushing around' (Ohly 1987a: 55), cf. also *mkiki 'struggling, wrestling' (Ohly 1987a: 56).

Jana nilipita mtaa wa Samora, nikakutana na vibaka. Baada ya mikiki mikiki nikawatoka.

mikuno n4 stailli za kufanya mapenzi styles of sex

Metonymic extension of SS *mkuno 'scratching, grating'.

Huyu jamaa anapiga mikuno ya ajabu. Rafiki anafanya mapenzi vizuri.

milazo n4 mistari ya kuimba verses in singing

Semantic extension of SS *laza 'lay'


ming'aro n ngu o nzuri, za kisasa, ngu o zinazong'aa nice, fashionable clothes, shining clothes

Metonymic extension of derivation of SS *ng'aa 'shine'. Not common. Cf. older Swahili slang *ng'aa 'exhibit oneself and draw other people's attention' (Ohly
minyenyele, minyenye n4 virusi za ukimwi HIV-viruses
Semantic extension of derivation of SS
*nyenyere 'tiny black ant'
Demu wake amekwaa minyenyele.
Demu wake amepata ukimwi.

mishangashanga n4 hal ya kulewa
inayoletwa na vilevi, hasa bangi state of
euphoria caused by drugs, esp. marijuana
Anapovuta huwa ana mishangashanga.
Anapovuta huwa ana hal ya kulewa.

mishemishe n hal ya kuhangaika,
pilikapilika za maisha permanent struggle
< ?
Jana tulifanya mishemishe kupata mishiko!
Jana tulikuwa na pilikapilika za kupata pesa!

misheni tauni n mtu ambaye anafanya
mipango ya kupata pesa, na mara nyingine
si halali man who engages in deals or
projects (which not always are straight-
forward) to get money
Transfer from American slang.
Abdalla ni misheni tauni.
Abdalla ni mtu anayeishi kwa mipango ya
kubahatisha.

misheni / mesheni n9 mpango plan, project
Transfer from of SE 'mission', possibly also
dysphemistic use of Swahili slang
meaning 'illegal scheme'.
Nina misheni ya pesa.
Nina mpango wa kupata pesa.
Misheni yako vipi?
Mipango yako vipi?

mitikasi n4 shughudi, mipango, mihangaiko
plans, projects
< ? Often in greetings.
Mitikasi? - Fresh.
Mambo? - Fresh.
Vipi mitikasi yako?

Vipi mipango yako?
Leo nina mitikasi mikali, sitakuwepo
nyumbani.
Leo nina mipango mikali, sitakuwepo
nyumbani.

mitindo huru n,phr nyimbo ambazo
hazikuimbwa kabla New songs, improvised
singing of verses
Calque from SE 'free style'.
Hoya, mtu wangu, tuachie mitindo huru.
Hoya, rafiki, utuimbie wimbo ambao
haujaimbwa kabla.

mitungi n3/4 I. pombe 2. ulevi 1. alcoholic
drink 2. drunkenness
Metonymic extension of SS *mtungi 'clay
water pot'; attested in older Swahili slang
for the meaning 'beer' (Ohly 1987a: 59).
1. Tulipiga mitungi ya kutosha.
2. Ah, jana nilikuwa mitungi sana.

miwaya n4 ukimwi AIDS
Metaphorical cum metonymic extension of
SS *waya SE 'wire'.
Amepea miwaya.
Amuuga ukimwi.
Ameshikwa na miwaya.
Amuuga ukimwi.
Amekanyaga miwaya.
Amepea ukimwi.
< ngoma, mdudu, ngwengwe, umeme

miyeyusho, miyeyu n4 uongo lies
Metonymic extension based on SS *yeysua
'dissolve, liquefy, melt'. Cognitive
motivation: like ice melts in the sun, the
false story also melts when the lies are
discovered.
Nilipomweleza anipe pesa yangu akaniletwa
miyeyusho.
Nilipomweleza anipe pesa yangu
akanizungusha.
< yeysuha

mjani n bangi marijuana
Metonymic extension of SS *jani 'leaf'
< majani, nyasi

mjengo n3 kitendo cha kufanywa mapenzi
kinyume cha maumbile anal sex
Metonymic extension of SS *mjengo 'building', based on the position of the people involved.

*Mshikaji anapigwa mjengo.*

*Rafiki anafanywa mapenzi kinyume cha maumbile.*

> *mshikaji, mtungo mjita n1 mhuni, mtu ambaye hana mke; hata mwanamke mhuni wild youth, bachelor, only exceptionally used for women

Onomastic synecdoche of SS *mjita*, name of ethnic group in Mara Region. The Wajita are said to be "watu wenye fujo" 'wild, fierce people'

>Vipi mjita wangu?

>Vipi rafiki yangu?

> *majita, janta, msela

*Mjombamjomba n1 mshamba anayejifanya anajua mambo layman pretending to know things (of the city life), country bumpkin

Reduplication of SS *mjomba* 'maternal uncle'.

*Yule bwana ni mjombamjomba.*

*Yule bwana ni mshamba.*

> *kinabo, mbushi, mgoroko, ugoroko, wjombamjomba

*Mkaskazini n1 msichana mrembo beautiful girl, woman

Semantic extension of SS *kaskazini* 'north'

*Yule shori ni mkaskazini wangu.*

*Yule msichana ni mrembo wangu.*

> *mkia wa mbuzi n.phr tai tie

Metaphorical extension of SS *mkia wa mbuzi* 'goat's tail'.

*John naona leo kaning'iniza mkia wa mbuzi.*

*John naona leo amevaa tai (yenye urefu wa wastani).*

> *mkia wa ng'ombe, ulimi wa mbwa

*Mkia wa ng'ombe* n3 tai ndefu long tie

Metaphorical extension of SS *mkia wa ng'ombe* 'cow's tail'.

*John naona leo kaning'iniza mkia wa ng'ombe.*

*John naona leo amevaa tai ndefu.*

> *mkia wa ng'ombe, ulimi wa mbwa

*Mkinga, mukinga* n taabu, wasiwasi problem

Semantic extension of SS *mkinga* 'obstacle, barrier' < SS *kinga* 'ward off, obstruct, oppose'. Not common.

*Haiko mkinga.*

*Hakuna taabu.*

*Hakuna mukinga.*

*Hakuna wasiwasi.*

*Mkoba n3/4 1. namba tano 2. noti ya shilingi 500 3. pasipoti 1. number five 2. note of 500 TSh. 3. passport

Metonymic extension of SS *mkoba* 'bag'.

Cognitive motivation: In football, the player in front of the goal-keeper is the number five; he is called *mkoba* 'bag', because a bag has to be carried in front and not behind of a person. A passport has to be carried in a bag.

2. Nitatafuta mkoba kwa safari.

2. Nitatafuta pasipoti kwa safari.

2. Chukua mkoba tufunge safari.

2. Chukua pasipoti tufunge safari.

*Mkorogo* n3/4 dawa ya kuchubua ngozi local made bleach for making skin lighter

Metonymic extension of SS *mkorogo* 'stirring, meshing, mixing', motivated by the local way to mix a bleaching cream by using oil from transformers and other ingredients, apart from using the creams available in shops. Old.

*Yule anaweka mkorogo.*

*Yule anatumia dawa ya kuchubua ngozi.*

*Mkuu wa meza* n.phr nyama ya nguruwe porc meat

Hyperbolic euphemistic extension of SS *mkuu* 'head, important person' plus *meza* 'table'.

> *kitimoto

*Mkuda* n1/2 mbeya gossip

< ?

*Mbona mwana ni mkuda weve?* Mbona rafiki, weve ni mbeya?

*Mkuku* n/adv upesi, kwa kasi, mbio quickly, very fast

Hypothesis offered by informant: Synecdochical extension based on SS *kuku* 'chicken', motivated by the way a chicken runs away from danger. But note that there is SS *mkuku* 'keel of a boat'.
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Alitoka mkuku.
Alitoka upesi sana.
Gari ilitoka mkuku.
Gari ilitoka kwa kasi.

mkulu n rais president
Probably etymologically related to SS *kuu 'great, big', retention of intervocalic *l points to the origin in a Tanzanian Bantu language other than Swahili. Rare.

mkundu n tako kubwa big behind
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *mkundu 'anus'.
Yule ana mkundu.
Yule ana matakoni makubwa.
> bambataa, haja kabw, ndombolo, shuzi, taaraabu, takunyema, wowowo

mkwaju ngoma n3/4 demu girl, young woman
Metaphorical extension of SS *mkwaju 'tamarind tree' plus *ngoma 'drum'.
Referring to girls' initiation rites of the Zaramo. Rare.
Yule ni mkwaju ngoma wa Juma.
Yule ni msichana wa Juma.

mkwanja n3/4 fedha, pesa money
Metaphorical extension of SS *kwaju 'slasher'. Transfer to class 3.
Sina mkwanja.
Sina pesa.
> mapene, mshiiko, ucachache

mkwara, mikwara n3/4 tishio, maneno ya kutishia threat, verbal threat
< ? Since 1980s.
Wewe acha kupiga mkwara, mbuzi hapa.
Wewe acha kutishia na uwezo wako ni mdogo tu.
Usinipe mikwara.
Usinishie.
> chimbi biti

mkweche n3/4 gari, pikipiki, baisikeli mbvoo old and broken car, motorbike or bicycle
< ?
Mkweche wake unakimbia huo.
Gari lake bovu linakimba.

mlami n1/2 1. mtu maarufu sana, tajiri 2. mzungu 1. star, rich person 2. European
Semantic extension based on derivation of SS *lamu 'asphalt'? Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 20).
2. Washikaji, walami wamekuja, njooni muwapi tochi!
2. Jamani, wazungu wamekuja, njooni muwaangalie!
2. Walami baada ya kupa hapa Kurio watamotooa na pia.
2. Wazungu baada ya kuka hapa Kurio wataondoka na ndege.
2. Yupo mlami mmoja jina Lorand kanigei dili kuwa atanigei cheser.
2. Yupo mzungu mmoja jina Lorand kanieleza siri kuwa atapiga gari.
2. Juzi walami waliwiza maskani kwetu.
2. Juzi wazungu waliwiza maskani kwetu.

mlagutugutuko n3 suruali zinazokaa kiunoni loosely fitting trousers
Derivation based on SS *legeza 'loosen'; *mlegezo and its variant *mlegesheo seem to have replaced former *mlegesho.
Luka amevaa suruali ya mlagutugutuko.
Luka amevaa suruali ya kulegezo.
> kata kundu, kata kei, mdebeze

mlugaluga n1/2 mshamba layman, country bumpkin
Semantic extension of SS 'messenger, native police'. Another version offered by many informants: Semantic extension based on SS *lugha 'language', since a layman may mix Swahili with his mother tongue.
Wewe ni mlugaluga tu.
Wewe ni mshamba tu.
> mpurupori, wa kuja

mlume ndago n1/2 mwanamume shupavu sana very strong and brave man
Probably transfer from local language *mlume 'man' plus SS *ndago 'kind of weed which resists weeding'
Washikaji wa TMK ni walume ndago.
Watu wa TMK (group of Bongo Fleva artists) ni wanaume shupavu sana.

mlupu n3/4 mwanamke ambaye ni rahisi kumpata, malaya woman easily laid, floozy
< ?
Jana klabu kulikuwa na mlupu mingi sana.
Jana klabu kulikuwa na wasichana wengi sana wanaopatikana kirahisi.
mnazi n3 pombe ya kienyeji aina ya tembo
locally brewed palm wine
Metonymic extension of SS *mnazi 'coconut palm'.
> chang'aa, mataputapu, tungi, ulabu

mneli n3 bangi; sigara; mokoko joint of marijuana; self-rolled cigarette
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'nail', based on form.
Zungusha mneli huo.
Zungusha sigara/bangi, tushirikiane kuvuta.

mnene n1/2 bosí, mtu mwenye hela boss,
person having money
Metonymic extension of derivation of SS *nene 'fat, stout', related to older Swahili slang *nenepa 'be comforted, be relieved'
(Ohly 1987a: 62).
> 'nasi', kibosile, pedeshee

mnoknok n1/2 mbeya gossip
Derivation of LyM *mnoko Achana na wanoknok, nia yao ni kuvuruga.
Uswasikilize wambeya, nia yao ni kutugobanisha..
> mkuda, mnoko

mnoko n1/2 1. mwadilifu, mnafiki 2. mbeya 1.
someone 'too' strict 2. gossip
Derivation of SS *noa 'sharpen, whet'; related to *nokoa 'the second man in authority over a plantation?'
Amekuwa mwaliimu wa ndhamu kutokana na kwaa moko.
Amekuwa mwaliimu wa ndhamu kutokana na kwaa mwadilifu.
Yule ni mnoko kama nini.
Yule ni mkorofi kama nini. Anachonganisha habari.
> mkuda, mnoknok

mnuso n3 chakula cha bure (k.v. kwenye mazishi, matanga, arusi) free meal
Metonymic extension of SS *nusa 'smell'.

mnyama n1 kitu kizuri something nice
Metaphorical extension of SS *mnyama 'animal'.
Hoya, washikaji, mshapata mnyama?
Hoya, marafiki, mmeshapata vitu viziuri?

mnyamwezi n1/2 mmarekani mwenye asili ya kiafríka Afro-American
Metonymic extension of SS *mnyamwezi 'Nyamwezi'. Both, the Nyamwezi as well as Afro-Americans are perceived as being strong and big and as having money.
Mcheki mnyamwezi yule.
Mwone Mmerekani mwenye asili ya kiafríka yule.

mnyela n1 mjinga, bwege henpecked man,
fool
< ?
Rafiki yangu usiwe mnyela.
Rafiki yangu usiwe mjinga.
Wewe ni mnyela tu kwetu.
Wewe ni bwege tu kwetu.
> boka, mbwiga, mgoroko, ndula, poyoyo

motoa v ondoka kwa gari au ndege depart
with motor-vehicle
Probably metonymic extension of SE 'motor'.
Rare.
Dr. Gwassa day fulani kamotoa na mtutu.
Dr. Gwossa siku fulani kaondoka na pikipi.
Walami baada ya kupoa hapa Kurio watamotoa na pipa.
Wazungu baada ya kukaa hapa Kurio wataondoka na ndege.

mpayuko n3 suruali kutoka ulaya inayopayuka bleached jeans
Metonymic extension of *payuka 'bleach, fade'.
> jinsi

mporipori n mshamba layman, country bumpkin
Metonymic extension based on SS *pori 'bush'.
> kinabo, mbushi, mluguluga, wa kuja, yeboyebo

mpunga n3 wali cooked rice
Synecdoche from SS *mpunga 'rice plant, non-husked rice'.
Leo tumekula mpunga.
Leo tumekula wali.
> beche, ubwabwa

mrama adv vibaya badly
Metaphorical extension of SS *mrama 'askew, off-course (of vessel)'. Old and common.
Ukiona mambo yanaenda mrama mpelekee
barua hii kaka yangu.
Ukiona mambo yanaanza kuwa mabaya mpelekee barua hii kaka yangu.

**msaada, misaada** n3/4 ukimwi AIDS
Translation of acronym SE 'AIDS' in SS
*msaada. This term seems to be used by academics only.
Ampata msaada.
Ampata ukimwi.
> feruzi, mdudu, miwaya, ngoma, ngwengwe, nyola

**msagaji** n1/2 mwanamke ambaye anafanya mapenzi na mwanamke mwenzake lesbian
Semantic extension of SS *saga 'grind'? Also in KKS 2.

**msala** n3/4 matatizo trouble, something problematic, shit
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *msala 'toilet't.
Mmsala kishenzi kwao kama akigundulika.
Matatizo kupita kiasi kwao kama akigundulika.
> kasheshe, kimeo, kizaazaa, noma, sheshe, soo, zali

**msanii** n1/2 1. mtu ambaye anaishi kwa mipango midogo midogo 2. tapeli 3. mwimbaji wa Bongo Fleva 1. person living on small deals 2. swindler
Euphemistic metonymic extension of SS *msanii 'artist'.
2. Juma ni msanii.
2. Juma ni tapeli.
3. Mimi msanii kioo cha jamii.
3. Mimi ni mwimbaji wa Bongo Fleva, kioo cha jamii.

**msela** n1/2/6 mhuni, mtu ambaye hana mke; hata kwa mwanamke mhuni wild youth, bachelor, also exceptionally used for women
Metonymic extension of SE 'sailor'; or metonymic extension of SS *msela 'bachelor'? Raab (2004b: 10) states that the word originates in English 'sailor'; "In the elders' Swahili a "msela" is a bachelor, but in street slang a "msela" is more like a teenager who's still got a wild youthful energy." This suggests the following semantic development: 'sailor' > 'bachelor' > 'wild and untamed youth'.
The last meaning is also reflected in older Swahili slang *sela 'hooligan' (Ohly 1987a: 72). The plural varies between wasela (2) and masela (6). Used as address between male youths.
Vipi msela wangu?
Vipi Rafiki yangu?

**msenge** n1/2 shoga, mwanumume ambaye anafanya mapenzi na wanaume wenzake homosexual man (who receives penetration) < ? Attested in older Swahili slang as *senge '1) lazy fellow; 2) nancy, queen, somebody sodomised' (Ohly 1987a: 72).
In KKS 2.
Mwizi yule ni msenge, badala ya kuiba gari anaiba embe.
Mwizi yule ni mzembe, badala ya kuiba gari anaiba embe.

**mshakunaku** n1/2 mbea gossip
< ?
Yule ni mshakunaku kweli.
Yule ni mbea kweli.

**mshika pembe** n.phr mwanumume asiye na uhusiano wa kimapenzi na msichana lakini anasema kuwa ana uhusiano naye sb who pretends to have a girlfriend
Metaphorical extension of SS *shika pembe 'hold horns'.
Daudi ni mshika pembe.
Daudi anatumia wakati na mademu wasio wa kwake.
< shika pembe, nawa

**mshikaji** n1 1. rafiki (mwanumume na hatu mwanumume) 2. mapenzi 1. close friend, homeboy, female friend 2. girlfriend
Semantic extension of derivation of SS *shika 'hold'.
Oya mshikaji, njoo nikupe dili kiaina hapa chobi.
We Rafiki yangu, njoo nikuzele siri kuhusu kitu fulani hapa pembeni.
Oya mshikaji, tuliza mapape, usiwe na nzuka!
Rafiki, tuliza haraka, usiwe na wasiwasi!
mambo vipi, wasikaji?
Habari gani, marafiki?
Mnacheki, wasikaji, kakati nasevu mapaparazi wakanifotoa picha.
Mnaona, marafiki, wakati nilipotoroka,
waandishi wa habari wakanipiga picha.
Sasa, washikaji, mnanitonya vipi kuhusu dili hili?
Sasa, marafiki, mnanieleza vipi kuhusu jambo hili?
Oya mshikaji, twenzetu kivulini tukapate kilaji.
Rafiki yangu, twende pamoja bar tukapate vinywaji.
> mshirika, kicha, masela

mshikaki n3 1. fanya kitu kwa pamoja 2. fanya mapenzi na mwameme mmoja kwa wanaume wengi. 1. doing sth together 2. group sex, group rape
Metonymic (1) or dysphemistic metaphorical extension (2) of SS *mshikaki 'piece of meat roasted on a skewer'.

mshiko n fedha, pesa money
Metonymic extension based on SS *shika 'hold, grab'.
Nina mshiko mwingi.
Nina pesa nyingi.
> mapene, mkwanja, uchache

mshindi n3/4 simu kubwa ya mkononi big-sized cell phone
Onomastic synecdoche of brand name*mshindi 'winner' for a bar soap.
Eh! Nora ana bonge la mshindi!
Eh! Nora ana simu ya mkononi kubwa sana!
> foma limau, meche wa sabuni

mshirika n1/2 raiki wa karibu, jamaa close friend
Metonymic extension of *mshirika 'partner, participant' or SS *shirika 'partnership'.
Washirika, tuishie, mapaparazi watatu chukua foto.
Jamani, tuondoke, waandishi wa habari watatupiga picha.
Mshirika, leo na ubao kinoma, twenzetu karigengi dongo!
Rafiki, leo na njaa sana, twende ukanipe ugali!
M[h]irika, ipo dei tutawamba masuru ya jeans.
Rafiki, ipo siku tutavaa suruali za jinsi.
> mshikaji, kicha, masela, mazeli

mshua n3/4 msenge, shoga gay man, homosexual man
Semantic extension of SS *mshumaa 'candle'.
Yule ni mshumaa.
Yule ni shoga.
> anti, bwabwa, chakula, choko, kaka poa

msonge n3/4 daraja la "A" katika mtihani wa shule division "A" in school exams
Metonymic semantic extension of SS *msonge 'circular house', cognitive motivation based on its shape which resembles a triangle.
Rose amefanya vizuri kwemwe la mshumaa, amepata msonge.
Rose amefanya vizuri kwemwe la mshumaa, amepata daraja la A.

msosi n chakula food
Synecdochic extension based on SE 'sauce'.
Very common.

msuba n bangi Indian hemp, marijuana; opium
> mnassa, kaya, kijiti, majani, mjani, ndumu, nyasi

mtambo n3 1. taahira, zezeta, mtu alielezubaa 2. msichana asie na aibu yo yote, anayefanya kilo aibu aibu 1. mad person, lunatic 2. shameless girl
Semantic extension of SS *mtambo 'big engine, machine, mechanism, motor'; attested in older Swahili slang with the meaning 'woman, girl' (Ohly 1987a: 58), cf. also *mtambo for 'vagina' (Ohly 1987a: 56).
1. Wewe ni mtambo nini?
1. Wewe ni taahira nini?
2. Yule ni mtambo.
2. Yule msichana hana aibu yo yote.
> some-time-yes-some-time-no

mtanashati n mtu mwenye hali nzuri ya maisha, mtu mitimili wa well-off person
Metonymic extension of SS ‘well-dressed person’.

**mtandao** n 1. interneti, mobitel, kitu cha mawasiliano, simu ya mkononi 2. ukimwi 1. network, internet, mobile phone net, mobile phone 2. AIDS
Metaphoric extension based on *tandaa ’be spread out over a large area (i.e. a plain’).
1. Dr. Günther alipiga mtandao kwa Padre Celestino.
1. Dr. Günther telephoned Padre Celestine by mobile phone.
1. Shadafa ana mtandao.
1. Shadafa ana simu ya mkononi.
1. Naona shosti, siku hizi una mtandao.
1. Naona rafiki, siku hizi una simu ya mkononi.
2. Mtandao unamaliza watu.
2. Ukimwi unaua watu.

**mtasha**
> mtishi

**mtashi**
> mtishi

**mtembwa** n 1. ndege ya jeshi 2. meli kubwa ambazo mabaharia walitumia kuzamia na kwenda nazo Ulaya 1. airforce plane 2. big ship which was used by sailors to reach Europe illegally
Metonymic extension of SS *mtembwa ‘pipe (for tobacco); funnel’.
2. Washikaji wallikula mtamba na kuishia zao ughaibuni.
2. Marafiki walipanda meli na kuzamia Ulaya.
> debe, pipa

**mtembwa temka (TMK)** n.phr bangi Indian hemp, marijuana
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the Bongo Fleva musician Mtembwa from the group TMK, who is said to smoke marijuana heavily.
> ganja, jicho la tatu, kaya, kijiti, majani, mneli, mdumu, nyasi

**mti** n3/4 mboo erect penis
Metaphoric extension of SS *mti ‘tree’, also attested in older Swahili slang with meaning 'big penis' (Ohly 1987a: 58)
Akaenda kumpiga mti msichana.

**mtibwa** n 1. sukari 2. zuri, tamu 1. sugar 2. sth good, sweet, fine
Onomatopic synecdoche based on the name of a sugar cane variety which owes its name to "Mtibwa Sugar Estate", a plantation and factory near Morogoro where this variety was produced. Mtibwa Sugar Estate was handed over to Tanzania Sugar Industries (TSI) in August, 1998 (after TSI had bought the company). Prior to this, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania owned it. Cognitive motivation for 2.: sweetness.
1. Nipatie mtibwa.
1. Nipatie sukari.
2. Mambo yako mtibwa.
2. Mambo yako mazuri.
> supa, mambo ya isidingo

**mtindi** n3 maziwa makubwa big breasts
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *mtindi ‘sourmilk’.
Amemshika mtindi.
Amemshika maziwa.
Ah, yule mwanamke ni mzuri lakini ana bonge la mtindi.
Ah, yule mwanamke ni mzuri lakini ana maziwa makubwa.
> balungi, tikitimaji, nido, nyonyo

**mtishi** n1/2 1. mzungu 2. mtu mwenye tabia za kizungu 1. European 2. person behaving as a European
Initial truncation of transfer from SE ‘British’ plus class-1-prefix m-; there are also the variants *mtashi and *mtasha which seem to be derived by internal vowel change.
Mtishi amefika.
Mzungu amefika.
Mambo yake ya kitishi.
Mambo yake ya kizungu.

**mtoto shoo** n.phr mtu mwenye umbwa wa kuvutia, mrembo good-looking person, attractive person
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of a sugar cane variety which owes its name to "Mtibwa Sugar Estate", a plantation and factory near Morogoro where this variety was produced. Mtibwa Sugar Estate was handed over to Tanzania Sugar Industries (TSI) in August, 1998 (after TSI had bought the company). Prior to this, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania owned it. Cognitive motivation for 2.: sweetness.
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2. Mambo yako mazuri.
> supa, mambo ya isidingo

LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA
Watoto wenye umbo wa kuvutia, mama yake angeliwaita.

**mtoto wa geti kali, mtoto wa geti** n.phr
msichana ambaye kwaao analindwa sana, msichana anayefungwa ndani girl that is being guarded strictly by her parents, girl whose parents are very strict
Metonymic extension of SS *kali 'fierce' plus transfer from SE 'gate', popularised by the song "Moto wa Geti kali" of the Bongo Fleva group Gangwe Mobb; expression 'child of the fierce gate'.

**mtoto wa mama** n.phr mtu mvivu na ambaye si mhuni lazy person who is not a hooligan
Dysphemistic expression 'mother's child'.
Yule ni mtoto wa mama.
Acha utoto wa mama.
Acha uvivu.

**mtoto wa watu** n.phr msenge, shoga homosexual man
Euphemistic expression 'child of people'.
Juma ni mtoto wa watu.
Juma ni msenge.
> anti, baba askofu, choko

**mtu wangu** n.phr rafiki yangu my friend
Synecdochical extension of SS *mtu wangu 'my man'.
> babu, mshikaji, mwana

**mtungo** n3 1. fanya kitu kwa pamoja 2. fanya mapenzi na mwanamke mmoja kwa wanaume wengi wakati mmoja 1. do sth together 2. group sex, group rape
Metonymic extension of SS *tunga 'string'.
1. Tulikula mtungo jana.
2. Tulikula chakula kwa pamoja jana.
> mshikaki

**mtutu** n pikipiki motorbike
Metonymic extension of SS *mtutu 'barrel of rifle'.
Dr. Gwassa day fulani kamotoa na mtutu.
Dr. Gwassa siku fulani kaondoka na pikipiki.

**mukide** adj mzuri, afadhali good, better
< ?
Oya, sumu ya leo ni mukide.
Oya, uji wa leo ni mzuri.
> shega, poa

**mustachi** n ndevu za mdomo moustache
Transfer from SE 'moustache'.
> oo

**muvi** n5 video video
Metonymic extension of SE 'movie', also attested in varieties *muvi and *muven. 
Leo kuna muvi poa sana tukanichekeshie. 
Leo kuna video nzuri sana tukaingia.

**muziki mnene** n.phr 1. radio kubwa sana, alama ya uwezo wa mtu 2. ugomvi 1. big radio, as sign of wealth 2. quarrel, fight
Metaphoric extension of SS *muziki 'music' and *nene 'fat, stout', attested in older Swahili slang as *muziki 'punishment' (Ohly 1987a: 59); expression "thick music".
1. Yule ana muziki mnene.
1. Yule an redio kubwa sana.
2. Mwogope yule jamaa, muziki wake ni mnene.
2. Mwogope yule jamaa, ana hatari, si rahisi kumchezea.

**mvinyo** n3 nyonga kubwa large hips
Metaphorical extension of SS *mvinyo 'wine', based on the form of a "Mateus rosé" wine-bottle.
Yule ana mvinyo.
Yule ana nyonga kubwa.
> bastola, bunduki, pisto[ll], silaha

**mvinyo** n3 pombe ya aina yo yote alcoholic drink, beer
Synecdochical extension of SS *mvinyo 'wine'. Popularised through a song by Prof. Jay which has: "Amekuta mpenzi wake akigonga mvinyo".
Mpenzi wake amegonga mvinyo.
Mpenzi wake amekunywa pombe.
> chang'aa, tungi, ulabu

**mwaga macho** v.phr angalia sana stare
Metaphorical extension of SS *mwaga 'pour out' and *macho 'eyes'; expression 'pour out eyes'.

**mwaga mtu kinyesi** v.phr mwaga mtu shutuma, paka shutuma mbaya put blame on sb, slander, calumny
Metaphorical extension of SS *mwaga 'pour
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Out' plus *kinyesi 'faeces'; expression "pour out faeces on sb".

Jana mlitaka kummwaga mtu kinyesi.
Jana mlitaka kumpaka mtu shutuma mbaya.

MWAGA NYETI

V.phr toa habari za muhimu, simulia diffuse sensitive news
Metaphorical extension of SS *mwaga 'pour'
plus SS* nyeti 'concerning sensitive, delicate matters'.

Mwanangu nimwagie nyeti.
Rafiki niambie habari za muhimu.

MWAGA SERA

V.phr eleza kwa ufasaha explain clearly
Metonymic extension of SK *mwaga 'pour'
out' plus *sera 'policy'

Nilimwagia sera wakakubali.
Nililelea jambo wakakubali.

MWAKE

Adj? safi, zuri nice

Maria mambo yake mwake kabisa.
Maria mambo yake safi kabisa.
Vipi, nguo safi? - Mwake tu.
Vipi, nguo ni safi? - Safi tu.

MWANA

N1 rafiki yangu my friend
Synecdochical extension of SS *mwana 'child'. Since 2000.

Tuliza boli, mwana, mambo chelea pina.
Subiri, rafiki yangu, mambo mazuri rana.
Hoya mwana, unamcheki huyo bwege?
Hoya mwana, unamwona huyo bwege?

MWANANGU

N.phr rafiki friend

Synecdochical extension of SS *mwanangu 'my child'.

Unasemaje mwanangu?
Unasemaje rafiki yangu?

MWANAAPOLO

N1/2 mzamiaji chini ya mgodi
person who works unofficially in a mine as helper. He is going deep into the mine.
Metaphorical expression based on US space programme "Apollo"; expression "astronaut in the Apollo programme". In older Swahili slang *Apolo is attested with the meaning 'menstruation'; *niko Apolo 'I have my monthlies' (Ohly 1987a: 21).

MWANAAPOLO AMEFIA SHIMONI.

The unofficial worker died in the mine.

MWELA

N5/6 polisi, askari, afande police

Washikaji, chomokeni! Mmwela kibao wanakatiza maskani.
Jamani, kimbeni! Mapolisi wengi wanapita nyumbani.
Ipo dei fulani mmwela walinijia kutaka niwagia ganja ili wanisobe rapungoo.
Ipo siku fulani polisi walinijia kutaka niwape bangi ili wanichukue gerezani.

MWEMBE

N3 nywele nyingi au afro thick hair or Afro-look
Metaphorical extension of SS *mwembe 'mango tree', based on the shape of mango trees with many branches and twigs.

MWEPESI

N1/2 mtu mchanga mfu, mwenye kusikia raha cheerful person
Metonymic extension of SS *epesi 'light, quick'.

YAANI BABU SASA NI MWEPESI.
Yaani rafiki sasa wewe una raha.

MZAMIAJI

N1/2 mtu ambaye amefika mahali au katika tukio bila mwaliko sb
who comes to a place or event without invitation
Metaphorical extension of SS *mzamiaji 'diver by profession, e.g. of those who dive for coins in harbours when passenger ships are in'.

YULE AMEALIKWA HAPA? - HAPANA, NI MZAMIAJI.

Mzee

N1 rafiki friend

Synecdoche of SS *mzee 'old man, elder'.
Used as address.

KISHA MZEE NAIPULIZIA MARASHI. (In song Mikasi by Ngwair, 2004).
Kisha rafiki naipulizia marashi.

MZEE RUKS

N.phr rais Ali Hassan Mwinyi
nickname of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi
Dysphemistic antonomastic extension of derivation of SS *ruhusa 'permission', based on president Mwinyi's politics of liberalisation.

mzee wa busara n.phr mchawi sorcerer, witch
Euphemistic extension of SS *mzee 'old person' and *busara 'wisdom'.

mzee wa mikogo n.phr mtu mwenye maringo proud, boasting man
Semantic extension of SS *mkogo 'showing off, doing tricks, display'.

mzuka n1. wasiwasi 2. hamu 3. ari 1. worry 2. desire 3. moral
Metonymic extension of SS *mzuka 'sudden apparition, pop-up, spirit, ghost'.
Oya mshikaji, tuliza mapepe, usiwe na mzuka!
Rafiki, tuliza haraka, usiwe na wasiwasi!
Nina mzuka kwenda kwenye muziki.
Nina hamu kwenda kwenye muziki.

mzula n3 kofia cap
Derived from older Swahili slang form meaning 'fez' (Ohly 1987a: 60).
Lorand leo katinga bonge la mzula.
Lorand leo kavaa kofia kubwa.

mzungu wa reli n.phr 1. mshamba, mgeni, mpumbavu 2. mkubwa wa wapiga debe daladala 1. country-bumpkin, stranger, fool 2. leader of the daladala cryers
1. is the older meaning, also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 60). It denoted people who came from up country or far away to Dar es Salaam (by train). There is also a saying: "mbumbumbumb - mzungu wa reli." 2. is connected to the daladala sub-culture and denotes the young men, often said to be drug users, who earn a little money by calling passengers to a daladala. They get a small share by the daladala personnel.
Wale wazungu wa reli wanapiga debe.

mzungu wa unga n1/2 muzaji mkubwa wa madawa ya kulevya (big) drug dealer
Expression based on metonymic extension of SS *mzungu 'European, white man' which in LyM has the connotation "mtu mwenye hali ya juu" 'person who is well-off' plus metonymic extension of SS *unga 'flour' meaning 'drugs in form of white powder'; also used in gender 5/6 as *zungu la unga.
Wanaokamatwa mara nyingi ni watumiaji wadogo na si wazungu wa unga.
Wanaokamatwa mara nyingi ni watumiaji wadogo na si wa uza madawa ya kulevya.

nafaka n ugalı porridge
Synecdochical extension of SS *nafaka 'cereals'.
Nafaka ya leo noma sana.
Ugali ya leo mbaya sana.

namba kumi n.phr umbo la mwanaume mnene kuanzia juu hapi chini shape of a fat woman with flat forms
Metaphorical extension of SS *namba kumi 'number ten' based on form of the number 10. Attested in older Swahili slang with the meaning 'intelligence officer' (Ohly 1987a: 61).
Mwanamke mwenye chini ni umbo la kumi.
Mwanamke mwenye chini ni umbo la namba kumi.

namba nane n.phr umbo la msichana anyeavutia, mwanaume mwenye kiuno chembamba shape of a beautiful girl with wasp waist
Metaphorical extension of SS *namba nane 'number eight' based on form of the number 8.
Mimi napenda msichana wenye umbo la namba nane.
Mimi napenda msichana wenye kiuno chembamba.
Grace ana umbo la nane.

namba sita n.phr umbo la mtu ambao kwa chini ni mnene na kwa juu ni mwembamba shape of body with fat lower part and slim
upper part
Metaphorical extension of SS *namba sita 'number six' based on form of the number 6.

namba tisa n.phr umbo la mtu ambao kwa chini ni mwembamba na kwa juu ni mnene shape of body with slim lower part and fat upper part
Metaphorical extension of SS *namba tisa 'number nine' based on form of the number 9.

nanii (u/v) neno lisilo na maana na liwezalo kutumika badala ya neno lolote lile, agh. wakati wa kutafuta neno halisi what'sit, thingummy, doo-dah
Probably derived from SS *nani 'who', used as a dummy for any noun or verb.
Colloquial, old, and common.

narenare adv taratibu; kwa uzembe slowly
Acha kufanya narenare.
Acha kufanya [mambo] taratibu.
Alitembea narenare.
Alitembea taratibu.
> ado ado

nari n9 moto kwa ajili ya kuwasha sigara fire to light a cigarette
Metonymic extension of SS *nari 'fire'. In Sheng attested as *nare 'match stick' (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 23).
Naomba nari niwashe sigara.
Naomba moto niwashe sigara.
> kinari

nata v ringa kwa kudharau boast by looking down on sth or sb
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *nata 'stick'.
Mary ananata sana.
Mary anarungu sana.
> kina

ndata n5/6 askari (wa polisi) policeman
< ?
Mandata wamembamba.
Mapolisi wamemkamata.
> mwela, ndula, njagu

ndina adv ndani, nyumbani in, inside, at home
Metathesis of SS *ndani 'inside'.
Kesho mimi mwenyewe nitakuwepo nyumbani.
Kesho mimi mwenyewe nitakuwepo nyumbani.

ndita n9 hasira < ?
Probably ellipsis of SS *kunja ndita 'frown'.
Juma ana ndita kilo wakati.
Juma anakasirika kilo wakati.

ndomu n9/10 kondom condom
Initial truncation of SE 'condome'.
> buti, pilaa, soksi

ndonga n9/10 1. kichwa kikubwa 2. kiatu kikubwa 1. big head 2. big shoe
Metaphorical extension of SS *ndonga 'stick with a round knot on one side'.

nduki n9/10 nyonga kubwa large hips
Initial clipping of LyM "bunduki" 'large hips'.
Yule ana nduki.
Yule ana hips kubwa.
> bastola, bunduk, pistol, silaha, mvinyo

**ndula** n9/10 police
Metonymic extension of LyM *ndula 'boots'.
Ndula wanakuja kilaa saa.
Mapolisi wanakuja kilaa saa.
> mwela, ndata, njagu

**ndula** n kiatu kikubwa na ya bei ghali
kinachopendwa na vijana, hata na wasichana boots, big and expensive shoes,
liked by young people, even girls
Lorand leo katinga bonge la ndula.
Lorand leo kavaa kiatu kikubwa.
> bandapanda, buti, gozi, lakuchumpa, tumba

**ndula** n bwege, mjinga, mzembé simpleton,
fool, careless person
Metonymic extension of LyM *ndula 'police', motivated by the low level of
education of police in former times.
Rafiki yangu usiwe ndula.
Rafiki yangu usiwe mjinga.
Yule ni ndula sana. Alinilengesha!
Yule ni mzembé sana, alisababisha
nikamatwe na polisi.
> boka, mbwiga, poyoyo

**ndumilakuwili** n kigeugeu fickle, unstable,
wayward person
< ? Onomastic synecdoche of character in
cartoon whose name is Ndumilakuwili.
Wewe ni ndumilakuwili tu.
Wewe ni kigeugeu tu.

**ndumu** n9/10 bangi Indian hemp, marijuana;
opium
< ?
> kijiti, ganja, mjani, msuba

**ndómbolo** n mataka makubwa fat buttocks
Metonymy based on a highly eroticised
dance style originating in Zaire called
"N'Dombolo", in which buttock-
movements are prominent.
> bambataa, haja kubwa, kibinda, mkundu,
shuzi, taarabu, tukunyema, wowowo

**nenepa kisimba** v.phr nenepa kwa juu have a
big chest
Metaphorical extension of SS *nenepa 'grow fat' and *simba 'lion', based on the form
of the lion's body with a broad front.
Mary amenenepa kisimba.
Mary amenenepa kifuani.

**nesanesa** v yumbumbu have good
suspension (car), wave to and fro
Hyperbolic extension of reduplication of SS
*nesa 'bend, beat'?
Gari lilikuwa linanesanesa kinoma.
Gari lilikuwa linayumbumbu sana.
> yesa

**neti** n jela, gereza prison
Metonymic extension of SE 'net', motivated
by the fences of screen wire surrounding
prisons.
> sero / selo, shimoni, lupango

**ngama** n chakula kizuri, ugali nice food, ugali
< ? Obsolete.
> msosi

**ngano** n9 bia, hasa "Safari Lager" beer, esp.
"Safari Lager"
Synecehochical extension of SS *ngano 'wheat'.
> maji ya dhahabu, tungi, ulabu

**ngarangara** n9/10 kitu kibovu; gari au basi
buvu bad, broken thing; worn car or bus
< ?
Achana na ngarangara hizo.
Achana na vitu vibovu hiyo.

**ng'arisha** v.caus pendeza, pendeza cause
to please, please, look good
Metaphorical extension of derivation of SS
*ng'ara 'shine, gleam'.
Yaani umeng'arisha babu.
Yaani umependeza.

**ngawila** n10 fedha, pesa money
< ?
Nipe ngawila zangu.
Nipe pesa zangu.
> mapene, mkwanja, uchache

**ngenga** n9/10 shaka doubt
< ?
Haina ngenga.
Haina shaka.

**ngeta** n9/10 kabari wedge
< ?
Alipigwa ngeta na masela jana.
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Alipigwa kabari na vijana jana.

ngeukia v umia be hurt
< ?
Amengeukia!
Ameumia!

ngoma n9 1. ukimwi 2. bunduki 3. msichana
1. AIDS 2. gun 3. girl
Metaphorical extension of SS *ngoma 'drum, dance', attested for older Swahili slang with the meanings 'vagina' and 'generative power' (*hana ngoma 'he is impotent'; (Ohly 1987a: 62), in *piga ngoma 'copulate' (Ohly 1987a: 67), and in *hamna ngoma 'be without a girl (woman)' (Ohly 1987: 37).
1. Alikufa kwa ngoma.
1. Alikufa kwa ukimwi.
1. Anaumwa na ngoma.
1. Anaumwa na ukimwi.
1. Umeipina ngoma?
1. Umeipina ukimwi?
3. Ngoma yangu yule.
> feruzi, mdudu, minyenyele, miwaya, msaada, ngwengwe, umeme

ng'ombe n9 mtu mwenye pesa anayekabwa na wahuni person who has money and is getting pinned down by hooligans
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *ng'ombe 'cow, cattle', based on the concept of a cow being milked.
Wana, jana tulikamua ng'ombe.
Marafiki, jana tulimtoza pesa mtu mwenye pesa.

ng'ota v piga, hasa kwa fimbo beat, especially with a stick
< ?
> lamba njiti

ngozi n9/10 1. msichana, mwanamke 2. jinsi 3. kiattu 1. girl, woman 2. jeans 3. shoe
Metonymic extension of SS *ngozi 'skin'.
Motivation for 1. Sexual act, where skin meets skin 2. Jeans are like a second skin 3. Shoes are made of skin.
1. Ile likikuwa ngozi ya Mudi.
1. Yule alikuwa mpenzi wa Mudi.
1. Umeiona ngozi ya kutosha babu!
1. Umemwona msichana mzuri, rafiki?
2. Umevaa ngozi mpya?
2. Umevaa jinsi mpya?
3. Kaweka ngozi. IM
> 1. shori, shori 2. gamba, suru 3. bandapanda, buti, dula, gozi, lakuumphu, tumba

ngudongudo n10 pesa money
< ?
Oya mshikaji niggwe ngudongudo!
We, rafiki, nipe pesa!

nguna n9/10 ugali porrridge
< ?
Leo kunzi nguna na mandondo.
Leo kunzi ugali kwa maharage.
> bondo, dona, dongo, sembe

ngurumbili n9/10 mtu, binadamu human being
< ?
Huwezi kumdhibiti ngurumbili.
Huwezi kumdhibiti mtu.

ngwengwe n9 ukimwi AIDS
Derived from SS *ngwea 'become thin, emaciated'.
Ah, mwenzetu amepatikana na ngwengwe.
Ah, Mwenzetu amepatikana na ukimwi.
Baba yule ana ngwengwe.
Baba yule ana ukimwi.
> feruzi, ngoma, mdudu, minyenyele, miwaya, umeme

ngángari a kitu au mtu imara tough, strong, brave person, state of being fit
Coinage of party CUF during election campaign in 2000; motivation unclear.
Popularised by Bongo Fleva song "Ngangari" (Gangwe Mobb 2000).
Mimi niko ngángari kinoma hapa, njoo tu.
Mimi niko hodari sana hapa, njoo tu.
Baada ya wao kuwa ngangari, manjagu wakawa ngunguri.
Baada ya wao kuwa watu wenye msimamo, mapolisi wakawa wakali.
> ngángari

ngúnguri a kitu au mtu imara tough person; strong, brave person
Coinage of Police leader during election campaign in 2000, in response to CUF:
Katika uchaguzi uliopita CUF walisema: wakikaka kutudhulumu, sisi ni ngángari.
Inspekta jenerali wa polisi akajibu:
"Kama mko ngángari, basi sisi tuko ngúnguri." Motivation unclear.
Baada ya wao kuwa ngangari, manjagu wakawa ngunguri.
Baada ya wao kuwa watu wenye msimamo, manjagu wakawa wakali.

**nido** n5/6 matiti makubwa big breasts
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the milk powder "Nido".
Asha ana nido.
Asha ana matiti makubwa.
Manido yake yamezidi.
Matiti yake ni makubwa kupita kiasi.

**nipa** n9 pombe kali haramu, gongo locally and illegally destilled liquor
> ? Attested in older Swahili slang with the meaning 'kind of local beer' (Ohly 1987a: 62). Old.
Anakunywa sana nipa.
Anakunywa sana gongo.
> machazi ya simba, maji makali, supu ya mawe

**njago, njagu** n5/6 polisi, askari police officer
< ? In the presence of policemen the kinyume variety *gonja would be chosen to veil the meaning in a more effective way. Also in Kihore (2004: 9).
Huyu njagu anasemaje?
Huyu polisi anasemaje?
Kinachotukera ni mtindo wa yule njago kumata watu oyo.
Kinachotukera ni mtindo wa yule askari kumata watu oyo.
Manjago watakujua.
Mapolisi watakujua.
> kapelo, mwela, ndata, ndula

**njemba njemba** n.phr mtu mwenye mwili mkubwa na mwenye nguvu, bauns, miraba minne big strong man, bouncer
Onomastic synecdoche of Zambian football player Njemba Njemba.
Zikatuubukia njemba njemba flani.
Tukakutana na watu fulani wenye miili mikubwa.
> bauns

**njia za panya** n.phr njia zisizo halali
unofficial route, unofficial procedure
Metaphorical extension of SS *njia 'way' and *panya 'rat'; expression 'ways of rats'.
AMepata pasipoti kwa njia za panya.
Ampasi pasipoti kwa njia zisizo halali.

**njiapanda ya Ulaya** n.phr barabara kubwa ya kuelekea uwanja wa ndege Dar es Salaam the main road from town to the airport of Dar es Salaam
Antonomastic extension of SS *njiapanda 'crossroads' and *ulaya 'Europe'.

**njiti** n9/10 fimbo stick
Derivation of *jiti 'big stick'.
Akanilamba njiti sita.
Akanipiga fimbo sita.

**njoroge** n10 fedha za chuma silver money, coins
< ? There might be an etymological link to SS *njugu 'groundnuts' via another Bantu language. Njoroge is also a frequent name in Kenya.
Huyu maza ana njoroge za maandazi.
Huyu mama ana pesa za maandazi.

**noa** v kosa fail, miss
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'no'? Semantic extension of SS *noa 'sharpen? In KKS 2.
Utanoa.
Utakosa.

**nokolaizi** v/n kueleza jambo hata siri, kusemea kwa mkubwa, sengenya, singizia tell secrets, calumniate, slander, snitch on sb Derivation of LyM *mnoko 'one who gives secrets away', extended by a verbalising suffix *-laize ~ *laizi shaped after the English model, e.g. verba-lise. Rare.
Huyu bloo ni kichomi tena mnokolaize sevuni.
This bloke is a pest and a telltale, so avoid him!
Jamaa ameninokolaizi kwa bosi wangu.
Jamaa amenisemea kwa mkubwa wangu.
> chonga, pakaza

**noma** n9/10 aibu, soni; balaa, kasheshe, matatizo, hatari bad; shame; trouble
Semantic extension of SS *noma 'working chit (as proof that one was working') or reduction, fusion and semantic extension
of SE 'no, man!', or transfer from SE 'normal'? According to Bertoncini (cited after Böhme 2004: 49) originating in the name of a currency used as payment in a plantation in colonial times to bind workers to that plantation. It is frequently used as a single word utterance for the purpose of saying 'leave it!, stop it!'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 25).

Du washikaji, hamwoni noma kuvinjari getoni!
La jamani, hamwoni aibu kuzunguka chumbani!
Soo bloo, wacha noma!
Hapana kaka, usilete balaa!
Amepeata bonge la noma.
Amepeata matatizo makubwa sana.
> skendo, kasheshe ntimanyongo n roho mbaya unkindness
Metonymic extension of *ntima 'heart' (from a Bantu language other than Swahili) plus SS *nyongo 'bile'.
> roho ya korosho, roho ya kwanini

nudu n5 mataka makubwa big behind
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *nudu 'hump'.
Cheki nudu lile.
Angalia mataka makubwa yale.
> shuzi

nunga embe n.phr mwanamke ambaye hapati mume, mwanamke asiyelewana woman who doesn't get a husband
Metaphoric extension of SS *embe 'mango', based on the image of a mango fruit which has fallen from a tree and starts rotting as a worthless thing. Coined and popularized by Bongo Fleva lyrics: "Wanawake wazuri wazuri wameolewa, wamebaki manunga embe wanahangaika." The first part of the phraseme might be related to older Swahili slang *nunge 'nil, nothing' (Ohly 1987a: 63).

Manunga nanasi is a reply to *manunga embe in Bongo Fleva music. The line is: Wanaume wazuri wazuri wameoa, wamebaki manunga nanasi wanahangaika.

nusu kilo n.phr shilingi 50000 50000 shillings
Semantic extension of SS *nusu 'half' and SE 'kilo'.
> kilo

nusu peponi nusu kuzimu n.phr hali wanayojisikia watu wanaotumia madawa ya kulevyu drug intoxication
Metaphorical expression "half in heaven, half with the ancestral spirits".
Niko nusu peponi nusu kuzimu.
Niko nimelewa madawa.

nyali n10 wali cooked rice
Plural of SS *wali 'cooked rice'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 63).
Wacha tufinye nyali.
Wacha tule wali.
> mavi ya panya, punga, punje, ubeche, ubwabwa

nyambizi n9 1. mwanamke aliyaaaliwa maungo ya nyuma 2. mtu mnene na ameambukizwa na ukimwi 1. lady with big buttocks 2. fat person, attractive and dangerous, because she or he might be infected by AIDS
Jana nilikutana na nyambizi mmoja kituo cha basi.
Jana katika kitu cha basi nilikutana na mwanamke mnene ambaye labda ameambukizwa na ukimwi.
Nyambizi yule ana bonge la figa.
Mwanamke mnene yule ana umbo mzuri kupita kiasi.
Jana nilikuona na bonge la nyambizi.
Jana nilikuona na mwanamke mnene sana.
> dege la jeshi, gubeli, jimama, shangingi, tinginya

nyanga n9/10 shilingi 100 100 shillings
< ? Older Swahili slang has *nyang'ule 'money' (Ohly 1987a: 63).
> jiti, nyeto, pini, kais, alasiri, fis
nyanya puza n.phr suruali inayoisha chini ya magoti na ilyo pana wide trousers ending below the knees; pant skirt
< ? Metaphorical extension of SS *nyanya 'tomato' seems to be involved.
> pensi nyanya

nyanyapaa v tenga, nyanyasa, epuka mtu kwa dharau (hasa mwenye ukimwi) avoid, stigmatisse sb (especially AIDS patients)
Metaphoric extension of SS *nyanya 'cause to be prominent, protrude, put out, raise up' and SS *paa 'roof of hut' or blend with SS *nyapa 'stalk after, creep after' or SS *nyanyasa 'treat disrespectfully'? Neologism by BAKITA. In KKS 2.

nyasi n9/10 bangi weed, grass
Calque of English slang *grass: SS *nyasi 'grass'.
Juma ameshakula nyasi yake.
Juma ameshavuta bangi yake.
> blant

nyea debe v.phr wekwa jela be in prison
Metonymic extension of SS *kunya 'shit' and *debe 'tin'; expression 'shit in the tin'.
Mshikaji amenyea debe saa hizi.
Mwenzetu yuko jela wengi.
> swekwa lupango

nyemka v kosea err
< ?
> chemka, tokota

nyento n9/10 sarafu ya shilingi 100 100 TSh.
<>. Especially used by daladala personnel.
Nipige nyento.
Nipe shilingi 100.
> alasiri, bati, doma, hais jiti, nyanga, pini

nyenyere, nyenyele n10 virusi za ukimwi HIV-Viruses
Metaphorical extension of SS *nyenyere 'tiny black ant'
Angalia usije ukavamie nyenyere.
Angalia usije ukapate (virusi vya ) ukimwi.
> mdudu, minyenyele, miwaya, msaada, ngoma, nyenyere, umeme

nyoka n9 1. msaidizi wa kazi katika mgodi 2. mtu anayefanya kazi ya kibarua na katika sehemu ya kazi hiyo yeye ni mgeni na wa cheo cha chini kabisa 1. unofficial worker who helps in mines 2. labourer who is new in a certain unofficial work-place
Metaphorical dysphemistic extension of SS *nyoka 'snake'. The term started to be used in mines, where those people dig in the deepest parts. From there the concept was transferred to any work, but especially daladala buses.
Nyoka wangu msanii.
Nyoka wangu mibabaishaji.
> deiwaka

nyola n9/10 ukimwi AIDS
< ?
Ana nyola yule.
Ana ukimwi yule.
> mdudu, ngoma

nyomi n9/10 shilingi 50 50 shillings
< ?

nyonyo n5/6 maziwa makubwa big breasts
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *nyonya 'suck'.
Yule ana manyonyo.
Yule ana maziwa makubwa.
> balungi, tikitimaji, mtindi, nido

nyunyu n5 harufu ya bangi scent of a joint
Euphemistic extension of SS *nyunyu 'drizzle'.
Hili nyunyu mh!
Hii harufu ya bangi ni nzuri.

nyuti v tulia calm down, settle down
Derivation from SS *nyuti 'slowly, carefully'.
Juma amenyuti.
Juma ametulia.
> bana, egesha

oo a ndevu za mdomo zenye umbo la "O" moustache
Iconic motivation based on its form as a circle surrounding the mouth.
Amechonga vizuri ikawa oo.
Amenyoa vizuri ikawa na umbo la O.
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

mustachi n/adj 1. a place 2. a single

ondoa kiwingu, toa kiwingu v.phr ondoka
make off, run away
Metaphoric extension based on SS *uwingu 'cloud' plus *toa 'take away'.
Toka hapa, niondolee kiwingu kiaina aina.
Toka hapa, ondodeke.

imaani n 1. trust 2. confidence

ondoka n/adj 1. trust 2. confidence

opoa v 1. iba 2. ona 3. pata 1. steal 2. see 3. get
Euphemistic extension of SS *opoa 'take out, save, rescue'.
1. Nipe za kuopoa.
2. Nimekuopoa ukienda gesti na msichana.
3. Umeopoa demu.

opoa demu v.phr 1. lala na msichana nyumbani kwa mwanamume 2. pata msichana 1. sleep with a girl in the house of the man 2. get a girl
Metaphoric extension of SS *opoa 'take out, save, remove a magic spell' or LyM *opoa 'steal' plus LyM *demu 'girl'.
Umeopoa demu.

osha v.caus fanya mapenzi enjoy, make love
Semantic extension of SS *osha 'wash'; a similar extension is attested in older Swahili slang *ogelea 'copulate' (Ohly 1987a: 65), derived from SS *ogelea 'take a bath'.
Twende tukaoshe!
Twende tufanye mapenzi!

osha kioo v kuangalia, kutazama watch, look at
Semantic extension of SS *osha 'wash'.
Njoo kuosha kioo!
Come and watch the video!

osha macho v.phr kuangalia, kutazama; kustarehe watch, look at, stare
Semantic extension of SS *osha 'wash'.
Anaosha macho.
He is staring.

pablo n muza madawa drug dealer
Probably onomastic synecdoche of Spanish name "Pablo", based on the name of the Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar (killed 1993).
Ah! Wapi, ni pablo tu yule.
Ah! Wapi, ni muza madawa ya kulevyu tu yule.

pafomu v cheza, igiza, onyesha perform
Transfer from SE 'perform'.
Baada ya kumaliza kupafomu ndipo alipoendelea kuvunja traki nyingine. (Sani 214:6-7)
Baada ya kumaliza kupiga muziki ndipo alipoendelea kuimba wimbo wmingine.

pagaisha v.caus changanya confuse
Metaphoric extension of SS *pagaia 'be possessed by an evil spirit'.
Unanipagaisha.

pagoa v.pass changanyikiwa be confused
Metaphoric extension of SS *pagaia 'be possessed by an evil spirit'.
Nimepagoa kweli.
Nimechangukiwa kweli.

pailoti n5/6 dereva driver
Metonymic extension of SE 'pilot'.
Oya pailoti, weka tuta!
We dereva, simamisha gari!

palimbi kwa va v.phr kulikuwa na vurugu kubwa there was a big quarrel
Metaphorical extension of SS *chimba 'dig'.
Mwanangu, mbona palimbi kwa va.

palma n kokeni cocaine
Metonymic extension of LyM *palma 'hat worn by drug sellers'. Since 2005.
Nafanya biasara ya palma.
Nafanya biasara ya kokeni.

pamba n/adj 1. nguo zinazoenda na wakati 2.
kitu kizuri, chenye fasheni 1. fashionable clothes 2. sth nice and fashionable
Metonymic extension of SS *pamba 'cotton'.
1. Amevaa pamba.
   1. Amevaa nguo nzuri ya kisasa.
   1. Amevaa pamba nyepesi.
   1. Amevaa nguo nzuri na za bei ya juu sana.
2. Ah, umevaa daladala pamba sana.
2. Ah, umevaa daladala nzuri na ya kisasa.
> ming’aro

panda kichizi v.phr kuya juu kwa kasi get quickly angry
Semantic extension of SS *panda 'climb, rise, go up' and substandard Swahili *chizi 'crook, type'.
> chizi, kichizi

pandisha kenchi v.phr umwa na ukimwi suffer from AIDS
Metaphorical extension of SS *pandisha 'lift' and transfer from SE 'quench', based on appearance of a wasted person, whose scapulae are prominent and visible, as is the case with people suffering from AIDS or TB.
> umeme, kanyaga miwaya, mdudu, ngwengwe, ngoma

pank[i] n5/6 1. aina ya unyoaji wa nywele wenye sehemu ya juu ya mraba 2. kitu chenye sehemu ya juu ya mraba 1. punk style of haircut 2. anything with a flat, edged top Transfer from SE 'punk', based on the image of head with angular haircut which is flat at the top, therefore extension to anything which has a flat top, e.g. certain kinds of busses.
Kuna wengine walionyoa panki.
Kuna wengine walionyoa nywele kwa mtindo wa "panki".
> dungi

panya n9/10 daladala ndogo, haisi small bus, Toyota Hiace
Metaphorical extension of SS *panya 'rat, mouse'.
Tilikula zetu panya na kuingia kati.
Tulipanda daladala ndogo tulipokwenda mjini.

paparazi n5/6 1. mwandishi wa habari kwa ujumla, hata mpiga picha 2. mnoko 1. journalist, even photographer 2. denouncer
Dysphemistic extension of SE (< Italian) *paparazzi.
Washirika, tuishie, mapaparazi watatuchukua foto.
Jamani, tuondoke, waandishi wa habari watatupiga picha.
Mnacheki, washikaji, wakati nasevu mapaparazi wakanifotoa picha.
Mnaona, marafiki, wakati nilipotoroka, waandishi wa habari wakanipiga picha.
> mnoko

pasha v.caas kula au kuvuta kitu fulani, hasa bangi; onja eat or consume something, esp. marijuana; taste
Semantic extension of SS *pasha 'cause to get, cause to have'. Attested in older Swahili slang for the meaning 'explain' (Ohly 1987a: 67).
Pasha pombe!
Kunywa pombe!
Pasha jegi!
Vuta sigara!
Njoo tupashe!
Njoo tuvute bangi!

pasnali adj maridadi smart, attractive
Transfer from SE 'personally'? Mshikaji yaani umetoka pasnali.
Rafiki umevaa vizuri na uko maridadi.

pasua mangumi ya jela v.phr piga mtu vibaya sana beat sb up
Metonymic extension of 'punch sb like in prison'.
> klintoni, kosovo

pata blanketi v.phr lala na msichana sleep with a girl
Metonymic extension of SS *pata 'get' and SS *blanketi 'blanket'.
Pata sho[r]ti v.phr pata ukimwi get infected with HIV
Metaphorical extension of SS *pata 'get' and transfer from SE 'short', the image is linked to SE 'short circuit'.
Amepata shoti. He/She has been infected with HIV.

patulo n suluha, sare draw
< '?
Gemu ya jana ilikuwa patulo.
Mchezo wa jana ulikuwa suluhu.

**paundi** n9/10 sarafu ya shilingi 20 coin of 20 TSh.  
Metonymic extension of SE 'pound'.

**pedeshee** n 1. bosi, mtu mwenye hela 2. mtu anayependa kupendeza 1. boss, person having money 2. person who likes to please  
Transfer from French abbreviation *PDG - président directeur général. Not common.

*Oya, mcheki pedeshee yule.*  
*Oya mwone mtu tajiri yule.*

**pedo pusha** n.phr suruali ya kike inayoissha chini ya magoti na isiyana pana sana 3/4 long trousers for women which are not loose  
Transfer from SE 'pedal pusher'.

**pens** nyanya n.phr suruali inayoissha katika au kidogo chini ya magoti na iliyo pana wide trousers ending below the knees; pant skirt  
Transfer from SE 'pants' plus SS *nyanya 'tomato', motivated by form.

*Mvulana aliyevaa suruali ya kupanika mapajani alioneke kana kwamba ni msichana aliyevaa pensi nyanya!*  
*pedo pusha, nyanya puza*

**pep**oni adv;na loc kiwanja cha ndege airport  
Metonymic extension of SS *pepe 'strong wind'; sans *peponi 'in heaven'.

**piga** v kupa give  
Semantic extension of SS *piga 'beat, knock'.  
*Nipige na mia, basi!*  
Unipe shilingi mia!

**piga bao** v.phr 1. funga goli, shinda, zidi 2. kumwahi mtu kitu 3. fanya mapenzi 4. toa manii 5. ondoka 6. (gari) simamishwa na trafiki 7. danga ya 1. score, defeat, win 2. beat sb to it 3. sleep with a girl 4. ejaculate 5. go away 6. (car) get stopped by traffic-police 7. cheat  
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat' and augmentative derivation of SS *bao 'goal'.

3. Nimempi bao demu fulani jana usiku.  

3. Demu wake amepigwa bao na mwanaume mwingine.  

5. Napi bao.  
5. Naondoka.

6. Gari lispigwa bao na trafiki  

7. Nilimpiga bao akani pa fedha.  
7. Nilimidanganya akanipa fedha.

> kaza, tia, zidi kete

**piga beto** v.phr fanya ugomvi, anzhiza ugomvi start a fight, fight  
Expression composed of SS *piga 'hit' plus adaption of SE 'battle'. Obsolete.  
*We mshikaji, ukileta za kuleta na piga beto.*

**piga bunda** v.phr ondoka, kimbia go away, run away  
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga 'hit' plus SS *bunda 'bale, bundle'.  
*Ame piga bunda.*  
Amekimbia.

**piga bushoke** n lala chini katika sakafu sleep on the floor  
Onomastic synecdoche from name of musician, who sang a song about a man who was mistreated by his wife and had to sleep on the floor.  
*Masela mmapiwa bushoke.*  
Marafiki mmalala chini katika sakafu kwa sababu ya ufinyu wa nafasi za kula.

**piga chabo** v.phr chungulia vitu visivyomhusu mtu, chungulia mtu kwa kumwangaali peep, spy out "through the keyhole"  
< ?

> kula chabo

**piga chasi** v.phr chungulia vitu visivyomhusu mtu, chungulia dirishani, peleza mtu, kumwangaali watu kwa kificho peep, spy  
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat'; origin of *chasi unclear.
Amepiga chasi.
Amewaangalia watu kwa kificho.
Acha kupiga chasi!
Acha kuangalia watu kwa kificho!
> kula chasi, piga deo, piga tochi, kula chabo

*piga chini* v.phr 1. *anguka* 2. *kataa mtu* 1. fall down 2. forbid sb
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga* 'hit' and
*chini* 'down'.
1. *Alipiga chini.*
1. Alianguka.
2. *Alimpiga chini.*
2. Alimkataa.

*piga debe* v.phr *tangaza kwa nguvu* announce energetically
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga* 'hit' plus
*debe* 'tin'.

*piga denda* v.phr *kupa busu mdomoni, nyonya ulimi, kula romansi* French kissing, deep kissing
Metonymic extension of SS *piga* 'hit' and *denda* 'saliva'.
Mshikaji alimpiga denda demu wake.
Rafiki amempa "deep kiss" mpenzi wake.
> *denda*

*piga deo, piga mdeo, kula mdeo* v.phr 1. *chungulia vitu visivyomhusu mtu* 2. *tazamia kwa mbali* peep, look from far like zooming
Metonymic extension of SS *piga* 'beat' plus truncation of SE 'video'.
2. *Hoya, tuache, tule mdeo kwa chati hapa.*
2. Hoya, twende, tuangalie vizuri toka mbali.
> *kula chabo, piga chabo, piga tochi*

*piga desh* v.phr *acha mlo kwa sababu ya bajeti finyu go without meal for lack of money
Semantic extension of SS *kula* 'eat' plus SE 'dash'.

*piga fiksi* v.phr *ongopa, sema uwongo, danganya tell lies, cheat
Euphemistic metaphorical extension of LyM expression 'piga fiksi' 'tidy up, put things in their proper place'
Toka, unatupiga fiksi tu.
Toka, unatudanganya tu.
> *fanga (ma)kamba, kamba*

*piga fleva* v.phr *tongoza* flirt with a girl
Metonymic extension of SS *piga* 'hit' and transfer from SE 'flavour'.

*piga jeki* v.phr 1. *kupa mtu msaada* 2. *vaav sidiria* 1. help sb 2. wear a bra
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga* 'beat, hit' plus *jeki* 'jack'. In 2. dysphemistic extension: like a jack is used for lifting cars, a bra is used for lifting breasts. In KKS 2 with meaning 1.
1. *Nitakupiga jeki.*
1. Nitakusaidia.
2. *Yule kapiga jeki yule.*
2. Yule amevaa sidiria.

*piga kimya* v.phr *nyamaza kabisa kuhusu jambo fulani be silent
Semantic extension of SS *piga* 'hit, beat' plus *kimya* 'silence'.
Waliponiuliza kuhusu ishu ya fedha mimi nilipiga kimya.
Waliponiuliza kuhusu swala la fedha mimi nilinyamaza kabisa.
> *kausha, kauka, kula jiwe, mezea, mikausho*

*piga kipepsi* v.phr *kumpiga mtu kwa kiwiko hit sb with elbow
Metonymic extension of 'Pepsi Cola', based on form of bottleneck.
Amenipiga kipepsi.
Amenipiga kwa kiwiko.

*piga kirungu* v.phr *omba vibaya, omba pesa beg from someone, esp. money, cadge for, sponge, ask for money
Hyperbolic semantic extension of SS *piga kirungu* 'hit with a club'.
Yule amenipiga kirungu.
Yule ameniomba hela.
Ngoja nimpige kirungu Mzee Hassani.
Ngoja nimwombe pesa Mzee Hassani.
> *bomu, piga mzanga, Jamaa wa virungu*

*piga kona* v.phr *fanya mapenzi nje ya ndoa have extramarital sex
Metaphorical extension of colloquial expression 'hit the corner', meaning 'turn direction'.
Yule babi anapiga kona sana.

*piga maji* v.phr *kunywa pombe, kunywa ulevi drink alcohol
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga* 'beat, hit' plus *maji* 'water'. Also attested in older
Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 67).
Yule anapiga sana maji.
Yule anakunywa sana pombe.
> maji

pigamdeo
> pigadeto

pigamti, pigamiti
v.phr fanya mapenzi
make love, have sex
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga 'hit' plus *mti 'tree' (colloquial for erect penis).
There is no passive *pigwa mti. The phrase cannot be used in family context; preferred among young men for boasting purposes. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 67).
Alimpigamti.
Alifanya mapenzi naye.
Hoya, yaani umetoka kupiga mti?
Hoya, yaani unatoka kufanya mapenzi?
> pigaba, mti

pigamtu bao
v.phr shinda mtu, fanya mapenzi na mwanamke defeat sb, sleep with a woman
Metonymic extension of SS *piga goli 'shoot a goal'.
Shetani amekupiga bao.
Shetani amekushinda.

pigamtu kijembe
v.phr kumtolea mtu maneno ya kejeli ambayo yanaweza kuwa ya kweli au siyo mock at sb
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga 'hit' plus *kijembe 'little hoe'.
Shetani amekupiga bao.
Shetani amekushinda.

pigamweleka
v.phr anguka fall down
Metonymic extension of SS *piga 'hit' plus *mweleka 'wrestle'.
John alipiga mweleka.
John alianguka.
> lambamweleka

pigamzinga
v.phr omba, omba pesa beg from someone, esp. money, cadge for, sponge, ask for money
Hyperbolic semantic extension of SS *piga mzinga 'fire a cannon'.
Yule amenipiga mzinga.
Yule ameniomba hela.
> bomu, pigakirungu, jamaa wa virungu

piganao
v.phr fanya mapenzi (wanaume)
make love, have sex (men)
Pronominal form *nao, referring to *uume 'penis' plus SS *piga 'beat, hit'.
Punguza kumpiga nao kilikuku.
Punguza kufanya naye mapenzi kilikuku.
> chapa nao, pigabao

pigandonga
v.phr cheza ndondoni box
<?
Yule ni mpiga ndongoa.
Yule ni mcheza ndondi.

piganyeto
v.phr piga punyeto masturbate
(male)
Initial clipping of SS *punyeto 'act of masturbation' (male)
Mshikaji acha kupiga nyeto.
Rafiki, acha kupiga punyeto.
> pigapuri

pigapafu
v.phr 1. vuta sigara 2. kunywa pombe kwa vifundo vichache 1. take a puff
2. take a few gulps of beer
Semantic extension of SS *kula 'eat' and SS *pafu 'lung' or SE 'puff'?
1. Mshikaji, nigeegi nipepiga pafu moja, nimekalukwa.
1. Jamaa, naomba sigara nivute kidogo, nimeishiwa.
2. Nilipitia kilabuni nikapiga pafu mbili za kinywaji.
2. Nilipitia kilabuni nikanywa vifundo vibili vya pombe.

pigapuri
v.phr piga punyeto masturbate
(male)
Terminal clipping plus suffixing -ri of SS *punyeto 'act of masturbation' (male)
Mshikaji acha kupiga puri.
Rafiki, acha kupiga punyeto.
> piganyeto

pigasoo
> soo

pigastori
v.phr simulia habari tell a story, tell stories
Transfer from SE 'story' plus semantic extension of SS *piga 'hit, beat': "hit a story".
Hawakupiga stori nyingi, wakaagana.
Hawakuzungumza sana, wakaagana.

pigatarumbeta
v.phr 1. kunywa kutoka
kwenye chupa, bila bilauri  2. sambaza habari ambazo hazimhusu mtu 1. drink from the bottle  2. gossip
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga 'hit, play' and *tarumbeta 'trumpet'.

**piga tochi** v.phr angalia have a look at, stare at
Hyperbolic metaphoric extension of SS *piga 'hit' plus SE 'torch'.
*Mbona unanipiga tochi.*
Mbona unaniangalia sana.
> macho balbu

**pigana vibuti** v.phr achana separate, leave one another
Dysphemistic extension of SS *pigana 'hit one another' plus LyM *vibuti 'little boots'.
*Wamepigana vibuti.*
Wameachana.

**pigia debe** v.phr tangazia kitu fulani make sth known, advertise
Metonymic extension of SS *piga debe 'hit the tin'
*Wanaipigia debe pombe ya Malta Guiness.*
Wanaitangazia pombe ya Malta Guiness.
> piga debe

**pigika** v ishiwa pesa run out of money
Metaphorical semantic extension of stative derivation of SS *piga 'beat'.
*Nimepigika.*
Nimeishiwasa pesa.
> rosti, uawa, mabaga, kalukwa

**pigilia** v.appl vaa wear
Hyperbolic metaphoric extension of SS *piga 'hit'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 28).
*Joy amepigilia nguo safi.*
*Joy amevaa nguo nzuri.*
*Yule kapigilia glasi.*
*Yule amevaa miwani.*
> kula nguo, tinga

**pigwa bao** v.phr tapeliwa, danganywa, ibiwa be cheated, be tricked, be robbed
Semantic extension of SS *piga 'beat' plus derivation of SS *bao 'goal'.

**pigwa buti** v.phr achwa be abandoned
Metaphorical extension of SS *piga 'be hit and LyM *buti 'boot'.
*Nimepigwa buti.*
*Nimeachwa.*
>*pigana vibuti, tosa

**pilau** n9/10 filamu ya X, filamu iliyopiwa marafuku. X-rated movie
Metaphorical extension of SS *pilau. Cognitive motivation not clear.
*Nlikuwa nimeangalia pilau.*
Nilikuwa nimeangalia filamu ya X.
> bluu

**pimbi** n5/6 mtu mfupi short person
< ? Probably invented by the newspaper "Sani". Also attested for older Swahili slang as *pimbi 'short-statured person' (Ohly 1987a: 68).
*Nimeenda bichi nikakutana na pimbi.*
Nimeenda bichi nikakutana na mtu mfupi sana.
> emoro, sista P

**pina** n/adj zuri, uzuri nice, beautiful, beauty
Probably derived from the LyM phrase *chelea pina 'nice, well'.
*Demu yuko pina.*
Msichana ni mzuri sana.
*Umetoka pina.*
Umetoka safi.

**pinda** n.phr kuwa na mambo yasiyo mazuri be bad, develop in negative way (of affairs)
Metaphorical extension of SS *pinda 'bend'.
*Nimepinda.*
Mambo yangu siyo mazuri.

**pini** n9/10 shilingi 100 100 TSh
Semantic extension based on the augmentative of SS *mpini 'shaft or handle for inserting tool' or SE 'pin'?
*Naomba pini.*
Naomba shilingi mia.
> hais, jiti, ryento, nyanga, alasiri

**pini, mpini** n 1. mdundo wa muziki  2. msichana mzuri 1. rhythm of music  2. beautiful girl, young woman
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'pin', or semantic extension based on the augmentative of SS *mpini 'shaft or handle for inserting tool'? *Pini yangu matata sana.*
Msichana wangu mzuri matata sana.
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> gashi

**pipa** n5/6 1. ndege ya jeshi 2. ndege ya abiria
1. airforce plane 2. aeroplane for passengers
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *pipa 'barrel, tub, cask'.
Leo mchonga kapanda pipa kwenda majuu.
Leo raisi kapanda ndege kwenda ulaya.
Walami baada ya kupoa hapa Kurio watamotoa na pipa.
Wazungu baada ya kukaa hapa Kurio wataondoka na ndege.
Sasa tomorrow nakwea pipa kwenda majuu.
Sasa kesho napanda ndege kwenda ulaya.

**pira** n5 kondomu condom
Metonymic extension of augmentative of SS *mpira 'rubber'.
> buti, soksi, ndomu

**pisto[l]** n nyonga kubwa large hips
Metaphorical extension of transfer from SE 'pistol', motivated by form of holster worn on hips in "cowboy-style".
Yule ana pistol.
Yule ana nyonga kubwa.
> bastola, bunduki, silaha, mvinyo

**poa** adv;adj nzuri cool, nice, good
Metaphoric extension of SS *poa 'cool down', calque on SE 'cool'.
Predominantly used in greetings as a standard reply to *hali vipi. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 28).
*Hali vipi? - Poa!*  
*Hali vipi? - Nzuri!*
Leo kuna muvi poa sana tukochekele.
Leo kuna video nzuri sana tuaiangalie.
Godi akujalie safari poa.
Mungu aujalie safari nzuri.
> baridi, joto, byee

**poteza** v.caus 1. kutoelewa 2. kufa, fariki 1. misunderstand 2. die
Metaphorical extension of SS *poteza 'lose'.
   In 2.: Ellipsis of "poteza maisha" 'lose one's life'.
1. Hoya unapoteza bwana.
2. Marafiki, kujichoma sindano za madawa ya kulevya ni vibaya, mtafariki.

**poteza kitumbua** v.phr poteza kazi lose a job
Metaphorical of SS *poteza 'lose' and *kitumbua 'rice cake'; expression 'lose the rice cake'.
Nilifanya uzembe nikapoteza kitumbua changu.
Nilifanya uzembe nikapoteza kazi yangu.
Msiba wa mama ulisababisha nipoteza kitumbua changu.
Msiba wa mama ulisababisha nipoteze kazi yangu.

**pochi** n5 fedha za noti paper money
Metonymic extension of SS *pochi 'purse'.
Ifungue haraka barua yako tulione pochi allikutumia.

**pocha** v kula sana eat very much, guzzle
Probably derived from LyM *mapochopocho 'nice food'.
Jana tumepocha sana.
Jana tumekula sana.
> jichana

**poda** n9/10 madawa ya kulevya drugs
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'powder'.
Vijana wanakula poda sana.
Vijana wanatumia sana madawa ya kulevya.

**pointi tano** n.phr chotara half cast
Transfer from English 'point five', meaning 1/2. In Sheng *pointi-faiv is attested with the same meaning (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 21).

**pointi tupu** n.phr wazi to the point
Semantic extension of transfer from SE 'point' and SS *tupu 'unmixed, mere'.
Leo umeongea pointi tupu.
Leo umeongea wazi.

**poyoyo** n5/6 mwanamume bila nguvu, mjinga, bwege henpecked husband, fool

poza v.caus kupa hela kidogo help sb with money
Metaphorical extension from SS *poza 'cool', based on the image of cooling the hot state caused by any kind of irritation.
Nipoze bwana. Nipe hela kidogo.

promota n5/6 1. promota redioni 2. mtu ambaye anapiga na kukata simu ya mkononi 1. promoter at the radio 2. someone who beeps with mobile phone 2. Semantic extension of SE 'promoter', based on the song of Mr. II "promota anabeep".
2. Kwa nini umekuwa promota?
2. Kwa nini ulipiga simu ukakata?
2. Anayekubipita ndiye promota.
2. Anayekupigia simu, halafu anapiga kabla hujabuja, ndiye promota.
2. Ah, promota huyu.
2. Ah, huyu ni mtu ambaye anumigie simu.

propoza n5/6 biashara marufuku illegal traffic
Semantic extension of SE 'propose'? Attested in older Swahili slang for the meaning 'contraband, bribe' (Ohly 1987a: 69).
Ukipata propoza ya kuuza viatu vipya toka bandarini sawa. It is okay if you get illegal traffic to sell shoes from the port.

punta n5 wali cooked rice
Hyperbolic extension of SS *mpungua 'unhusked rice'. In older Swahili slang attested with the meaning 'gruel' (Ohly 1987a: 69).
Tufinye punja. Tule wali. > mavi ya panya, nyali, punje, ubechi, ubwabwa

punguani n9/10/6 taahira fool
Semantic extension of SS *pungua 'be reduced'.
Yule ni punguani.

Yule ni taahira.
> mtambo, some-time-yes-some-time-no

punje n9 wali cooked rice
Metonymic extension of SS *punje 'grain'. In older Swahili slang attested with the meaning 'gruel' (Ohly 1987: 69).
Wacha tufinye punja. Wacha tule wali. > mavi ya panya, nyali, punja, ubechi, ubwabwa

pupwe n5 kiyoyozi air-conditioner
Hyperbolic extension based on augmentative of SS *kipupwe 'cold season, cold weather'.

pusha n5/6 mwuzi bangi marijuana dealer
Transfer from SE 'pusher'.

puyanga v ena visvyo be unsteady, erratic
< ?
Hoya mtu wangu acha kupuyanga kama kuku.
Hoya rafiki yangu acha kwenda ovyo.

pwaga v toa uongo, danganya lie, cheat
Metaphoric extension of SS *pwaga 'grind, pound'; attested in older Swahili slang for the meaning 'go away' (Ohly 1987a: 69).
Usinipwage! Usindanganye!

pótabo n mwanamke mwenye umbo dogo zuri woman with small figure
Metaphorical extension of transfer from SE 'portable'.
Siku hizi Asha ni portabo. Siku hizi Asha ana umbo dogo zuri.

raba mtoni n.phr viatu kutoka nje ya Tanzania imported shoes, trainers
Metonymic extension of SS *raba 'trainers' and *mtoni 'Europe, Western country'.
Ana raba mtoni. Ana viatu kutoka nje.
> simpo

rapu v gomba quarrel
Metonymic extension of transfer from English 'rap'.
Mama karapu leo. Mama amegomba sana leo.

rap[u] v zungumza sana speak a lot, speak
non-stop
Metaphorical extension of English 'rap'.
Mwanasiasa anarap huyo.
Mwanasiasa anaongea sana huyo.

rasta[fari] n mtindo wa kusuka nywele aina ya rasta rasta hairstyle
Transfer (plus truncation) of SE 'rastafari'.
Rastafari Awilo.
Rasta ya mtindo wa Awilo.

redio mbao n.phr mtu ambaye anazungumza sana, msema ovyo, hawezi kuficha siri
person who talks a lot and who can't keep a secret
Onomastic synecdoche of SS *redio mbao
"Radio wood', a small but durable and affordable radio for the rural population with a wooden corpus, in the 1970s.
Jamaa yule, usimwambie siri, yule ni redio mbao.
That guy, don't tell him secrets, he can't keep them.
> redio saba saba, BBC

redio saba saba n.phr mtu ambaye anazungumza sana, msema ovyo, hawezi kuficha siri someone who talks a lot and can't keep a secret
Onomastic synecdoche of SS *redio saba saba, a small but durable and affordable radio for the rural population, in the 1970s, also called "redio mbao", because of its wooden corpus. "Saba saba" , July 7th, is a public holiday "Peasant's Day".
Jamaa yule, usimwambie siri, yule ni redio mbao.
That guy, don't tell him secrets, he can't keep them.
> redio mbao, BBC

roho ya chuma n.phr
roho ngumu hard-heartedness
Metaphorical extension of SS *roho 'soul' plus SS *chuma 'iron.
Maggy kidogo alikuwa na roho ya chuma.
Maggy kidogo alikuwa na roho ngumu.
> roho ya korosho, roho ya kwa nini

roho ya korosho n.phr roho mbaya, tabia ya kutopenda kutoa cho chote tight-fisted behaviour, hard-hearted behaviour
Metaphorical extension of SS *korosho 'cashew nut', based on the similarity in form between a cashew nut and a question mark. A tight-fisted person is conceived as one who asks "why should I give you?"
Yule ana roho ya korosho.
Yule hataki kutoa cho chote.
> roho ya kwa nini

roho ya kwa nini n.phr roho mbaya, tabia ya kutopenda kutoa cho chote tight-fisted behaviour, hard-hearted behaviour
Metonymic extension of SS *roho 'soul' plus *kwa nini 'why', denoting the habit of stingy persons to ask: "Why should I give you something?"
Yule ana roho ya kwa nini.
Yule hataki kutoa cho chote.
> roho ya korosho

rosti v ishiwa hela be broke, have no money
Metaphoric extension of SE 'rust', or "roasted" or even "lost".
Nimerosti.
Nimeishiwa hela.
> arosto, pigika, uawa, kalukwa, mabaga

rosto
> arosto

ruka majoka v.phr cheza muziki (ya aina yo yote) dance to music (no matter which kind of music)
Hyperbolic extension of SS *ruka 'fly, jump' plus augmentative *joka 'very big snake' . Probably motivated by the body-movements in dancing.
Tumeruka majoka.
Tumecheza muziki.
Niliuendea ukumbi wa kuruka majoka.
Niliuendea ukumbi wa kucheza dansi.

rungu n gongo kind of hard liquor
Metaphorical hyperbolic extension of SS *rungu 'club', alluding to its quick and powerful effects, in analogy to derivation of SS *gongo from *gonga 'hit, knock'.

rusha roho v.phr 1. jidai, ringa 2. taarabu ya kisasa yenye midundo ya kasi na lugha wazi isiyo na mafumbo 3. tembea na mume mtu, hasa wa rafiki 1. boast 2. modern taarabu with faster beats and open language 3. hook sb's husband
UTA REUSTER-JAHN & ROLAND KIEßLING

Metaphorical extension of SS *rusha 'throw' and SS *roho 'soul'.

safiri v imba kwa mtiririko sing
Metaphorical extension of SS *safiri 'travel'.
Nimesafiri humo kwenye hilo traki.
Nimeimba kwa mtiririko kwenye huo wimbo.

sambaza nyuki v.phr piga risasi shoot
Metaphorical euphemistic extension of SS *sambaza 'spread' plus *nyuki 'bees'.

sanamu la michelini n.phr mtu, hasa mwanamke mwenye umbo la sanamu ya michelini, yaani mtu ambaye hana kiuno, hana shepu nzuri person (woman) without taille
Metaphoric extension of SS *sanamu 'figure, statue' plus trade mark "Michelin", referring to the fat figure representing the trade mark.

sanzuka v ondoka go away
< ?
Ikifika saa saba tutansanzuka.
Ikifika saa saba tutaondoka.
Nikasanzuka zangu.
Nikaondoka zangu.
>

sarandia v fuatilia jambo kwa bidii mpaka kulipata follow up an issue seriously
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'surround'.
Nilimsarandia demu mpaka akakubali.
Nilimfuatilia demu mpaka akakubali.
Alimsarandia mtalii mpaka akafanikiwa kupata dili.
Alimfuatilia mtalii mpaka akafanikiwa kempeleka mahali.

sasambua v vua ngu o onyesha sehemu ya mwili mbele ya watu strip off clothes
Onomastic synecdoche of name of one part of the wedding celebrations, where only women are admitted (kitchen party): A woman stands on a table showing the gifts for the bride, including clothes. She puts some of the clothes on. Therefore some " striptease " is involved. Also song of Mr. Nice on his album "Bahati". A dance style is also called "sasambua".
Nguo zinasambuliwa.
Sasambua ya kicheni pati ya jana ilikuwa ya nguvu.
Kuonyesha zawadi katika kicheni pati ya jana kalikuwa safi sana.

saula v vua ngu o undress
< ? Also in Kihore (2004: 9).
Jane alimsaulia nguo Juma, kisha wakafanya mapenzi.
Jane alimvulia nguo Juma, kisha wakafanya mapenzi.

sauz / saus n Afrika kusini South Africa
Elliptic use derived from SE 'South Africa'.
Nataka kuzamia sauzi nikatafute maisha.
Nataka niende Afrika Kusini bila kibali, nikatafute maisha.
> bondeni

sembe n5 ugali wa mahindi yaliyokobolewa porridge made of maize flour from husked maize
Metonymic extension of SS *sembe 'maize flour'. Also attested in older Swahili slang with meaning 'stiff porridge' (Ohly 1987a: 72).

serikali ya mseto n.phr tabia za malaya promiscuous behaviour
Metaphoric extension of SS *serikali ya mseto 'coalition government'. Cognitive motivation: in a coalition there are many parties, not only one.Degera explains: "hii hapa ina maana kwamba msichana ambaye hufanya mapenzi na kila mtu kwa fedha (malaya) leo huyu kesho yule, ni serikali ya mseto au mpito".

sero, selo n jela, gereza prison, jail
Transfer from SE 'cell'.
Walimpeleka selo juzi.
Walimpeleka jela juzi.
> lupango, neti, shimoni

sevu v 1. hifadhi kitu, saidia mtu 2. ondoka, kimbia, toroka 1. save sth or sb 2. run away
Transfer from SE 'save'.
1. Nilimssevu.
1. Nilimtsaidia.
2. Sevu hapo sasa.
2. Toka hapo sasa.
2. Unacheki, bloo, basi, nikbutuka nikawasevu.
2. Unaona, rafiki, basi, nikash[ulk]uka
nikawatoroka.
2. Mnacheki, washikaji, wakati nasevu
mapaparazi wakanifotoa picha.
2. Mnaona, marafiki, wakati nilipotoroka,
waandishi wa habari wakanifotoa picha.

shaa shaa adv/id? upesi upesi! quick quick!
Abbreviation of SS *chapu chapu 'quick
quick'?

shangingi n5/6 1. gari kubwa na ya kifahari
2. mwanamke mwenye mwili mnene sana na
ambaye matendo yake si mazuri; mwanamke
anayependa starehe na ana umbo mkubwa 1.
big luxurious car  2. very fat woman who
likes to enjoy the good things in life
> ? New entry in KKS 2.
Hoya, kamata shangingi hilo.
Hoya, kamata mama yule mwenye mwili
mkubwa.
> gubeli, jimama

shankepe n mwanamke mwenye umri
mkubwa anayejipodoa kwa kwatamanisha
wanaume old woman who uses cosmetics to
attract younger men
< ?
Yule ni shankepe.
Yule anajifanya anapenda kufanya mapenzi
na watu wa chini ya umri wake.
> jambazi, shugamemmi

shavu n5 1. sehemu ya uke ya mwanamke 2.
simu 1. female genitals 2. telephone
1. Euphemistic extension of SS *shavu
'cheek' 2. Metonymic extension of
*shavu 'cheek', based on the fact, that the
telephone is held to the cheek.
1. Shavu lake ni kubwa.
2. Ukifika nipe shavu.
2. Ukifika nepigi simu.

shazi n5 wingi plentiness
< ?
Wamekula shazi la haja.
Wamepata faida kwa wingi.
> lumbesa, nyomi

shega adj zuri, sawa, safi, salama fine, okay
< ? There is also the variant *shegaz.

Vile vitu safi vyote? - Viko shega tu.
Vile vitu viko safi vyote? - Viko vizuri tu.
Yule msichana shega kweli yule.
Yule msichana ni mzuri kweli yule.

shem n9 shemeji bother or sister in law
Terminal clipping of SS *shemeji 'brother /
sister in law'. Also attested in Kihore
Karibu shem! Mambo?
Karibu shemeji! Mambo?

shepu n9 umbo mzuri, hasa ya mwili wa
binadamu good shape, especially of human
body
Transfer from SE 'shape'.
Yule hana shepu mzuri.
Yule hana umbo mzuri.

sheshe n5 matatizo trouble, something
problematic, shit
Augmentative derivation of SS *kasheshe
'trouble'.
> kasheshe, kimeo, kizaazaa, noma, sheshe, soo,
zali

shi n5/6 msichana mzuri beautiful girl, young
woman
Transfer from SE 'she'. Since about 2003.
Yule ni shi wangu.
Yule ni mpenzi wangu.

shika pembe v.phr ishia kuona tu bila kula
chakula chenyewe, angalia kitu bila uwezo
wa kukipata see nice food without being
allowed to eat, see sth without being able to
obtain it
Metaphorical extension of SS *shika 'hold'
plus SS *pembe 'horn', based on the
image of someone who wants to milk,
but holds the horns of the animal, instead
of the udder.
Umeshika pembe.
Umekosa kitu.

shikia bango v.phr simamia jambo kwa nguvu
hadi kufanikiwa stand for an issue until
success
Metaphorical extension of *shika 'hold' plus
*bango 'transparent, poster', expression:
"hold up a big poster for something"
(like in a demonstration).
Nilimshikia bango mpaka akafukuzwa kazi.
Nilisimamia lile swala lake mpaka
akafuksawa kazi.

shikishwa ukuta v.phr firwa, fanywa
mapenzi kinyume cha maumbile act as a homosexual man who receives penetration
Metonymic extension of SS *shikishwa 'be caused to hold' and *ukuta 'wall'.
Yule anashikishwa ukuta.
Yule anafirwa.
> choko, mjengo

shimoni n.loc jela, gerezani in prison
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *shimo 'pit'. Wamewekwa shimoni.
The were arrested.
> sero / selo, shimoni, lupango, neti

shingo feni n.phr tazama kwa kugeukageuka
look at by twisting one's neck, spin around to look at
Dysphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *shingo 'neck' and SS *feni 'fan', based on the movement of the fan from one side to another, not on the movement of the propeller. Used especially in elliptic saying "macho balbu, shingo feni". Popularised through a song by Vijana Orchestra "Penzi haligawanyiki". The chorus has "Vipi sasa we bwana waleta matata / Kwa vile napendeza na nimetakata / Kila nikiwanda shingo / Kila nikiwanda wageuza shingo / Utadhani feni, bwana e c" Yule mtu, macho balbu, shingo feni.
Yule mtu anatazama sana kwa kugeukageuka.

shiti v tojali, acha do not care at all

shoo n9/10 onyesho, tamasha show
Transfer of SE 'show'. Shoo ilifanyika katika ukumbi wa FM club. Tamasha ilifanyika katika ukumbi wa FM club.

shobo n9/10 tatizo problem

< ?
Hii haina shobo.
Hii haina tatizo.
Hamna shobo.
Hamna matatizo.
Gari likatuletea shobo kwa hiyo tukateremka.
Gari likatuletea matatizo, kwa hiyo tukateremka.
> jumba bovu, kinaa

shobo za kisista duu n.phr tabia za kike homosexual behaviour
Expression composed of LyM *shobo 'problem' plus *sista duu 'girl, woman'. Nas'kia ana shobo za kisista duu kama demu. Nasikia ana tabia za kike kama msichana.

shobokea v jipendekeza, jisogea kwa mtu kwa kusumbua chum up, sarm over sb, endear os to sb, smooth-talk sb, stalk
Derivation of LyM *shobo 'trouble'. Yule ananishobokea.
Yule anajisogeza kwangu kwa nguvu.

sholi, shori n msichana mzuri, mpenzi beautiful girl, girlfriend
< ?
Juma alikuwa akimchombeza sholi wake. Juma alikuwa akimbebeleza mpenzi wake.

shost, shosti n5/6 shoga, rafiki wa kike wa mwanamke, na hata rafiki wa kiume wa mwanamke, kama hakuna uhusiano wa kimapenzi female friend of a woman, and even male friend if there is no sexual relationship

shugamemmi, shugamama n5/6
mwanamke mwenye umri mkubwa ambaye anatembea na watoto wadogo elder woman who has young boyfriends
Transfer from SE 'sugarmummy'.

shuka mnazi v.phr piga punyeto masturbate
Euphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *shuka 'descend' and *mnazi 'coconut
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tree'.

**shusha** v.caus *leta dharau* despise
Metaphorical extension of SS *shusha 'bring down'.
*Wakaona eti tunawashusha.*
*Wakaona kwamba tunawaleta dharau.*

**shusha** **mistari** v.phr *imba nyimbo za "rap"* rap verses
Metaphorical extension of SS *shusha 'drop' plus *mistari 'lines'.
*Ameshusha mistari.*
*Ameimba mistari ya wimbo.*
*achia mistari, chana mistari, dondosa mistari*

**shuta shuta** adv upest, haraka, chapu chapu! quickly, fast, quick quick!
Metaphorical extension based on transfer from SE 'shooter'?
*Nenda shuta shuta.*
*Nenda haraka.*
*fasta fasta, shaa shaa*

**shuzi** n *tako kubwa* big behind
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *shuzi 'fart'.
*Yule ana shuzi.*
*Yule ana mataka makubwa.*
*bambataa, haja kubwa, kibinda, mkundu, ndómbolo, taarabu, tukunya, wowowo*

**shwaini** n5/6 *mtu mwenye tabia mbaya; nguruwe pig, person with bad manners*
Transfer from German *Schwein 'pig'.
*Shwaini we! NGuruwe wewe!*

**sidii**, CD n5/6 *msichana, mwanamke mwenye tabia mbaya ya kihuni* girl, young woman, who has many boyfriends
Abbreviation of LyM *changudoa.*
*Hoya, msel, huyu ni cd.*
*Hoya, rafiki, yule ni malaya.*
*changudoa*

**silaha** n9/10 *nyonga kubwa* large hips
Metaphorical extension of SS *silaha 'gun', motivated by form of holster worn on hips in "cowboy-style"*
*Yule anamiliki silaha.*
*Yule ana nyonga kubwa.*
*bastola, bunduki, pisto[l], mvinyo*

**simama dede** v.phr *shangaa* be surprised
Metaphoric extension of SS *simama dede 'stand uncertainly like a child just beginning to walk'.
*Ukimwona utasimama dede.*
*Ukimwona utashangaa.*

**simamia** v.appl 1. *bana, fuatilia* 2. *uzu* 1. force, follow up 2. sell
Semantic extension of SS *simamia 'direct, manage, superintend, supervise'?*
1. *Mwalimu alinisimamia mpaka nikasema.*
2. *Juma kasimamia viatu.*

**simpo** n *viatu kutoka nje ya Tanzania, raba mitoni* imported shoes, trainers
Transfer from SE 'simple'. Recent.
*Hoya, Babu, John amekula simpo kali!*
Hoya, rafiki, John amevaa viatu vizuri sana.
*raba mitoni*

**sing'lendi** n *T-shati au fulana bila mikono* sleeveless top
Transfer from SE 'single hand'
*Umevaa kising'lendi.*
*Umevaa fulana bila mikono.*
*kaoshi*

**sirikali** n9 *serikali* government
Charade strategy in deformation of SS *serikali, imposing a fake etymology 'hot secret' based on SS *siri 'secret' and *kali 'hot, sharp'.
Sirikali nyingi za Afrika hazizingatii haki za binadamu.
Sirikali nyingi za Afrika hazizingatii haki za binadamu.

**sista du, sista duu** n.phr, 5/6 *msichana mzuri* girl, beautiful girl, town girl, modern girl
Metonymic extension of SE 'sister' and LyM interjection *du.*
Wasichana wa Dar es Salaam wanazidi kuwa watanashati.

**sista** **P** n.phr *chupa ndogo ya Coca Cola* 200 ml bottle of Coca-Cola
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the Bongo Fleva star Sista P. who is
quite a short person.
> emoro

sizi v 1. kaa kimya bila kuongea kitu cho
chote, kama mtu amelala usingizi 2. lewa 1.
be quiet without saying anything, as if being
asleep 2. be drunk
Transfer from SE 'cease'.
1. Jamani, amesizi.
1. Jamani, anasinzia.
2. John Degera leo amesizi sana.
2. John Degera leo amelewa sana.

skani a kijiweni meeting place of (jobless)
youths
Initial clipping of SS *maskani 'home,
settlement'.
Deile mi' natimba skani.
Kila siku mimi naingia kijiweni.

skendo n5/6 tafrani scandal
Transfer from SE 'scandal'.
Skendo la Miss Tanzania.
Tafrani ya Miss Tanzania.

skonga n5/6 shule, chuo school
< ?
Naenda skonga.
Naenda shuleni.

sleng n9 Kìingereza English
Transfer from SE 'slang'.
Sleng yake kali.
Kìingereza chake kizuri.

sleng v sema Kìingereza speak English
Transfer from SE 'slang'.
Yule anasleng.
Yule anasema Kìingereza.

smati adj safi, zuri nice, smart
Transfer from SE 'smart'.
Vaileti alitokea smati mwenye kuvutia.
Vaileti alitokea safi mwenye kuvutia.

soo n5/6 1. matatizo 2. aibu 1. trouble,
something problematic 2. shame
Truncation of LyM *songombingo, or of SS
*soni 'shame, shyness'? Attested for the
meaning 'money; 100 Tsh' in older
Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 73).
1. Soo bloo, wacha noma!
1. Ni matatizo kaka, usiletia balaa!
1. Jamani, mtaa fulani leo kuna soo.

soba, somba v chukua, tia gerezani take, put
in prison
Metonymic extension of SS *somba 'carry'?
Ipo dei fulani mamwela waliniija kutaka
niwagee ganja ili wanisobe rupango.
Ipo siku fulani polisi waliniija kutaka niwape
bangi ili wanichukue gerezani.

soda n9 rushwa bribe
Euphemistic metonymic extension of SS
*soda 'soft drink'. Like with *chai, the
bribe is conceptualised as the necessary
preliminary which sets things in motion.
Anataka soda!
Anataka rushwa!
> chai, kitu kidogo

soksi n9/10 kondomu condom
Metaphoric extension of SE 'socks'.
Popularised in a song by Remmy Ongala
"Mambo kwa soksi". Also attested in
Nisaidie soksi.
Nisaidie kondomu.
> buti, ndomu

somesha v.caus eleza, tumia mbinu
kumlainisha mtu ili akubaliane na matakwa
explain, tell, use tactics to bring sb to agree
with one's wishes
Euphemistic metonymic extension of SS
*somesha 'educate, instruct, teach'.
Poa nitamsomesha mshua kuhusu nini
imetokea skonga.
Nitamweleza babu kuhusu nini imetokea
shuleni.

songombingo n fujo, kitu kisicho na
mpangilio, kitu ambacho hakipo kwene
mstari mnyofu chaos, disorder, zig-zag-line
Compound of SS *songo 'braid, coil, loop'
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(or *songa 'press, squeeze'); etymology of *mbingo (< *binga?) unclear.

Amenisuka songombingo.
Amenisuka nywele kwa mistari isiyonyooka.
Mambo yanakwenda songombingo.
Jana ilibidi nisafiri lakini mambo yakawa songombingo, sikuwahi.
Jana ilibidi nisafiri, lakini mambo hayakukaa sawa, sikuwahi.

> bebelebebele

sopsop[u] n -enywe sura nzuri good-looking
Semantic extension of SE 'soap'.
Yule jamaa yuko sopsopu.
Yule jamaa ana sura nzuri.

spesheli adj -a namna ya pekee special
Transfer from SE 'special'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 73).
Hii ni spesheli.
Hii ni ya namna ya pekee.

spidi mia ishirini (nshaar) n.phr kasi sana bila ya kutulia, haraka haraka very fast
Metaphorical extension of elliptical transfer of SE 'speed of 120 km/h'. Has taken the place of "spidi tisini" in older LyM.
Leo naendesha kipindi hiki kwa spidi 120.
Leo naendesha kipindi hiki bila ya kutulia.

staili n9/10 mtindo style
Transfer from SE 'style'.
> dzaini

stimu n9 hisia kutokana na kuvuta bangi au madawa ya kulevya, hisia nzuri, shauku state of being high (form drugs), good mood
Metaphorical extension of transfer from SE 'steam'.
Kula kitu kikupwe stimu.
Vuta bangi ikupe hisia nzuri fulani.
Hoya, usinipotezee stimu yangu.
Hoya, usinimwe hisia zangu, niko fresh.
> mishangashanga

stori n9/10 habari, masimulizi news, tale
Vipi mbona hamnigei stori, kuna soo au noma, washikaji?
Vipi mbona hamnipi habari, kuna matatizo au aibu, marafiki?

Vijana wa vijiweni wanapiga stori.
Vijana wa vijiweni wanapashana habari.

suka n5/6 dereva driver
Metonymic extension of truncation of SS *usukani 'steering wheel'.
Suka anaendesha gari taratibu.
Dereva anaendesha gari taratibu.

sumu n9 1. uji usiyo na sukuri, hasa katika shule za bweni 2. maneno mabaya ya uchonganishiftinpa) 1. light porridge without sugar, esp. in boarding schools 2. bad gossip
1. Dysphemistic extension of SS *sumu 'poison'.
2. Metaphorical extension of SS *sumu 'poison'.
1. Hoya, s1. umu ya leo ni mukide.
1. Hoya, uji wa leo ni afadhali kuliko siku nyingine.
2. Anatema sumu.
2. Anatoa maneno ya fitina.
2. Ana sumu kali huyo.
2. Ana maneno mabaya sana ya fitina.

sunda v 1. kula vizuri sana, kufaidi kwa chakula 2. ficha mbali, k.m. katika sehemu za siri 1. eat very good food, enjoy food 2. hide sth very well, e.g. in private parts < ?
1. Njoo tusunde!
1. Njoo, tule vizuri!
2. Waliiba mishiko wakaisunda matakoni.
2. Waliiba pesa wakazificha matakoni.
> jichana, chikichia

supa, super adv zuri sana super, very good, extraordinary
Transfer of SE 'super'. Restricted to response in greetings.
Mambo supa.
Mambo safi.
> mambo mtiba, mambo ya isidingo

supastaa n5/6 msanii au mwimbaji mashuhuri superstar
Transfer of SE 'superstar'.
Unajua mustakabali wa masupastaa wa Bongo? (Prof. Jay in "Bongo Dar es Salaam", 2002)
Unajua mustakabali wa wasanii mashuhuri wa Dar es Salaam?
supu ya mawe, supu la mawe n.phr pombe kali haramu, gongo illegally distilled hard liquor
Metaphorical dysphemistic extension of SS *supu 'soup' and *mawe 'stones'; expression "stone soup".
Anapenda kutumia supu ya mawe.
Anapenda kunywa gongo.
> machozi ya simba, maji makali, nipa suru n5/6 suruali trousers
Final truncation of SS *suruali. Mshirika, ipo dei tutawamba masuru ya jeans.
Rafiki, ipo siku tutavaa suruali za jinsi.
> gamba
susuia v.appl kupa, patia, toa give Metonymic extension of SS *susa 'abandon'. Oya, nisusie mapene yangu.
Oya, nipe pesa zangu.
> gea
sweka v 1. ficha 2. weka ndani, weka gerezani 1. hide 2. put (inside), put in jail < ?
 1. Amesweka pesa zake.
 1. Ameficha pesa zake.
 2. Wameswekwa rupango.
 2. Wamewekwa ndani.
 2. Amemweka rupango.
 2. Amemweka rumanande.
 2. Amemweka rumanande.
taahira n9/10 mtu alyeputumbaa akili mad person, lunatic Metonymic extension of SS *taahira 'postponement, delay'? In KKS 2.
taifisha v.caus iba, chukua kitu kwa mtu au watu, dai kuwa mwenyewe steal, take sth away from so, claim to be owner of sth Metonymic and euphemistic semantic extension of SS *taifisha 'nationalise' Ameitaifisha.
He took it as his.
taiti v bana force, press, fit tightly Transfer from SE 'tight'. Majita wamenitaiti.
taiti adj safi nice Transfer of SE 'tight', or 'tidy'?
Juma alikuwa taiti jana. Juma alikuwa safi jana.
> smati
taiti n9/10 sketi fupi inayobana matako tightly fitting miniskirt Transfer from SE 'tight'. Yule amevaa taiti. Yule amevaa sketi fupi ya kubana matako.
tambara v ondoka go, go away Metonymic extension of SS *tambara 'crawl'. Tuliona wanatayeyusha tukawaambia watambae. Tuliona wanatudanganya tukawaambia waondoke.
> anza, chomoa, ishia, jikata, jisanzua, kipa, timka, timua, toa kiwingu
tantarila n9/10 maneno mengi yasiyo na busara a lot of words without meaning Probably semantic extension of name of Reggae song "tantarilla" by Don One Crew on Album "Watch the ride" (1998). Acha tantarila zako we linabo. Acha maneno yako yasiyo na busara, we mshamba.
tapeli n5/6 mtu anayelaghai watu ili avadhulumu mali au haki zao swindler Transfer from French *tapeur 'cadger' (Graebner 1995: 266). Popularised through song by Vijana Jazz Band "Ogopa matapeli", in the late 1980s.
> msanii
> bee, dala
taarabu n9/10 mataka makubwa ya mwanamke woman’s behind, big buttocks, fat bottom
Metonymic extension of SS *taarabu?, based on dance movements.
Manzi huyu ana taarabu.
Msichana mdogo huyu ana mataka makubwa.
Taarabu imo humo.
Matako yapo.
> bambataa, haja kabwa, mkundu, ndombolo, shuzi, tukunyema, wowowo

tarakishi n5/6 kompyuta computer
< ?

techele disc poa, safi good
< ? Used as a standard reply to greetings such as *hali vipi.

tega v tamanisha seduce
Metaphorical extension of SS *tega ‘trap’.
Acha kunitega wewe dema.
Acha kunitamanisha kwa ngono, wewe msichana.

tega antena v.phr sikiliza kwa makini listen attentively
Metaphoric extension of SS *tega ‘set ready’ plus SE ‘antenna’.
> tega chaneli

tega chaneli v.phr sikiliza kwa makini listen attentively
Metaphoric extension of SS *tega ‘set ready’ plus transfer of SE ‘channel’.
Mbosa ametega chaneli.
Mbosa anasikiliza, anajaribu kusikia tunayoyanzungumzia.
> tega antena

tega neti v.phr vizia, tegea waylay, ambush
Metaphorical extension ‘set a net-trap’.
Neti zangu zimekamata.
Nilivizia nikapata.
Niliuntega demu neti akaingia mwenyewe.
Niliimuulilia demu bila yeye kujua, nikafanikiwa.
Polisi walitega neti jambazi akaingia mwenyewe.
Polisi waliuntega mtego jambazi akakamatwa.

teya n5/6 mtu anayetumia sana madawa ya kulevya drug addict
Hyperbolic extension of augmentative of SS *mteja ‘customer’.

tema v toa give out
Metaphorical extension of SS *tema ‘spit’.
Shimo limetema.
Mgodi umetoa madini mengi sana.
Biashara imetema kichizi.
Biashara imetoa faida nyingi sana.

tema mkwanja v.phr toa pesa kwa kulazimishwa give away money
Metaphorical extension of SS *tema ‘spit out’ plus LyM *mkwanja ‘money’.
Aliutema mkwanja wako?
Alitoa pesa zako?

tema ngeli v.phr sema Kiingereza speak English
Metaphorical extension of SS *tema ‘spit’ and metonymic extension of *ngeli ‘noun class’ (which is used for the meaning of ‘correct grammar’), popularised through Bongo Fleva hit "Mito wa geti kali" (Gangwe Mobb 2001).
Anatema ngeli.
Anasema Kiingereza.
> bonga ung’eng’e, ingia external

tema sumu v.phr chongea, tilia fitina, ponza discredit
Metaphorical expression "spit poison".
Ametema sumu kwa bosi nikafukuzwa kazi.
Amenichongea kwa bosi, nikafukuzwa kazi.

tema ung’eng’e v.phr sema Kiingereza speak English
Metaphorical extension of SS *tema ‘spit’ and metonymic extension of LyM *ung’eng’e ‘English’.
Anatema ung’eng’e.
Anasema Kiingereza.
> bonga ung’eng’e, ingia external, tema ngeli

tenga n5/6 noti ya shilingi 1000 note of 1000 TSh.
Semantic extension of SS *tenga ‘net, crate’ based on the notion that one can pack many things in it, as one can buy many things with 1000 TSh.
> baba wa taifa, buku

tenge n5/6 kitenge printed cotton wrap-cloth
Augmentative derivation of SS *kitenge?
Naona umetinga tenge la mchonga.
tesa v ona raha sana, starehe kupita kiasi,
faidi enjoy very much, enjoy life; ace, do something expertly and completely, profit
Hyperbolic dysphemistic extension of SS *tesa 'afflict trouble or pain', probably based on ironical usage.
Nilitesa mtihani huo! Kila jibu lilikuwa sahihi!
I aced that exam! Every answer was correct!
Jana tulikwenda bichi tukatesa sana.
Jana tulikwenda bichi tukawa na starehe kupita kiasi.
Nimetesa kishenzi.
Nimefaidi sana.
tetrasaiklini n rangi mbili, e.g. gari la polisi
au mwanamke ambaye ngozi yake ni ya rangi tofauti kutohana na kutumia dawa ya kuchubua ngozi two colours, e.g. police car or woman whose skin has become speckled because of the use of bleach cream
Metonymic transfer of SE 'tetracycline'
(name of an antibioticum), motivation: capsules are of two colours.
Mshikaji aliona tetrasaiklini baada ya kupigwa ngumi mbili tu.
Rafiki aliona rangi mbili baada ya kupigwa ngumi mbili tu.
tia v tomba, fanya mapenzi copulate, make love
Metonymic extension of SS *tia 'put into'.
Attested in older Swahili slang in the expression *tia mande 'sleep with a woman' (Ohly 1987a: 76).
2. Jana nimentia Janet.
2. Jana nimefanyaa mapenzi na Janet.
2. Janet jana ametiwa.
2. Janet jana alifanyiwa mapenzi.
2. Tumetiana.
2. Tumeiyanza.
> pigia bao, tia

tia timu v.phr fika, ingia arrive
Metaphorical extension of SS *tia 'put' plus SS *timu 'team'.
Kapelo zitataia timu.
Mapolisi watakuja.
tiki v kuwa zuri, tokuwa na matatizo be o.k.
Transfer from SE 'tick'.
Kama mambo yanatiki, tuyese zetu.
Kama mambo ni mazuri, twende zetu.
> jibu, jipa, kaa freshi
tikitimaji n5/6 ziwa kubwa big female breast
Metaphoric extension of SS *tikitimaji 'water melon'.
> balungi, tikitimaji
timba v ingia enter
<?
Deile mi' natimba skani.
Kila siku mimi nainaigia kijwani.
timbwanga v wasili arrive at
<?
Nitambwanga saa tano kafeteria.
Nitawasili saa tano kafeteria.
timori v pigia beat up
Onomastic synecdoche of the geographical term Timor which became emblematic as an area of conflict, combat and war in the late nineties during the East Timor crisis.
Nitakutimori.
Nitakupiga.
> klintoni, kosovo
timua [mbio] v ondoka haraka make off, run away
Metonymic extension of SS *timua 'cause to leave abruptly'. Very common, probably on its way to become adapted as standard, since attested in most recent KKS2 (2004) and KKK (2001), but not in KKS1 (1981). Also attested in older Swahili slang with meaning 'leave a place (in hurry)' (Ohly 1987a: 77).
Washikaji tutimue!
Marafiki, tuondoke!
Oya mshikaji, timua!
Rafiki, ondoka!
> chomoa, ishia, toa kiwingu
tinga v 1. vaa, vaa vizuri 2. kaa 3. ingia 1. wear, wear nice clothes 2. sit 3. enter
Metonymic extension of SS *tinga 'shake, vibrate; defeat'; attested in older Swahili slang for the meaning 'make love' (Ohly 1987a: 77). In Kihore (2004: 9) with meaning 'sit without thinking of leaving soon'.

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1. Naona umetinga tenge la mchonga.
1. Lorand leo katinga bonge la dula.
1. Madent wa Kurio leo wametinga makatalog.
1. Wanafunzi wa Kurio leo wamevaa nguo nzuri sana.

1. Jamaa ametinga pamba.
1. Jamaa amevaa nguo nzuri.
2. Ametinga kijiweni.
2. Amekaa sana kijiweni.
3. Ametinga ndani.
3. Ameingia ndani.

tinginya n5/6 1. mwanamke aliyejaaliwa maungo ya nyuma 2. mataka makubwa 1. lady with a big behind 2. big behind
< ?
3. Nimekutana na dada, amejaza tinginya.
3. Nimekutana na dada aliye na mataka makubwa.
3. Yule amefurika tinginya.
3. Yule ana mataka makubwa
> nyambizi, jimama

tintedi adj kuva katika halì ya kulewa, kutokana na pombe au madawa be drunk
Transfer from SE 'tinted', referring to tinted windows in cars. Cognitive motivation: one sees everything as through tinted windows.
Mbona unaonekana kama amevaa tintedi.
Mbona unaonekana kama umelewaa.
> jicho la tutu

tivi n5/6 miwani myeusi, miwani ya jua
sunglasses
Metaphoric extension of SE 'TV'.
> macho manne
	izada n gari ya polisi police car
Metonymic extension based on the acronym derived from the plate number "TZR" of police.
Hakuna mambo ya kapelo wala tizediara.
Hakuna mambo ya polisi wala magari ya polisi.

toa boko v.phr ruhusu makosa hasa katika soka (referii) allow errors, esp. in football (referee)
Metaphorical extension of SS *toa 'give out'
plus augemtative of SS *kiboko 'whip'.
Ehe! Umetoa boko babu.
Ehe! Umeruhusu kosa lililopelekea kufungwa.

tokea v tongoza seduce, flirt
Semantic extension of SS *tokea 'appear'.
Amemtokea.
Amemtongoza.

tokota v kosea make a mistake
Metaphorical extension of SS *tokota 'boil very much, become boiled'.
Umetokota usingemwambia.
Umekosea usingemwambia..
> chemka, nyemka

tokotesha v.caus toa jasho nyingi bila mafanikio do something in vain, invest much effort without any result, struggle to no avail
Derivation from LyM *tokota 'make a mistake'.

tomoro / tumoro adv kesho tomorrow
Transfer of SE 'tomorrow'.
Sasa tomorrow nakwea pipa kwenda majuu.
Sasa kesho napanda ndege kwenda ulaya.

tonya v eleza, julisha, pasha habari explain
Sasa, washikaji, mnanitonya vidi kuhusu jambo hili?
Sasa, marafiki, mnanieleza vidi kuhusu jambo hili?

Nilipoenda kwenye shughuli za arusi nilimkuta rafiki yangu nikamtonya kuwa mume wangu anakuja.
Nilipoenda kwenye shughuli za arusi nilimkuta rafiki yangu nikamjulisha kuwa mume wangu anakuja.

Ngoja nikitonye dili, jamaa ameshikwa ugoni.
Ngoja nkukeleze jambo fulani, jamaa ameshikwa ugoni.

tosa v telekeza abandon
Metaphoric extension of SS *tosa 'plunge in water, throw into the sea'.

Nimemtosa rafiki yangu vibaya.
Nimemwacha rafiki yangu kwenye mataa.
Mary amenitosa.
Mary ameniacha.
> acha kwenye mataa
totopaki n kiasi kidogo cha konyagi katika mfuko wa plastiki poly bag package of konyagi
Transfer from SE 'total pack'? > kiroba
totoz n10 wasichana wazuri; watoto beautiful girls; children
Hybridisation of SS noun stem -toto plus SE plural suffix -s. In older Swahili slang
*toto shoo 'beautiful lady, lovely girl' and *toto shuweya 'desirable woman'
(Ohly 1987a: 77).
Totoz za jana yaani shwari.
Wasichana tuliokuwa nao jana ni wazuri.
tovuti n mahali katika kompyuta iliyounanganishwa kwenye mtandao. website
< ? Official. Also in KKS 2.
tozi n5/6 mtu anayejisikia fly guy
Initial truncation of LyM *bitozi.
> bitozi
traki n9/10 wimbo kwenywe CD song, track on CD
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'track' (on CD).
Mwana nimesafiri humo na hilo traki. Rafiki nimeimba kwa mtileiriko katika wimbo.
Akadondosha mistari ya traki zake. (Sani
214:6-7) Akaimba nyimbo zake.
trausa n suruali trousers
Transfer from SE 'trousers'.
tukunyema n mataka makubwa, mwili mkubwa big buttocks
Onomastic synecdoche of the style of music of the band "MK Beats", which existed in the 90s. When their music was played people used to danse and call out "Tukunyema mpaka chini - wowo".
Yule mama ana tukunyema kweli. Yule mama ana mataka makubwa kweli.
> bambata, haja kubwa, kibinda, mkundu, ndombo, taarabu, shuzi, wowowo
tulianzisheni v.phr tuondoke na kuongea ugomvi (wakati wa kutaka kupigana) let's go and start quarreling
Semantic extension of SS *anzisha 'start, set in motion'. "Let's go and start it!'".
Reference of object marker -li unclear.
Kama mnataka kupigana, unasema: "tulianzisheni".
Kama mnataka kupigana, unasema: "twende tuanza ugomvi".
Twende tukalianzise kosovo, halafu tukajichanganye.
Twende tuanza ugomvi, halafu tuondoke.
tuliza boli v.phr subiri, tulia be patient, pacify, settle
Semantic extension of SS *tuliza 'calm sth' plus transfer from SE 'ball'.
Tuliza boli, kichaa wangu, mambo chelea pina.
Subiri rafiki yangu, mambo mazuri sana. > tuliza kipago
tumba n5 kiatu kizuri na kikubwa, lakini mtumba big second-hand shoe
Metonymic extension of SS *tumba 'outer case, cover', or metonymic extension of augmentative based on SS *mtumba 'imported second hand clothes'
> kung'apo, buti, dula, gozi, lakuchumpa
tumbo joto n.phr kwana na wasiwasi be afraid to fail
Metaphorical extension of SS *tumbo 'belly' and *joto 'heat'.
Viongozi wakongwe wa CCM wanaougmbea ubunge wapo tumbo joto.
Viongozi wakongwe wa CCM wanaougmbea ubunge wana wasiwasi.
tungi n pombe beer, alcoholic drink
Metonymic extension of SS *tungi 'big earthen jar'. Attested in older Swahili slang as *mtungi 'beer' (Ohly 1987a: 59). Cognitive motivation: in rural areas beer is kept in earthen pots.
1. Twende tukapate tungi kiaina.
1. Twende tuanywe pombe pembedeni.
> mitungi, ulabu
tutusa n5/6 mtu ambaye hawezi kufikiria au kuongea; mtu ambaye hana akili blockhead
Metaphorical extension of SS *tutusa 'grope (for something), feel one's way'?
Wanafunzi wao ni matutusa.
Wanafunzi wao hawana akili.

**twanga pepeta** v.phr/n simu ya mkononi, aina ya Siemens c25 mobile phone model
Siemens c25
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of the music band "Twanga Pepeta" which in itself is a metonymic extension of SS *twanga 'pound in a mortar' and *pepeta 'winnow, sift', probably based on the body movement in dancing. Cognitive motivation unclear.

**ua** v 1. furahisha 2. sema mtu vibaya 3. lipa bei rahisi mno 1. please, delight 2. scold sb 3. pay too cheap a price
Hyperbolic dysphemistic extension of SS *ua 'kill', probably based on ironical usage. Cf. *ua mjini attested for older Swahili slang as 'migrate to town' (Ohly 1987a: 49).
1. Stori ambayo amenipa jamaa, ameniuua sana.
2. Yule kaniua kweli.

**ua bendi** v.phr haribu spoil the show
Semantic extension of SS *ua 'kill' plus transfer from SE 'music band'.

**ua soo** v.phr jaribu kufunika aibu, jaribu kutoa dhihaka try to conceal embarrassment, act as if nothing were wrong
Metonymic extension of SS *ua 'kill' plus LyM *soo 'shame, trouble'.
Acheni kwa soo.
Acheni kujifanya hamna hatia.

**uawa kishenzi, uawa kikatili** v.phr ishiwa pesa run out of money
Hyperbolic metaphorical extension of SS *uawa 'be killed' and LyM *kishenzi 'very much'.
Nimeuawa kishenzi.
Nimeishiwa pesa vibaya sana.
> rosti, pigika, mahaga

**ubao** n11 njaa hunger
Semantic extension of SS *ubao 'plank, board', also attested in older Swahili slang (Gower 1958: 252, Ohly 1987a: 79), and in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 34).

**ubeche** n11 wali cooked rice
< ? There is also the variety *ubeje.
Tufinye ubeche.
Tule wali.
> mavi ya panya, nyali, punje, punja, ubwabwa

**uboka** n11 ubwege foolishness
Derived from the character 'Kaboka Mchizi' in the cartoon "Songombingo ya Kaboka Mchizi' by A. Kingo.
Acha uboka.
Acha ubwege.
> boka

**ubwabwa** n11 wali cooked rice
Metonymic extension of SS *ubwabwa 'soft cooked rice'. Also attested in older Swahili slang (Ohly 1987a: 79). In KKS 2.
Tufinye ubwabwa.
Tule wali.
> mavi ya panya, mpunga, nyali, punja, ubwabwa

**uchache** n11 fedha money
Metonymic extension of SS *uchache 'lack, want, scarcity'.
Oya bloo, nigee uchache kiaina.
Rafiki, upipe pesa fulani.
Oya washihaki, tugawane basi uchache huo!
Marafiki, tugawanye fedha hizo!
Nipatie uchache kidogo, nimeuawa, sina kitu.
Nipatie pesa kidogo, nimeishiwa kabisa, sina kitu.

**uchuna** v.phr 1. tosema kitu 2. ghairi 3. faidi 1. not to say sth 2. postpone 3. profit
Metaphorical extension of SS *chuna 'flay'.
Referent of object marker cl. 11 unclear.
1. Uchune, bwana!
1. Usiseme, bwana!
1. Kaniita nimemchunia.
2. Uchune kwanza!
3. Mama Lili safari hii mambo yake supa, ameuchuna kweli.

udwanzi n11 utani ambao unaweza kulita ukorofi au hasira provocative teasing
< ?
Usiniletee udwanzi.
Usinisababishie utata / Usinikere.
Acha udwanzi bwana mdogo.
Acha mambo yako ya ajabu, bwana mdogo.

ugoroko n11 ushamba habits and behaviour of a country bumpkin
>?
Acha ugoroko wewe!
Acha ushamba wewe!
> mgoroko

ujiko n11 sifa show-off
Semantic extension of SS *jiko 'fire-place, kitchen'? Motivation unclear.
Anapenda ujiko.
Anapenda sifa.
Gari lake ni la ujiko kweli.
Gari lake sina lina kweli.

ujombaujomba n11 hali ya kwa mshamba anayejifanya anajua mambo state of being a layman while pretending to know things (of the city-life)
Reduplication of Derivation from SS *mjomba 'maternal uncle'.
Acha ujombaujomba.
Acha ushamba.
> mjombamjomba, ugoroko

ukapa, ukapa mchacho n11 hali ngumu, ukosefu wa hela economic depression, lack of money, lack of financial power
Semantic extension of derivation of SS *kapa in *kwenda kapa 'go away conquered', reinforced by allusion to the name of president Mkapa.
Ukapa mwaka huu utatuua! Hata dawa za homa tu hatumudu kununua.

Hali ngumu mwaka huu itatuua! Hata dawa za homa tu hatumudu kununua.

Ultaka huu, sina pesa.
Hali ngumu hii, sina pesa.
> kuwamba, kuwaka, kuchalala

ulabu n11 pombe ya aina yo yote beer, alcoholic drink
Metonymic derivation of SS *kilabu (< SE 'club') 'sehemu ya kuuzia na kunywea pombe'.
Baada ya kupata ulabu, alianza kufanya mambo ya ajizi.
Baada ya kupata pombe, alianza kufanya mambo ya ajizi.
> mataputapu, kilauri

ulamba v.phr 1. bahatika  2. vaa vizuri: suti, tai 1. be lucky  2. be nicely dressed with suit and tie
Metaphorical extension of SS *lamba 'lick' plus object marker cl. 11, the referent of which is unclear.
Umeulamba?
Umebahatika?
Ameulamba.
Amechomekea vizuri.

ulimwa mbwa n.phr tai tie
Metaphorical expression SS *ulimi 'tongue' and *mbwa 'dog', expression "dog's tongue", based on the form of a dog's tongue.
Amevaa ulimi wa mbwa. IM
Amevaa tai.
> mkia wa mbuzi, mkia wa ng'ombe

ulofa n11 hali ya kukosa kitu having nothing
Semantic extension of transfer from SE 'loafer'.
Ana ulofa, anazubaa kweli.
Hana chochote, anazubaa kweli.

umeme n11 ukimwi AIDS
Metaphorical extension of SS *umeme 'lightning'. In older Swahili slang attested with the meanings 'sharp tongue, strong terms' and 'rot-gut, gongo' Ohly 1987a: 79).
Amepigwa na umeme.
Amevaa ukimwi.
Yule mwanamke ana umeme.
Yule mwanamke ana ukimwi.
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Amekutwa na umeme.
Amekutwa na ukimwi.
Amenaswa na umeme.
Ameambukizwa ukimwi.
> ngoma, midudu, miwaya, ngwengwe

unawa v.phr pata ukimwi get AIDS
Metaphorical extension of SS *nawa 'wash'
(plus object marker of cl. 11).
Ameunawa.
Ameputa ukimwi.

undava n11 udhalimu, uteni, ubabe bullying
Euphemistic extension of SE 'endeavour'?
Nitakufanya undava.
Nitakudhulumu.
Yeye hupenda kutumia undava tu kwa kila jambo.
Yeye hutumia nguvu katika kila jambo.

unga n kokeni, madawa ya kulevya ya unga cocaine
Metaphoric extension of SS *unga 'flour'.
Wanaokamatwa mara nyingi ni watumiaji wadogo, na si wazungu wa unga.
Wanaokamatwa mara nyingi ni watumiaji wadogo, na si wafanya biashara wa madawa ya kulevya.

unga [freshi] n.phr mtindo wa kunyoa nywele na kuacha nywele ndogondogo, fupifupi
hairstyle with hair shaved almost down to skin, hair are about 1 mm long
Metaphorical extension of SS *unga 'flour' plus SE 'fresh'. It is said that a person with this hairstyle looks like *amemwaga unga kichwani 'he has poured flour on his head'. The hairstyle is said to be *alama ya uhumi, a 'sign of hooliganism'.
Bwana Kinyozi, nipige unga freshi.
Bwana kinyozi, ninyoe nywele kwa mtindo wa "unga freshi".
Yule amepiga unga.
Yule amenyooa nywele kwa mtindo wa "unga fresh".
> denge, fidodido

unganisha v.phr saidia, wezesha support for mutual economic benefit, introduce
Metaphorical extension of SS *unganisha 'connect'.
Niunganishe.
Nisaaidie.

Dingi kaniunganisha freshi.
Baba amenisaidia viziuri.
Kikwete aliaomba akina Mama
wamwunganishe kwa kura.
Kikwete aliaomba akina Mama wamsaidie kwa kura.

ungaunga v.kusanya taratibu na kwa kiasi
kidogo collect little by little
Semantic extension of SS *unga 'join'.
Kwa biashara anayoiifanya inabidi
aungeunge ili apate faida kubwa.
Kwa biashara anayoiifanya inabidi akusanye kidogo kidogo ili apate faida kubwa.

ung'eng'e n11 Kiingereza English
< ? Also attested in older Swahili slang as *ung'eng'e kwao 'good command of English' (Ohly 1987a: 80).
Anayeongea ung'eng'e huonwa msomi.
Who speaks English is viewed as an academic, or intellectual.
Nabonga ung'eng'e.
Naongea Kiingereza.
Jamaa anajifanya kuongea ung'eng'e, kumbe
anaungua jua tu.
Jamma anajifanya kuongea Kiingereza, kumbe hawezi tu.
Anamwaga ung'eng'e.
Anasema Kiingereza.
> kimombo, kizungu, kikristu, BBC

ungua jua v.phr fanya kazi kwa bidii bila
mafanikio fail inspite of great effort
Metaphorical extension of SS *ungua 'burn' plus *jua 'sun'; expression 'be burnt by the sun'.
Ameungua jua.
Amefanya kazi kwa bidii bila mafanikio.

unoko n11 umbeya gossip
< ?
Acha unyoko.
Acha umbeya.
> mnoko, nokolazri

unyunyu n11 manukato, uturi perfume
Dysphemistic hyperbolic extension based on SS *manyunyu 'drizzle, slight rain'.

uosama n11 ukatili brutality
Onomastic synecdoche based on the name of al-Qaida-leader Osama bin Laden. Could be heard in 2002, and even seen in
newspapers, but was not established in the LyM lexicon. Now obsolete.
Tembo saba wafanya 'uosama' Morogoro.
Not any more in use in 2005. (Ukweli na Uwazi 235, 2002)
Tembo saba wafanya ukatili Morogoro.

**uroda** n11 mapenzi, tendo la ndoa, starehe physical love, desire
< ? Phrasal characteristics: used with *fanya 'make' and *kula 'eat'. In KKS 2.
Wasichana wa siku hizi wafanya uroda waziwazi.
Wasichana wa siku hizi wafanya mapenzi waziwazi.
Twenzetu tukale uroda.
Twende zetu tufanye mapenzi.
Ah, fulani leo kajipatia uroda.
Ah, fulani leo kajipatia mwanamike.
> kula uroda

**ushanta** n11 ajira ya kubahatisha, kazi isiyoni na mkataba day labour; work without contract
< ?
Nimekula ushanta kwa mshikaji.
Nimepata deiwaka kutoka kwa rafiki.
> deiwaka

**usiku** n1. maneno / habari ya uongo; maneno mengi yastyo na maana 2. kizuizi 1. empty words, false words 2. obstacle
Metaphorical extension of SS *usiku 'night'.
1. Usiniletee usiku.
1. Usiniambi habari ya uongo.
1. Nitoolee usiku bwana.
1. Unitolee mambo ya ajabu.
2. Nilitaka kufanya dili yangu Freddy a kaniletua usiku.
2. Nilitaka kufanya mpango wangu, Freddy kaniwekea kizuizi.
> 1. kilongalonga, longa, longolongo 2. kigiza, kwingu

**uswaa** n11 1. mitaa ambapo wanakaa watu wa kawaida, au mitaa yenye maisha ya chini mjini Dar es Salaam 2. nyumbani 1. town area where ordinary people live, or where life is difficult in Dar es Salaam 2. at home
Semantic extension of SS *uswahili 'settlement area of the Swahili'.
Tunaishi hapa uswahilini.
Tunaishi hapa kwenye eneo la kawaida.
> uswaa, uswazi

**uswazi** n11 mitaa ambapo wanakaa watu wa kawaida, au mitaa yenye maisha ya chini mjini Dar es Salaam area where life is difficult in Dar es Salaam
Suffixing of English plural suffix -zi on LyM 'uswaa', which see. Popularised by Bongo Fleva song "Maisha Uswazi" (Gangwe Mobb 2001).
> uswaa, uswahilini

**usweken[i]** n11 vichochoroni, mafichoni in the labyrinth of narrow paths in a settlement, used as a hiding place
Nominal derivation from LyM *sweka 'hide, put inside'.
Ameenda uswaken.
Ameenda mafichoni.
Jamaa anatokea uswakeni kinoma yanani!
Jamaa anakaa ndani sana.
> sweka

**utajijeijei** v.phr utajijua! Utajua mwenyewe!
Shauri yako! You will know yourself! You will have to blame yourself! It’s up to you! Contraction of SS *utajijua 'you will know yourself', based on the abbreviation JJ for jijua, i.e. jeijei. This phrase is used as a warning or reprimand. There is also the variety *utajiju.
Utajijeijei!
Utajua mwenyewe.
> utajiju

**utajiju** v.phr utajijua! Utajua mwenyewe!
Shauri yako! You will know yourself! You will have to blame yourself! It’s up to you! Terminal clipping of colloquial Swahili *utajijua 'you will know yourself'. This phrase is used as a warning or reprimand. There is also the variety *utajijeijei.
Utajiju!
Utajua mwenyewe.

> utajijejejie

**utandawazi** n11 utandawazi globalisation
Semantic extension of compound with SS
*tanda 'extend, spread' and *wazi 'open, bare, uncovered'. Official. This neologism is restricted to intellectuals, probably not part of LyM.

**uza gazeti** v.phr eneza habari za mtu fulani spread rumours or news about sb
Metaphorical extension of SS *uza 'sell' and *gazeti 'newspaper'.
*Amekwenda kuza gazeti.
Amekwenda kueneza habari ya mtu.

**uzushi** n11 maneno ya uongo lies
Metonymic extension of SS *uzushi 'invention, fiction; false accusation'. Old.
*Uzushi ni kama mtu anazusha jambo lisilo la ukweli.

**valangati** n ugomvi quarrel
< ?
Juma alishusha valangati babu kubwa.
Juma alisababisha ugomvi mkubwa.

**valuvalu** adj enye mashaka uncertain
>? Mambo yake valuvalu kweli.
Mambo yake ni ya mashaka.
Mambo viipi? - Yenye mashaka.

**viepe yai** n8 chips na mayai chips and eggs
Composition based on LyM *kiepe 'potato' and SS *yai 'egg'.
> kiepe

**vifaru viwili** n.phr shilingi 10000 kwa noti mbili za shilingi 5000 10000 TSh in two notes of 5000 TSh
Metonymic extension of SS *kifaru 'rhinoceros', based on the image of rhinos on the note.
> wekundu wa msimbazi

**vijamboz** n8 mambo madogo madogo small things, small affairs
Derivation from SS *jambo 'matter, affair' plus diminutive prefix vi-, plus English plural marker -z.
*Watoto wa Kino kwa vijamboz wameshindikana.

**virusi** n8 ukimwi AIDS
Synecdoche of SE 'virus'.
*Ana virusi.
He/She has the virus.
> kanyaga miwaya, mdudu, minyenele, ngoma, ngwengwe, shoti, umeme
vua n. 1. aibisha 2. nunua kitu kilichotumika toka kwa mtu 1. ashame 2. buy sth second hand from sb
Metaphorical extension of SS *vua 'undress'?
1. Nashangaa unapotaka kunivua.
2. Nashangaa unapotaka kuniaibisha.
1. Hoya Babu, unajivua utu hivyo.
2. Hoya, viatu nimenvua Juma jana.
2. Hoya, viatu nimenunua toka kwa Juma, vilikuwa ni vyake.

vulia kofia v.phr shindwa be defeated
Metonymic extension of SS *vulia kofia 'take off the hat for someone'.
Nimekuvulia kofia.
Nimeshindwa nawe / Umenishinda.

vumba n5/6 1. udi, au kitu chochote chenye harufu nzuri 2. pesa 
1. incense, scent 2. money
Dysphemistic metonymic extension of SS *vumba 'bad smell of fish'.
Mwanangu, hiki kitu kama vipili tungepata vumba la kumikikidhi
Rafiki, ingekuwaje tukipata udi kwa kuchanganya na hiyo bangi?

vunga v.jidanganyishasha cheat oneself, feign, pretend to be able to do, impose, blunder while pretending to be able to perform expertly, bungle
Metonymic extension based on SS *vungavunga 'not work properly, do careless work'. Attested in older Swahili slang for the meanings 'lie; be afraid' (Ohly 1987a: 81).
Anavunga kuendesha gari.
Anajifanya inoona (lakini hajui kuendesha gari).

vunja bega v.phr kitendo cha mtu kuutokeza mkono nje ya dirisha akiwa kwenyeye gari put bended arm on the frame of the open window or let it hang out at the side of the car while driving
Hyperbolic metaphoric extension of SS *vunja 'break' and *bega 'shoulder'.
> vunja kishoka, vunja kipepsi

vunja kishoka v.phr kitendo cha mtu kuutokeza mkono nje ya dirisha akiwa kwenyeye gari let bended arm hang out of open window at the side of the car while driving
Hyperbolic metaphoric extension of SS *vunja 'break' and *kishoka 'little axe', based on form of elbow and underarm.
> vunja bega, vunja kipepsi

vuta v. pata pesa get money
Semantic extension of SS *vuta 'pull'.
Umenvuta ngapi pale?
Umapata shilingi ngapi pale?
Nimevuta tenga.
Nimepata shilingi elfu moja.

vuta luzi v.phr lala na msichana, chukua msichana kama msichana kama msichinaha sleep with a girl, get a girlfriend
Metaphoric extension of SS *vuta 'pull', pick' plus *luzi 'girl who is easy to get'.
Ameenda kuvuta luzi lake.
Ameenda kulala na msichana wake.
> kilazi, luzi

wa bushi, wabushi n. mtu kutoka kijijini person from the rural area
Metonymic extension based on transfer from SE 'bush'.
Wabushi alipoingia mjini ...
Mshamba alipoingia mjini ...
> kinabo, mbushi, mhugaluka, mporopori, wa kuja

wa kuja n. 1. mtu asiye mwenuyeji 2. mtu kutoka kijijini, mshamba 1. stranger 2. sb from the rural area, layman, country bumpkin
Semantic extension based on SS *ja 'come'.
Unaniambia nini hapa, mtu mwenyewe wa
kuja, unajifanya wa mjini.  
Unaniambia nini hapa, mtu mwenyewe siyo mwenyeji, unajifanya wa mjini.  
> kinabo, mlugaluga, mporipori

waka v kutokwa na pesa be broke  
Metaphorical extension of SS *waka 'burn'.  
Nimewaka kabisa rafiki.  
Nimeishiwa na pesa kabisa.  
> apeche alolo, arosto, chalala, majalala

waluwalu u mtu asyetulia hectic person  
< ?  
Babu! Asha ni waluwalu.  
Rafiki! Asha ni mwanamke ovoyo.  
Dereva yule ni waluwalu kweli.  
Dereva yule anachomoa na kuchomekea ovoyo kwenye foleni.

wamba v vaa suruali kwa kuivuta juu na kufungwa kwa mkanda. wear trousers pulled up to chest, and tightened with a belt.  
Metonymic extension of SS *wamba 'stretch over'. Attested in older Swahili slang with meaning 'be broke' (Ohly 1987a: 83).  
Yule broo kawamba bonge la kombati.  
Yule kaka kavaa bonge la suruali ya kombati.

waya n 1. halu ya kuishiwa pesa 2. Katika mpira wa miguu: goli 1. be broke 2. In football: goal  
1. Metaphorical extension of SS *waya 'wire', based on the thin form of a wire. It could also be possible that wire is a metonymic extension of "short circuit" 2. Metonymic extension of SS *waya 'wire', referring to the net of a goal. Attested for the meaning 'be broke' in older Swahili slang (Reynolds 1962: 203, Ohly 1987a: 83). Attested in Sheng *mawaya 'be broke' (Mbaabu na Nzuga 2003: 19).  
1. Niko waya.  
2. Nimeishiwa pesa.  
2. Timu yetu ilifunga waya.  
2. Timu yetu ilifunga goli.  
> arosto

wazungu n2 shahawa, manii ya wanaume sperm  
Euphemistic metaphorical extension of SS *wazungu 'Europeans', based on the colour of the sperm as well as on the pleasure with which the sexual act is associated.

Juma ameshusha wazungu sana.  
Juma ameshusha shahawa sana.  
Oya, vipi ulimshushia wazungu?  
Je, ulimwagia shahawa?

weka kawawa v.phr weka gia katika gari la Landrover ya zamani ambayo ilikuwa na gia ya pili fupi insert the transfer gear in a 4-wheel drive with two gear-sticks (as in old Landrover models), the one for putting in gear the 4-wheel drive being short  
Metaphorical expression based on an onomastic synecdoche motivated by the stout (short and strong) stature and behaviour of the Tanzanian politician Rashidi Kawawa.  
Ameweka kawawa.  
Ameingiza 4-wheel-drive.

weka kibesi, piga kibesi v.phr tisha mtu kwa maneno threaten sb with words  
Transfer from SE 'bass'.  
Njamba njemba flani zinatuwekea kibesi.  
Watu fulani wenye miili mikubwa wanatutisha kwa maneno.

weka kipago v.phr acha bila maelezo leave without instructions  
Semantic extension of SS *kipago 'step, rung'.  
Unaniweka kipago.  
Unaniweka njiapanda.

weka pozi v.phr 1. pumzika 2. kaa katika staili fulani kwa muda 1. take a rest 2. pose  
1. Transfer of SE 'pause' 2. Transfer from SE 'pose'.

weka tuta v.phr simama, simamisha gari stand still, stop car  
Metonymic extension of SS *weka 'put' and *tuta 'speed bump'.  
Oya pailoti, weka tuta!  
We dereva, simamisha gari!

wekundu wa Msimbazi n.phr noti moja ya shilingi 10000, iliyotolewa mwaka 2003 note of 10000 TSh., issued in 2003  
Metonymic extension of SS *ekundu 'red' and the place name Msimbazi (road).
The headquarters of the famous football team "Simba" is located in Msimbazi Road, and the team colour of Simba is red. Cognitive motivation: colour.

> vifaru vivili

wenge n5/6 haraka, wasiwasí, uchanganifu wa kupita kiiasi, hati ya kutotulia hastiness, hurry, restlessness

< ?

Oya mshikaji, tuliza wenge, usiwe na mzuka!
Rafiki, tulia, usiwe na wasiwasí!
Ana mawenge sana.
Anahangaikahangaika, hajatulia.
> mapepe

wochi n5 saa watch
Transfer from SE 'watch'.
Woch la nguvu kinoma.
A very nice and expensive watch.

wowowo, wowo n mataka makubwa big buttocks, fat bottom

Most informants had no idea about the origin of this lexeme. Two hypotheses were offered as being probable: 1. expression of admiration, if a woman with big buttocks passes in the street 2. Reference to a scandal which happened in Africa, involving a dog sodomizing a woman. That dog was barking "wowowo". Own hypothesis: Onomastic synecdoche of the music-style called "Tukunyema" of the band "MK Beats", which existed in the 90s (+- 1993). When their music was played people used to dance and call out "Tukunyema mpaka chini - wowo".

Manzi huyu ana wowowo.
Msichana mdogo huyu ana mataka makubwa.
Ah, jamaa ana wowowo yule.
Ah, jamaa ana mataka makubwa yule.
Yule mama ana wowowo kweli.
Yule mama ana mataka makubwa kweli.
> bambataa, haja kubwa, kibinda, mavi, mkundu, ndombokolo, taarabu, tukunyema, shuzi

yai viza n.phr kitu kisicho halali, k.m. mapolisi wanaopanda daladala bila kulipa nauli foul egg

Metaphorical extension of SS expression *yai viza 'foul egg'. In KKS 2.
LUGHA YA MITAANI IN TANZANIA

Jana umenidanganya. Nimekusubiri, hukutokea. 
*Tuliona wanatuveyusha.* 
Tuliona wanatudanganya. 
> miyeyusho

**za kigeni** n.phr habari za ajabu false story 
Metonymic extension of SS 'foreign'? 
Usilete za kigeni. 
Usilete habari za ajabu.

**zali** n5 1. **matatizo** 2. **bahi** 1. trouble, something problematic, shit 2. luck 
2. **likuwa ni zali lake tu.** 
2. **likuwa ni bahati yake tu.** 
> kasheshe, kimeo, kizaazaa, msala, noma, sheshe, soo

**zama, zamia** v 1. **safiri bila kibali maalum; hamia sehemu kwa kutumia njia za panya zisizo halali** 2. kwenda mahali po pote au kwenyewe tukio lo lote (kama arusi n.k.) bila kibali disappear; immigrate illegally into a town or country. 
Metaphorical extension of SS *zama 'submerge, drown'. Also attested in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 36). 
1. *Nilizama Uingereza, bwana.* 
1. I disappeared in England, i.e. I lived there without passport or visa. 
2. **Huyu amealikwa hapa? - Ah, kazamia tu.** 
2. **Huyu amealikwa? - Hapana, kaja bila mwaliko.** 
> jichimbia, mzamiaji

**zamia meli** v.phr **safiri kwa meli bila mtu kujua** be on board of a ship as blind passenger 
Dysphemistic extension of SS *zamia 'sink down into, be drowned in, plunge into, dive for'. 
*Leo nataka kuzamia debe kwenda bondeni.* 
Leo nataka kupanda (kutoroka kwa) meli kwenda Afrika Kusini.

**zari** 
> zali

**zege** n **makande** maize and beans cooked together, common dish in Tanzania (North) 
Metonymic extension based on similarity of form (fresh concrete). 
*Mama amezidi sana kupika zege.* 
Mama amezidi sana kupika makande.

**zegembe** n **matako makubwa** big buttocks 
< ? 
> bambataa, tinginya, wowowo

**ziba** v **lewa** get drunk 
Dysphemistic metaphoric extension of SS *ziba 'plug, cork, fill a hole'. 
*Jana nimeziba sana pombe.* 
Jana nimelewa sana pombe.

**zidi kete** v.phr **kuva bora kuliko mtu mwingine** be better than so else 
Metaphorical extension of SS *zidi kete 'have more playing stones in a game, eg. bao, chess'. 
*Nimekuzidi kete.* 
Mimi ni bora kuliko wewe.

**zika** v **dhulumu** treat unjustly, oppress 
Hyperbolic metaphoric extension of SS *zika 'bury'. 
*Jamaa kazikwa.* 
Jamaa amedhulumiwa. 
*Amenizika.* 
Amenidhulumi.

**zimika / zimikia** v lewa sana be very drunk 
Hyperbolic extension of SS *zimika 'have fainted'. 
*Yule amezimika.* 
Yule amelewa sana. 
> bwi, chicha, bunduki, keroro, tungi

**zimisha fegi** v.phr **katisha tamaa** disappoint 
Metaphoric extension based on SS *zima 'extinguish' plus SE 'fag'. 
*Umenzimisha fegi.* 
Umenikatisha tamaa. 
> fegi, stimu

**zungua** v **hangaisha, changanya, danganya** bother, confuse, cheat 
Metaphoric extension of SS *zungua 'unroll, unwrap'? 
*Usinizingue!* 
Usinizinghe! 
*Ye' anataka kunizingua.* 
Yeye anataka kunidanganya.
**ziro, zilo** n9 mtu asiye na akili, mjinga,
*mpumbavu* fool, stupid person
Metonymic extension of transfer from SE 'zero'; especially used by teachers to call unable pupils
*Wewe ni ziro nini?*
*Wewe huna akili?*
> *boga*

**zoba** n mtu asiye na akili, mtu aliyezubaa,
*mshamba* stupid person, layman, country bumpkin
< *
> *ziro, zezeta*

**zuka** v *tokea* appear
Metonymic extension of SS *zuka* 'emerge, pop up suddenly'.
*Juzi walami walizuka maskani kwetu.*
*Juzi wazungu walitokea nyumbani kwetu.*

**zungu la unga** n.phr *kipara kabisa, kumaliza nywele zote* completely shaved head
Metaphorical extension of SS *zungu* 'European' and *unga* 'flour'? Cognitive motivation: The boss of drug dealers is called *mzungu wa unga.* Probably the hairstyle is worn by drug dealers. The phrase seems to be in the process of being replaced by *fresh ya unga.*
> *fresh ya unga*

**zungushia pira** v.phr *suta* denounce sb to sb
Metaphorical extension of SS *zungushia* 'put round, cause to go round' and augmentative of *mpira* 'ball'?
> *mnoko*