

## Use of proverbs in Swahili texts<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The use of proverbs is common in African eloquent conversation, regardless the local languages in question. Swahili is not an exception, and a large number of Swahili proverbs have been collected and published in various ways. From the viewpoint of language technology, proverbs are just one instance of the larger linguistic phenomenon called multi-word expressions. While many multi-word expressions inflect, proverbs are frozen units. In other words, although they can fit into normal text, they are in fixed form within the text, at least in theory. Therefore, they are easier to isolate than many other types of multi-word expressions. However, their isolation is not without problems, because there is sometimes variation in spelling.

I have used Constraint Grammar rules in isolating proverbs. There is currently a total of 2173 proverbs in the system. These were collected from various sources. Because the rules make use of stem forms of the words and of linguistic tags, it is possible to formulate the rules so that they allow certain variation in surface form.

This report is a survey of the use of proverbs in various types of texts of Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0. The corpus contains about 25 million words, and it represents texts from books, news media, and Tanzanian parliament speeches.

**Key Words:** *morphological analysis, disambiguation, information retrieval, proverbs.*

### 1 Introduction

The correct use of proverbs is a sign of good mastery of language. Eloquent speakers can fit a suitable proverb to the correct place for making stronger emphasis to the saying. Yet proverbs are not everybody's business, and people easily fool themselves when trying to use proverbs in wrong places, and unsuitable contexts.

Although it would be tempting to study the use of proverbs from this perspective, in this study I will do a quantitative survey of the use of proverbs in various texts. Unfortunately, these texts do not contain spoken texts or discussions, so that we could make a comparison between printed text and spoken text. However, we will find interesting differences between text types.

The method for finding the proverbs within masses of text was developed as part of isolation of multi-word expressions (MWE). In fact, proverbs are one type of MWEs.

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Along with adverbs, they are frozen. That is, they do not inflect. Therefore, their isolation is, at least basically, rather straight forward. But there is no guarantee that the rules will find all proverbs. If the writer is not faithful to the correct form of the proverb (which is an indication of failure of the writer), the rules may not find it.

I have written a total of 2173 Constraint Grammar rules for isolating Swahili proverbs. The rules were formulated so that a proverb is found regardless of whether it is written with capital-initial or lowercase-initial letters. Also, some known variation in individual word forms is allowed.

A problem with some very short proverbs is that a sequence of words that seems proverb is in fact part of the normal sentence. Such cases are, however, very few, and the CG rules allow further constraining of such strings.

## **2 The corpus text**

The source text for this research was Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0<sup>2</sup>. The oldest texts are from 1950'ies and the newest texts from 2015. The corpus contains about 50 books that were scanned and edited by the students of African studies at the University of Helsinki. The books form the oldest section of texts.

The second section of texts consists of news texts. The very first news texts were typed from printed newspapers. When newspapers started to appear in the web, texts were extracted directly from the web. Only texts of such newspapers were included into the corpus, which allowed copying of text.

The news texts are divided into two sections according to the time of appearance. The older section contains those news texts that were included into Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 1.0. The newer section contains texts from newer time.

The fourth section contains transcriptions of Tanzanian parliament speeches and discussions, the so-called Hansards.

## **3 Occurrence of proverbs in in various parts of the corpus**

Table 1 shows the text types in the corpus and their size in words<sup>3</sup>. The section of books is divided into three sections. The first section contains Euphrase Kezilahabi's five books. The second section contains Shaaban Robert's seven books. And the third section contains the rest of books with several writers. The division was made for testing whether there is difference in the use of proverbs between different writers.

The section of news, older and newer, is the largest section. The number of writers is not known, but it must be in hundreds. The texts are a mixture of various genres, but news texts dominate. Such texts were excluded, where language was sub-standard. Partial reason for exclusion was that the texts were analysed, and poor texts cannot be analysed properly.

The division of news texts into two sections makes it possible to compare the occurrence of proverbs in different times.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-201608301>

<sup>3</sup> The number of words includes also punctuation. The actual number of words is somewhat smaller.

The third column shows the number of times that a proverb occurs in text. Each occurrence is counted separately, regardless of that it already appeared earlier.

The fourth column is a bit more difficult to explain. The numbers were obtained so that first the total number of words was divided by five, assuming that the average number of words in a proverb is five. The percentage of proverbs was then counted from the remainder. The percentage was multiplied with 1000 to get a more readable result. So, the numbers in column four show the relative density of proverbs in each text type.

The last column shows the number of unique occurrences of proverbs. It means that duplicates in each text were removed. In Euphrase Kezilahabi's and Shaaban Robert's books there were hardly any duplicates. Other texts had varying numbers of duplicates.

The total number of unique occurrences of proverbs in various texts is 277. This number was obtained so that also such versions of a proverb that deviated from the standard form were counted belonging to the same proverb type. Therefore, the number represents the amount of really different proverbs in each text type.

If we want to know the real number of unique occurrences taking into account all texts, we must retrieve the proverbs from the whole corpus and then retrieve unique occurrences. By so doing we get the real number of unique occurrences of proverbs in the corpus. It is 209.

It means that about one tenth of registered proverbs were actually used in the corpus of 25 million words.

**Table 1. Occurrence of proverbs in various texts.**

Source	Words	Proverbs	% x 1000	Unique
Euphrase Kezilahabi	218300	8	18	8
Shaaban Robert	132196	16	60	14
Other authors	838779	50	30	43
Old news	11317510	124	5	79
New news	5300638	154	15	87
Bunge	9412632	71	4	44
<b>Total</b>	<b>27220055</b>	<b>423</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>(209) 277</b>

Let us take a look at the data of each text type in Table 1.

**Euphrase Kezilahabi.** His five books in the corpus represent less than one percent of the whole corpus. In all of them, he uses proverbs eight times, and there are no duplicates. The density of proverbs in text is clearly above average in the whole corpus, although it is far below average in the section of books.

**Shaaban Robert.** His seven books constitute the smallest section in the corpus, about 0.5 percent of the corpus. He used 14 different proverbs, two of them twice. The density of proverbs in his texts is the highest in the corpus.

**Other authors of books.** The rest of the book section is composed of books by many authors, most of which are fiction, but also some scientific texts are included. These books

represent about 3 percent of the corpus. There are 50 occurrences of proverbs, some of them duplicates. The density of proverbs is the second highest among the text types.

**Old news.** This is the largest section in the corpus, representing about 42 percent of the corpus. There is quite a big number of such proverbs that appear at least twice. There is the second largest number of unique proverbs. However, taking into account the large size of the text, the density of proverbs is low, the second lowest in the whole corpus.

**New news.** The second section of news represents about 19 percent of the corpus. It also has a large number of such proverbs that appear more often than once. The density of proverbs is three times higher than in old news, which is surprising. The reason for this is not known.

**Bunge, Tanzanian parliament discussions.** The transcriptions of parliament discussions comprise about 35 percent of the corpus. It has the lowest density of proverbs in the whole corpus. It also contains proverbs that appear more than one time.

#### **4 Occurrence of proverbs in the whole corpus**

The occurrence of proverbs in the whole corpus can be found in Appendix 7. Occurrences are arranged according to frequency. Table 2 contains an extract from the appendix, and it shows the most commonly occurring proverbs.

Appendix 7, as well as some other appendices, contains also such instances of proverbs that deviate slightly from the most common forms of proverbs. A double asterisk ‘\*\*’ is added to the end of such cases for helping the reader to see what kinds of versions the proverbs have. Although a proverb may have up to four versions in the corpus, all of them are identifiable as the same proverb. A single rule has identified all versions, because the rules make use of the analysed form of the proverb rather than of its surface form.

**Table 2. Proverbs that appear at least five times in the corpus.**

17 <i>Sheria ni msumeno</i>	The law is like a saw
17 <i>Penye nia pana njia</i>	Where there is intention there is a way
13 <i>Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta</i>	If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall
12 <i>Hujafa hujambika</i>	You are not yet dead
11 <i>Ahadi ni deni</i>	Promise is debt
10 <i>Majuto ni mjukuu</i>	Regret is like grandchild
9 <i>Sikio la kufa halisikii dawa</i>	The ear of death does not hear medicine
8 <i>Haba na haba hujaza kibaba</i>	Little and little fills up the tin
7 <i>Dawa ya moto ni moto</i>	The remedy of fire is fire
6 <i>Yaliyopita si ndwele, tugange yajayo</i>	What has passed is not stg to carry on the back
6 <i>Tusipoziba ufa tutajenga ukuta</i>	If you do not fill in the crack,
6 <i>Mcheza kwao hutunzwa</i>	you will find yourself building a wall The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of
6 <i>Kufunika kombe mwanaharamu apite</i>	Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass
5 <i>Mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka</i>	The child of a snake is snake
5 <i>Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi</i>	Where there are trees, there are no builders

## 5 Conclusion

This report shows that it is possible to adjust the morphological analyser so that it will isolate such fairly long stretches of text as proverbs from running text. The isolated segments can then be retrieved and handled as data for further analysis. The isolation of the proverbs was done using Constraint Grammar rules. Such rules can be formulated so that deviant surface forms can be caught with a single rule.

The report does not include a detailed analysis on the accuracy of the system. However, on the basis of a number of tests made on individual proverbs, we can say that the number of unfound proverbs is only a fraction of the total. For example, unusual punctuation may be the cause of failure. Such problems can be corrected by adjusting the rules.

## APPENDIX 1

### Euphrase Kezilahabi

- 1 *Siku njema huonekana asubuhi* { Signs of a good day are visible in the morning }
- 1 *Mvua inyeshe leo na uyoga upate leo* { Can it be so that when the rain falls today and you will get mushrooms today? }
- 1 *Mrina haogopi nyuki* { The honey collector does not fear bees }
- 1 *Kipya kinyemi ingawa kidonda* { The new one is good although it may be sore }
- 1 *Hayawi hayawi huwa* { The thing finally comes }
- 1 *Chombo kilichopikiwa samaki hakiachi kunuka vumba* { A pot that was used for cooking fish does not stop smelling fish }
- 1 *Aibu ya maiti ajuaye mwosha* { The washer of the corpse knows the defects of the body }
- 1 *Ahadi ni deni* { Promise is debt }

## APPENDIX 2 Shaaban Robert

- 2 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }
- 2 *Nazi mbovu harabu ya nzima* { A rotten coconut spoils also the healthy ones }
- 1 *Usiku ni libasi bora* { The night is excellent clothing }
- 1 *Njia ya mwongo fupi* { The track of the liar is short }
- 1 *Mwana wa simba ni simba* { The cub of a lion is a lion }
- 1 *Msema kweli hukimbiwa na marafiki zake* { The friends run away from the one who speaks the truth }
- 1 *Mpanda Ovyo Hula Ovyo* { The one who plants carelessly will eat carelessly }
- 1 *Maneno makali hayavunji mifupa* { Sharp words do not break bones }
- 1 *Lila na Fila hawatangamani* { Good and bad things cannot be together in harmony }
- 1 *Kawia ufike* { Delay and arrive }
- 1 *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }
- 1 *Chema kilijiiza, kibaya kilijitembeza* { Good things are easy to sell, but bad things make the seller go around }
- 1 *Asiyefunzwa na mamaye, hufunzwa na ulimwengu* { Who is not taught by one's mother is taught by the world }
- 1 *Amani haipatikani ila kwa ncha ya upanga* { Peace is available only with the point of a sword }

### APPENDIX 3

#### Other books

- 4 *Dawa ya moto ni moto* { The remedy of fire is fire }  
2 *Penye nia pana njia* { Where there is intention there is a way }  
2 *Mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka* { The child of a snake is snake }  
2 *Mpanda ngazi hushuka* { The one who climbs ladders will come down }  
2 *Hujafa Hujambika* { You are not yet dead }  
1 *Zimwi likujalo halikuli likakwisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }  
1 *Watu ni watu* { Man is people }  
1 *Uwike Usiwike Kutakucha* { Whether you, i.e. the cock, crow or not, the sun will rise }  
1 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
1 *Ulimi hauna mfupa* { The tongue does not have bones }  
1 *Subira yavuta kheri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*  
1 *Subira huvuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*  
1 *Penzi ni kikohozi, haliwezi kufichika* { Love is like cough, it cannot be hidden }  
1 *Penye miti hapana wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
1 *Penye kuku wengi hapamwagwi mtama* { Do not pour sorghum seeds in a place where there are many hens }  
1 *Nyani haoni kundule* { A baboon does not see its back }  
1 *Njia ya mwongo fupi* { The track of the liar is short }  
1 *Mwerevu Hajinyoi* { A cunning person does not straighten himself }  
1 *Moto wa mbali hauunguzi* { The distant fire does not burn }  
1 *Moto hauzai moto* { Fire does not give birth to fire }  
1 *Mmulika nyoka huanzia miguuni* { The one who illuminates the snake starts from the feet }  
1 *Mkamia maji hayanywi* { The one who milks water does not drink }  
1 *Mchimba kisima huingia mwenyewe* { The one who digs a well falls there himself }  
1 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
1 *Mbwa wa msasi mkali ni wakali pia* { The dog of an angry hunter is also angry }  
1 *Mbio za sakafuni huishia ukingoni* { The haste on the floor come to an end on its edge }  
1 *Maji yakimwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }  
1 *Maji ya kifuu bahari ya chungu* { The water of the coconut is the ocean of the black ant }  
1 *Maji hufuata mkondo* { Water follows its course }  
1 *Lifaalo kueleza lieleze, lisilofaa limeze* { Explain what can be explained }  
1 *Lenye mwanzo lina mwisho* { What has beginning has also an end }  
1 *Kula uhondo kwataka matendo* { To eat sweet things requires deeds }  
1 *Kipya kinyemi ingawa kidonda* { The new one is good although it may be sore }  
1 *Hasira Hasara* { Anger brings damage }  
1 *Haba na Haba Hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }

- 1 *Fimbo ya mbali haiwi nyoka* { A distant stick does not kill the snake }
- 1 *Fimbo ya mbali haiui nyoka* { A distant stick does not kill the snake }
- 1 *Cha mlevi huliwa na mgema* { The property of the drunkard will be eaten by the wine tapper }
- 1 *Bendera ifuatavyo upepo* { The flag follows the wind }
- 1 *Asiyesikia la mkuu huvunjika guu* { Who does not listen to an important person breaks one's leg }
- 1 *Alikuwa bendera inayofuata upepo* { He was a flag that followed the wind }
- 1 *Akutukanaye hakuchagulii tusi* { The one who insults you does not choose insults }
- 1 *Ajizi nyumba ya njaa* { The house with hunger is lazy }

## APPENDIX 4

### Old news

- 6 *Hujafa hujaumbika* { You are not yet dead }  
4 *Sheria ni msumeno* { The law is like a saw }  
4 *Majuto ni mjukuu* { Regret is like grandchild }  
4 *Kutangulia si kufika* { To go first is not to arrive }  
3 *Yaliyopita si ndwele, tugange yajayo* { What has passed is not stg to carry on the back }  
3 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
3 *Hasira hasara* { Anger brings damage }  
3 *Hakuna kapa isiyokuwa na usubi* { There is no mangrove swamp without sand flies }  
3 *Bendera fuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }  
2 *Zimwi likujualo halikuli likaisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }  
2 *Vita havina macho* { The war does not have eyes }  
2 *Ulimi hauna mfupa* { The tongue does not have bones }  
2 *Ukistaajabu ya Musa utaona ya Firauni* { If you are astonished because of the miracles of Moses }  
2 *Siku ya kufa nyani miti yote huteleza* { All trees are slippery the day when a baboon dies }  
2 *Mkono mtupu haurambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }  
2 *Mgeni njoo mwenyeji apone* { Let the guest come and the host be rescued }  
2 *Mcheza kwao hutuzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
2 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
2 *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }  
2 *Dawa ya moto ni moto* { The remedy of fire is fire }  
2 *Dalili ya mvua ni mawingu* { The sign of rain are clouds }  
2 *Baniani mbaya kiatu chake dawa* { A Hindu is bad but his shoe is medicine }  
2 *Ahadi ni deni* { Promise is debt }  
1 *Watu ni watu* { Man is people }  
1 *Vita vya panzi furaha ya kunguru* { The war of grasshoppers is the joy of crows }  
1 *Uzuri wa mkakasi ndani kipande cha mti* { The cylindrical beauty box looks good but inside there is only a piece of wood }  
1 *Usitukane mkunga na uzazi ungalipo* { Do not insult midwives while there still is childbearing }  
1 *Usiache mbachao kwa msala upitao* { Do not leave your old mat in favour of the passing prayer mat }  
1 *Umekataa ya Musa umepata ya Firauni* { You have denied that of Moses and you have got that of Pharaoh }  
1 *Ukipewa shubiri usichukue pima* { If you get the measure between tips of the thumb and the middle finger, do not fetch a weigh }  
1 *Ukiona vyaelea vimeundwa* { If you see that they float, they are made ready }

- 1 *Tusipoziba ufa tutajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }
- 1 *Tamaa mbele mauti nyuma* { Lust first, death follows }
- 1 *Subira yavuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }
- 1 *Samaki mmoja akioza ni mtungo pia* { If one fish gets rotten the whole string of fish will get rotten }
- 1 *Penye wengi hapaharibiki neno* { Where there are many people, the word is not misused }
- 1 *Penye nia pana njia* { Where there is intention there is a way }
- 1 *Penye miti hapana wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }
- 1 *Njia ya mwongo ni fupi* { The track of the liar is short }
- 1 *Nguvu ya mamba ni maji* { The strength of the crocodile is water }
- 1 *Nazi mbovu harabu ya nzima* { A rotten coconut spoils also the healthy ones }
- 1 *Mzigo wa mwenzio ni kanda la usufi* { The burden of our companion is a strap of a kapok tree }
- 1 *Mtego wa panya kuingia waliomo na wasiokuwemo* { Into a trap of a rat enter those who should and those who should not }
- 1 *Mshika mawili moja litamponyoka* { Who catches two will fell one }
- 1 *Msafiri kafiri* { The traveller is an unbeliever }
- 1 *Mpanda ovyo hula ovyo* { The one who plants carelessly will eat carelessly }
- 1 *Mla nawe hafi nawe ila mzaliwa nawe* { The one who eats with you does not die with you like the one who was born with you }
- 1 *Mkuki kwa nguruwe kwa binadamu mchungu* { Spear to a pig is bitter for a man }
- 1 *Mkono usioweza kuukata ubusu* { Kiss the hand which you cannot cut }
- 1 *Mkono mtupu haulambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }
- 1 *Mkama maji hayanywi* { The one who milks water does not drink }
- 1 *Mganga hajigangi* { The healer does not heal himself }
- 1 *Mfa maji haishi kutapatapa* { The one who has been about to be drowned does not cease being worried }
- 1 *Meno ya mbwa hayaumani* { The teeth of a dog do not bite each other }
- 1 *Mchuma janga hula na wa kwao* { The one who causes calamity involves into it also his people }
- 1 *Mchuma Janga Hula Na Wa Kwao* { The one who causes calamity involves into it also his people }
- 1 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }
- 1 *Mbaazi anayekosa maua akasingizia jua* { If the pigeon pea misses flowers, it pretends itself to be sun }
- 1 *Mapenzi hayana macho* { Love is blind }
- 1 *Mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* { The property that is not documented in a note book will be lost without notice }
- 1 *Majuto ni Mjukuu* { Regret is like grandchild }
- 1 *Maji yakishamwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }
- 1 *Maji yakimwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }
- 1 *Lila na fila havitangamani* { Good and bad things cannot be together in harmony }
- 1 *La kuvunda halina ubani* { There is no incense for a rotten thing }

- 1 *Kuku mgeni zawadi ya chunguru* { The foreign chicken is a gift to chunguru }  
1 *Kata pua uunge wajihi* { Cut the nose and join the face ? }  
1 *Kamba hukatikia pembamba* { The cord will break at its weakest point }  
1 *Jungu kuu halikosi ukoko* { A large pot does not miss to have bottom food crust }  
1 *Jungu bovu likawa magae* { The bad pot has become pot sherds }  
1 *Hujafa haujaumbika* { You are not yet dead }  
1 *Hayawi hayawi yatakuwa* { The thing does not come }\*\*  
1 *Hayawi hayawi huwa* { The thing does not come }\*\*  
1 *Ganda la muwa la jana chungu kaona kivuno* { The black ant saw harvest in yesterday's sugar-cane bark }  
1 *Fumbo mfumbie mjinga mwerevu hung'amua* { If you want to betray someone do it to the fool }  
1 *Chanda chema huvikwa pete* { A ring is put into the beautiful finger }  
1 *Cha kuvunda hakina ubani* { A rotten thing does not stop stinking by using frankincense }  
1 *Bura yangu sibatili na rehani* { I do not change my Muscat cloth for red and brown striped silk cloth }  
1 *Biashara haigombi* { Business does not argue / business is negotiable }  
1 *Bendera kufuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*  
1 *Bendera inayofuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*  
1 *Asiyekubali kushindwa si mshindani* { The one who does not accept defeat in competition is not a competitor }  
1 *Akutukanaye hakuchagulii tusi* { The one who insults you does not choose insults }  
1 *Ada ya mja kunena, muungwana ni vitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*  
1 *Ada ya mja hunena muungwana ni vitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*  
1 *Ada ya mja hunena, muungwana ni kitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*

## APPENDIX 5

### New news

- 9 *Sheria ni msumeno* { The law is like a saw }
- 7 *Sikio la kufa halisikii dawa* { The ear of death does not hear medicine }
- 7 *Penye nia pana njia* { Where there is intention there is a way }
- 6 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }
- 6 *Majuto ni mjukuu* { Regret is like grandchild }
- 6 *Kufunika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 5 *Tusipoziba ufa tutajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }
- 4 *Ahadi ni deni* { Promise is debt }
- 3 *Umoja ni nguvu, utengano ni udhaifu* { Unity is strength, separation is weakness }
- 3 *Mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka* { The child of a snake is snake }
- 3 *Mtoto akililia wembe mpe* { If a child cries for a razor blade, give it to him }
- 3 *Funika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 3 *Asiyekubali kushindwa si mshindani* { The one who does not accept defeat in competition is not a competitor }
- 2 *Ukistaajabu ya Musa utaona ya Firauni* { If you are astonished because of the miracles of Moses }
- 2 *Penye wengi pana mengi* { Where there are many people, there are many things }
- 2 *Panapofuka moshi pana moto* { Where smoke comes out there is fire }
- 2 *Ngoma ikivuma sana hupasuka* { The drum with big voice will burst }
- 2 *Mstahamilivu hula mbivu* { The patient one will eat the ripe fruit }
- 2 *Mchuma janga hula na wa kwao* { The one who causes calamity involves into it also his people }
- 2 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }
- 2 *Hujafa hujaumbika* { You are not yet dead }
- 2 *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }
- 2 *Barua ni nusu ya kuonana* { A letter is half seeing each other }
- 2 *Asiyesikia la mkuu huvunjika guu* { Who does not listen to an important person breaks one's leg }
- 1 *Zimwi likujualo halikuli likakwisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }
- 1 *Funika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Yaliyopita si ndwele, tugange yajayo* { What has passed is not stg to carry on the back }
- 1 *Wema hauozi* { Goodness does not get rotten }
- 1 *Vita havina macho* { The war does not have eyes }\*\*
- 1 *Vita haina macho* { The war does not have eyes }\*\*
- 1 *Uzuri wa mkakasi ndani kipande cha mti* { The cylindrical beauty box looks good but inside there is only a piece of wood }

- 1 *Usitukane wakunga na uzazi ungalipo* { Do not insult midwives while there still is childbearing }
- 1 *Ukipanda upepo, utavuna tufani* { I you plant a wind, you will reap a storm }
- 1 *Ukiona vinaelea vimeundwa* { If you see that they float, they are made ready }
- 1 *Udongo uwahi ungalimaji* { Be on time with clay when it is still wet }
- 1 *Subira yavuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*
- 1 *Subira huvuta kheri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*
- 1 *Subira huvuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*
- 1 *Siku njema huonekana asubuhi* { Signs of a good day are visible in the morning }
- 1 *Sikio la kufa halikusikia dawa* { The ear of death does not hear medicine }
- 1 *Pumu zimepata mkohozi* { Asthma has caught coughing }
- 1 *Penye wengi, pana mengi* { Where there are many people, there are many things }
- 1 *Penye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }
- 1 *Nyani haoni kundule* { A baboon does not see its back }
- 1 *Njia ya mwongo ni fupi* { The track of the liar is short }
- 1 *Nahodha hodari haogopi mawimbi* { The skilled sailor does not fear waves }
- 1 *Mwosha huosha* { The one who washes will also be washed }
- 1 *Mwerevu Hajinyoi* { A cunning person does not straighten himself }
- 1 *Msafiri kafiri* { The traveller is an unbeliever }
- 1 *Mkuki kwa Nguruwe kwa binadamu mchungu* { Spear to a pig is bitter for a man }
- 1 *Mkono mtupu haulambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }
- 1 *Mgeni njoo mwenyeji apone* { Let the guest come and the host be rescued }
- 1 *Mfupa uliomshinda fisi mbwa atauweza* { Can a dog devour a bone which the hyena could not crush? }
- 1 *Mfa maji haachi kutapatapa* { The one who is dying in water does not stop struggling }
- 1 *Mchimba kisima huingia mwenyewe* { The one who digs a well falls there himself }
- 1 *Mchezea zuri baya humfika* { The one who plays with good things will encounter also bad things }
- 1 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }
- 1 *Mchelea mwana kulia hulia yeye* { The one who fears the cry of his child will cry himself }
- 1 *Mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* { The property that is not documented in a note book will be lost without notice }
- 1 *Maji yakimwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }
- 1 *Maji kufuata mkondo* { Water follows its course }\*\*
- 1 *Maji hufuata mkondo* { Water follows its course }\*\*
- 1 *Maiti haulizwi sanda* { The corpse is not asked in choosing the burial cloth }
- 1 *Lisemwalo lipo na kama halipo linakuja* { What is talked about that is and if it is not it will come }
- 1 *Kuuliza si ujinga* { Asking is not stupidity }
- 1 *Kipenda roho hula nyama mbichi* { If the mind wants it eats even raw meat }
- 1 *Kilemba hakimfanyi mstaarabu mtu* { The turban does not make man civilised }
- 1 *Kiingiacho mjini si haramu* { What enters the town is not in itself forbidden }
- 1 *Ivumayo haidumu* { The one that gives big noise does not last }

- 1 *Hayawi hayawi huwa* { The things finally come }
- 1 *Hasira hasara* { Anger brings damage }
- 1 *Hamadi kibindoni* { Careful with the loin cloth used as a pocket }
- 1 *Hakuna bahari iso mawimbi* { There is no ocean without waves }
- 1 *Haiwi haiwi huwa* { The thing finally comes }
- 1 *Funika kikombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Dawa ya moto ni moto* { The remedy of fire is fire }
- 1 *Damu ni nzito kuliko maji* { Blood is heavier than water }
- 1 *Dalili ya mvua ni mawingu* { The sign of rain are clouds }
- 1 *Chururu si ndondondo* { Stream is not the same as drops of water }
- 1 *Chenye mwanzo kina mwisho* { What has beginning has also an end }
- 1 *Bendera kufuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*
- 1 *Bendera fuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*
- 1 *Bandu bandu humaliza gogo* { Splinter after splinter finishes the log }
- 1 *Bahari haiishi zinge* { There is no end to unexpected events with the sea }
- 1 *Atafutaye hachoki, akichoka keshapata* { The one who tries hard does not get tired, when one gets tired he has already got it }
- 1 *Asiyejua maana haambiwi maana* { Who does not know the wisdom will not be told the wisdom }
- 1 *Akutukanaye hakuchagulii tusi* { The one who insults you does not choose insults }
- 1 *Akufukuzaye hakwambii toka* { The one who chases you away does not tell you to leave }
- 1 *Aibu ya maiti aijuaye mwosha* { The washer of the corpse knows the defects of the body }
- 1 *Afunike kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Ada ya mja hunena muungwana ni kitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }

## APPENDIX 6

### Bunge

- 7 *Penye nia pana njia* { Where there is intention there is a way }  
4 *Sheria ni msumeno* { The law is like a saw }  
4 *Hujafa hujaumbika* { You are not yet dead }  
4 *Ahadi ni deni* { Promise is debt }  
3 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
3 *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }  
2 *Yaliyopita si ndwele, tugange yajayo* { What has passed is not something to carry on in the future }  
2 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
2 *Sikio la kufa halisikii dawa* { The ear of death does not hear medicine }  
2 *Maji yafuate mkondo* { Water follows its course }  
2 *Chanda chema huvishwa pete* { A good finger gets a ring / anything good deserves to be rewarded }  
1 *Usilolijua ni usiku wa giza* { The thing that you do not know is dark night }  
1 *Usiache mbachao kwa msala upitao* { Do not leave your old mat in favour of the passing prayer mat }  
1 *Unakata pua kuunga wajihi* { Bend the catfish when it is still fresh }  
1 *Umoja ni nguvu, utengano ni udhaifu* { Unity is strength, separation is weakness }  
1 *Ukijua huu, huu huujui* { If you know that, you do not know this }  
1 *Tusipoziba ufa tutajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }\*\*  
1 *Subira yavuta kheri* { Patience brings happiness }  
1 *Pumu imepata mkohozi* { Asthma has caught coughing }  
1 *Njia ya mwongo ni fupi* { The track of the liar is short }  
1 *Nguo ya kuazima haisitiri matako* { Borrowed clothes do not hide buttocks }  
1 *Mvunja nchi ni mwananchi* { The breaker of a country is the countryman }  
1 *Mtoto akililia wembe mpe* { If a child cries for a razor blade, do you give it to him? }  
1 *Mkono mtupu haulambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }  
1 *Mgeni njoo mwenyeji apone* { Let the guest come and the host be rescued }  
1 *Mgema akisifiwa tembo hulitiwa maji* { If a palmwine tapper is praised for the wine he will put water into it }\*\*  
1 *Mgema akisifiwa tembo hulitia maji* { If a palmwine tapper is praised for the wine he will put water into it }\*\*  
1 *Mfa maji haachi kutapatapa* { The one who is dieing in water does not stop struggling }  
1 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
1 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
1 *Mbaazi ikikosa maua husingizia jua* { If the pigeon pea misses flowers, it pretends itself to be sun }

- 1 *Mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* { The property that is not documented in a note book will be lost without notice }
- 1 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }
- 1 *Kuuliza si ujinga* { Asking is not stupidity }
- 1 *Kula uhondo kwataka matendo* { To eat sweet things requires deeds }
- 1 *Kukopa harus kulipa matanga* { To borrow nuptials is to compensate the formal mourning period ? }
- 1 *Kukata pua kuunga wajihi* { Bend the catfish when it is still fresh }\*\*
- 1 *Kawia ufike* { Delay and arrive }
- 1 *Kata pua uunge wajihi* { Cut the nose and join the face ? }\*\*
- 1 *Jungu kuu halikosi ukoko* { A large pot does not miss to have bottom food crust }
- 1 *Jambo usilolijua ni kama usiku wa kiza* { The thing that you do not know is like dark night }
- 1 *Haiwi haiwi itakuwa* { The thing finally comes }
- 1 *Funika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Chanda chema huvikwa pete* { A ring is put into the beautiful finger }
- 1 *Cha mlevi huliwa na mgema* { The property of the drunkard will be eaten by the wine tapper }
- 1 *Bandu bandu humaliza gogo* { Splinter after splinter finishes the log }
- 1 *Akiba Haiizi* { Reserves do not get rotten }
- 1 *Adhabu ya kaburi aijuaye ni maiti* { It is the corpse who knows the agony of the grave }

## APPENDIX 7

### Proverbs in the whole corpus

- 17 *Sheria ni msumeno* { The law is like a saw }  
17 *Penye nia pana njia* { Where there is intention there is a way }  
13 *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
12 *Hujafa hujambika* { You are not yet dead }  
11 *Ahadi ni deni* { Promise is debt }  
10 *Majuto ni mjukuu* { Regret is like grandchild }  
9 *Sikio la kufa halisikii dawa* { The ear of death does not hear medicine }  
8 *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }  
7 *Dawa ya moto ni moto* { The remedy of fire is fire }  
6 *Yaliyopita si ndwele, tugange yajayo* { What has passed is not stg to carry on the back }  
6 *Tusipoziba ufa tutajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
6 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
6 *Kufunika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }  
5 *Mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka* { The child of a snake is snake }  
5 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
4 *Umoja ni nguvu, utengano ni udhaifu* { Unity is strength, separation is weakness }  
4 *Ukistaajabu ya Musa utaona ya Firauni* { If you are astonished because of the miracles of Moses }  
4 *Mtoto akililia wembe mpe* { If a child cries for a razor blade, give it to him }  
4 *Mgeni njoo mwenyeji apone* { Let the guest come and the host be rescued }  
4 *Kutangulia si kufika* { To go first is not to arrive }  
4 *Hasira hasara* { Anger brings damage }  
4 *Funika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }  
4 *Bendera fuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }  
4 *Asiyekubali kushindwa si mshindani* { The one who does not accept defeat in competition is not a competitor }  
3 *Vita havina macho* { The war does not have eyes }  
3 *Ulimi hauna mfupa* { The tongue does not have bones }  
3 *Njia ya mwongo ni fupi* { The track of the liar is short }  
3 *Mkono mtupu haulambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }  
3 *Mchuma janga hula na wa kwao* { The one who causes calamity involves into it also his people }  
3 *Mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* { The property that is not documented in a note book will be lost without notice }  
3 *Maji yakimwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }  
3 *Hayawi hayawi huwa* { The thing does not come }

- 3 *Hakuna kapa isiyokuwa na usubi* { There is no mangrove swamp without sand flies }  
}
- 3 *Dalili ya mvua ni mawingu* { The sign of rain are clouds }  
3 *Asiyesikia la mkuu huvunjika guu* { Who does not listen to an important person breaks one's leg }  
3 *Akutukanaye hakuchagulii tusi* { The one who insults you does not choose insults }  
2 *Zimwi likujualo halikuli likaisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }  
2 *Watu ni watu* { Man is people }  
2 *Uzuri wa mkakasi ndani kipande cha mti* { The cylindrical beauty box looks good but inside there is only a piece of wood }  
2 *Usiache mbachao kwa msala upitao* { Do not leave your old mat in favour of the passing prayer mat }  
2 *Subira yavuta kheri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*  
2 *Subira yavuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*  
2 *Subira huvuta heri* { Patience brings happiness }\*\*  
2 *Siku ya kufa nyani miti yote huteleza* { All trees are slippery the day when a baboon dies }  
2 *Siku njema huonekana asubuhi* { Signs of a good day are visible in the morning }  
2 *Penye wengi pana mengi* { Where there are many people, there are many things }  
2 *Penye miti hapana wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
2 *Panapofuka moshi pana moto* { Where smoke comes out there is fire }  
2 *Nyani haoni kundule* { A baboon does not see its back }  
2 *Njia ya mwongo fupi* { The track of the liar is short }  
2 *Ngoma ikivuma sana hupasuka* { The drum with big voice will burst }  
2 *Nazi mbovu harabu ya nzima* { A rotten coconut spoils also the healthy ones }  
2 *Mwerevu Hajinyoi* { A cunning person does not straighten himself }  
2 *Mstahamilivu hula mbivu* { The patient one will eat the ripe fruit }  
2 *Msafiri kafiri* { The traveller is an unbeliever }  
2 *Mpanda ngazi hushuka* { The one who climbs ladders will come down }  
2 *Mkono mtupu haurambwi* { The empty hand is not licked }  
2 *Mkamia maji hayanywi* { The one who milks water does not drink }  
2 *Mfa maji haachi kutapatapa* { The one who is dying in water does not stop struggling }  
2 *Mchimba kisima huingia mwenyewe* { The one who digs a well falls there himself }  
2 *Mcheza kwao hutuzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
2 *Maji yafuate mkondo* { Water follows its course }\*\*  
2 *Maji hufuata mkondo* { Water follows its course }\*\*  
2 *Kuuliza si ujinga* { Asking is not stupidity }  
2 *Kula uhondo kwataka matendo* { To eat sweet things requires deeds }  
2 *Kawia ufike* { Delay and arrive }  
2 *Kata pua uunge wajihi* { Cut the nose and join the face }  
2 *Jungu kuu halikosi ukoko* { A large pot does not miss to have bottom food crust }  
2 *Hujafa Hujambika* { You are not yet dead }  
2 *Chanda chema huvishwa pete* { A good finger gets a ring / anything good deserves to be rewarded }

- 2 *Chanda chema huvikwa pete* { A ring is put into the beautiful finger }  
2 *Cha mlevi huliwa na mgema* { The property of the drunkard will be eaten by the wine tapper }  
2 *Bendera kufuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }  
2 *Barua ni nusu ya kuonana* { A letter is half seeing each other }  
2 *Baniani mbaya kiatu chake dawa* { A Hindu is bad but his shoe is medicine }  
2 *Bandu bandu humaliza gogo* { Splinter after splinter finishes the log }  
2 *Aibu ya maiti aijuaye mwosha* { The washer of the corpse knows the defects of the body }  
1 *Zimwi likujualo halikuli likakwisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }  
1 *Funika kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }  
1 *Zimwi likujualo halikuli likakwisha* { The ghost who knows you cannot harm you in any case }  
1 *Wema hauozi* { Goodness does not get rotten }  
1 *Vita vya panzi furaha ya kunguru* { The war of grasshoppers is the joy of crows }  
1 *Vita haina macho* { The war does not have eyes }  
1 *Uwike Usiwike Kutakucha* { Whether it, i.e. the cock, crows or not, the sun will rise }  
1 *Usitukane wakunga na uzazi ungalipo* { Do not insult midwives while there still is childbearing }\*\*  
1 *Usitukane mkunga na uzazi ungalipo* { Do not insult midwives while there still is childbearing }\*\*  
1 *Usipoziba Ufa Utajenga Ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
1 *Usilolijua ni usiku wa giza* { The thing that you do not know is dark night }  
1 *Usiku ni libasi bora* { The night is excellent clothing }  
1 *Unakata pua kuunga wajiji* { Bend the catfish when it is still fresh }  
1 *Umekataa ya Musa umepata ya Firauni* { You have denied that of Moses and you have got that of Pharaoh }  
1 *Ukipewa shubiri usichukue pima* { If you get the measure between tips of the thumb and the middle finger, do not fetch a weigh }  
1 *Ukipanda upepo, utavuna tufani* { If you plant a wind, you will reap a storm }  
1 *Ukiona vyaelea vimeundwa* { If you see that they float, they are made ready }\*\*  
1 *Ukiona vinaelea vimeundwa* { If you see that they float, they are made ready }\*\*  
1 *Ukijua huu, huu huujui* { If you know that, you do not know this }  
1 *Udongo uwahi ungalii maji* { Be on time with clay when it is still wet }  
1 *Tusipoziba ufa hutajenga ukuta* { If you do not fill in the crack, you will find yourself building a wall }  
1 *Tamaa mbele mauti nyuma* { Lust first, death follows }  
1 *Subira huvuta kheri* { Patience brings happiness }  
1 *Sikio la kufa halikusikia dawa* { The ear of death does not hear medicine }  
1 *Samaki mmoja akioza ni mtungo pia* { If one fish gets rotten the whole string of fish will get rotten }  
1 *Pumu zimepata mkohozi* { Asthma has caught coughing }\*\*

- 1 *Pumu imepata mkohozi* { Asthma has caught coughing }\*\*  
1 *Penzi ni kikohozi, haliwezi kufichika* { Love is like cough, it cannot be hidden }  
1 *Penye wengi hapaharibiki neno* { Where there are many people, the word is not misused }  
1 *Penye wengi, pana mengi* { Where there are many people, there are many things }  
1 *Penye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
1 *Penye kuku wengi hapamwagwi mtama* { Do not pour sorghum seeds in a place where there are many hens }  
1 *Nguvu ya mamba ni maji* { The strength of the crocodile is water }  
1 *Nguo ya kuazima haisitiri matako* { Borrowed clothes do not hide buttocks }  
1 *Nazi Mbovu Harabu Ya Nzima* { A rotten coconut spoils also the healthy ones }  
1 *Nahodha hodari haogopi mawimbi* { The skilled sailor does not fear waves }  
1 *Mzigo wa mwenzi ni kanda la usufi* { The burden of our companion is a strap of a kapok tree }  
1 *Mwosha huoshwa* { The one who washes will also be washed }  
1 *Mwana wa simba ni simba* { The cub of a lion is a lion }  
1 *Mvunja nchi ni mwananchi* { The breaker of a country is the countryman }  
1 *Mvua inyeshe leo na uyoga upate leo* { Can it be so that when the rain falls today and you will get mushrooms today? }  
1 *Mtego wa panya kuingia waliomo na wasiokuwemo* { Into a trap of a rat enter those who should and those who should not }  
1 *Mshika mawili moja litamponyoka* { Who catches two will fell one }  
1 *Msema kweli hukimbiwa na marafiki zake* { The friends run away from the one who speaks the truth }  
1 *Mrina haogopi nyuki* { The honey collector does not fear bees }  
1 *Mpanda ovyo hula ovyo* { The one who plants carelessly will eat carelessly }\*\*  
1 *Mpanda Ovyo Hula Ovyo* { The one who plants carelessly will eat carelessly }\*\*  
1 *Moto wa mbali hauunguzi* { The distant fire does not burn }  
1 *Moto hauzai moto* { Fire does not give birth to fire }  
1 *Mmulika nyoka huanzia miguuni* { The one who illuminates the snake starts from the feet }  
1 *Mla nawe hafi nawe ila mzaliwa nawe* { The one who eats with you does not die with you like the one who was born with you }  
1 *Mkuki kwa nguruwe kwa binadamu mchungu* { Spear to a pig is bitter for a man }\*\*  
1 *Mkuki kwa Nguruwe kwa binadamu mchungu* { Spear to a pig is bitter for a man }\*\*  
1 *Mkono usioweza kuukata ubusu* { Kiss the hand which you cannot cut }  
1 *Mgema akisifiwa tembo hulitiwa maji* { If a palm wine tapper is praised for the wine he will put water into it }\*\*  
1 *Mgema akisifiwa tembo hulitia maji* { If a palm wine tapper is praised for the wine he will put water into it }\*\*  
1 *Mganga hajigangi* { The healer does not heal himself }  
1 *Mfupa uliomshinda fisi mbwa atauweza* { Can a dog devour a bone which the hyena could not crush? }  
1 *Mfa maji haishi kutapatapa* { The one who has been about to be drowned does not cease being worried }

- 1 *Meno ya mbwa hayaumani* { The teeth of a dog do not bite each other }  
1 *Mchuma Janga Hula Na Wa Kwao* { The one who causes calamity involves into it also his people }  
1 *Mchezea zuri baya humfika* { The one who plays with good things will encounter also bad things }  
1 *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* { The drummer who plays in the home area is taken care of }  
1 *Kwenye miti hakuna wajenzi* { Where there are trees, there are no builders }  
1 *Mchelea mwana kulia hulia yeye* { The one who fears the cry of his child will cry himself }  
1 *Mbwa wa msasi mkali ni wakali pia* { The dog of an angry hunter is also angry }  
1 *Mbio za sakafuni huishia ukingoni* { The haste on the floor come to an end on its edge }  
1 *Mbaazi ikikosa maua husingizia jua* { If the pigeon pea misses flowers, it pretends itself to be sun }\*\*  
1 *Mbaazi anayekosa maua akasingizia jua* { If the pigeon pea misses flowers, it pretends itself to be sun }\*\*  
1 *Mapenzi hayana macho* { Love is blind }  
1 *Maneno makali hayavunji mifupa* { Sharp words do not break bones }  
1 *Majuto ni Mjuku* { Regret is like grandchild }  
1 *Maji yakishamwagika hayazoleki* { Water poured down cannot be scooped back }  
1 *Maji ya kifuu bahari ya chungu* { The water of the coconut is the ocean of the black ant }  
1 *Maji kufuata mkondo* { Water follows its course }  
1 *Maiti haulizwi sanda* { The corpse is not asked in choosing the burial cloth }  
1 *Lisemwalo lipo na kama halipo linakuja* { What is talked about that is and if it is not it will come }  
1 *Lila na fila havitangamani* { Good and bad things cannot be together in harmony }\*\*  
1 *Lila na Fila hawatangamani* { Good and bad things cannot be together in harmony }\*\*  
1 *Lifaalo kueleza lieleze, lisilofaa limeze* { Explain what can be explained }  
1 *Lenye mwanzo lina mwisho* { What has beginning has also an end }  
1 *La kuvunda halina ubani* { There is no incense for a rotten thing }  
1 *Kuku mgeni zawadi ya chunguru* { The foreign chicken is a parent to chunguru }  
1 *Kukopa harusi kulipa matanga* { To borrow nuptials is to compensate the formal mourning period ? }  
1 *Kukata pua kuunga wajiji* { Bend the catfish when it is still fresh }  
1 *Kipya kinyemi ingawa kidonda* { The new one is good although it may be sore }\*\*  
1 *Kipya kinyemi ingawa kidonda* { The new one is good although it may be sore }\*\*  
1 *Kipenda roho hula nyama mbichi* { If the mind wants it eats even raw meat }  
1 *Kilemba hakimfanyi mstaarabu mtu* { The turban does not make man civilised }  
1 *Kiingiacho mjini si haramu* { What enters the town is not in itself forbidden / sinful }  
1 *Kamba hukatikia pembamba* { The cord will break at its weakest point }  
1 *Jungu bovu likawa magae* { The bad pot has become pot sherds }

- 1 *Jambo usilolijua ni kama usiku wa kiza* { The thing that you do not know is like dark night }
- 1 *Ivumayo haidumu* { The one that gives big noise does not last }
- 1 *Hujafa haujaumbika* { You are not yet dead }
- 1 *Hayawi hayawi yatakuwa* { The thing does not come }
- 1 *Hasira Hasara* { Anger brings damage }
- 1 *Hamadi kibindoni* { Careful with the loin cloth used as a pocket }
- 1 *Hakuna bahari iso mawimbi* { There is no ocean without waves }
- 1 *Haiwi haiwi itakuwa* { The thing does not come }\*\*
- 1 *Haiwi haiwi huwa* { The thing does not come }\*\*
- 1 *Haba na Haba Hujaza kibaba* { Little and little fills up the tin }
- 1 *Ganda la muwa la jana chungu kaona kivuno* { The black ant saw harvest in yesterday's sugar-cane bark }
- 1 *Funika kikombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Fumbo mfumbie mjinga mwerevu hung'amua* { If you want to betray someone do it to the fool }
- 1 *Fimbo ya mbali haiwi nyoka* { A distant stick does not kill the snake }\*\*
- 1 *Fimbo ya mbali haiui nyoka* { A distant stick does not kill the snake }\*\*
- 1 *Damu ni nzito kuliko maji* { Blood is heavier than water }
- 1 *Chururu si ndondondo* { Stream is not the same as drops of water }
- 1 *Chombo kilichopikiwa samaki hakiachi kunuka vumba* { A vessel that was used for cooking fish does not stop smelling fish }
- 1 *Chenye mwanzo kina mwisho* { What has beginning has also an end }
- 1 *Chema kilijiiza, kibaya kilijitembeza* { Good things are easy to sell, but bad things make the seller go around }
- 1 *Cha kuvunda hakina ubani* { A rotten thing does not stop stinking by using frankincense }
- 1 *Bura yangu sibatili na rehani* { I do not change my Muscat cloth for red and brown striped silk cloth }
- 1 *Biashara haigombi* { Business does not argue / business is negotiable }
- 1 *Bendera inayofuata upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*
- 1 *Bendera ifuatavyo upepo* { The flag follows the wind }\*\*
- 1 *Bahari haiishi zinge* { There is no end to unexpected events with the sea }
- 1 *Atafutaye hachoki, akichoka keshapata* { The one who tries hard does not get tired, when one gets tired he has already got it }
- 1 *Asiyejua maana haambiwi maana* { Who does not know the wisdom will not be told the wisdom }
- 1 *Asiyefunzwa na mamaye, hufunzwa na ulimwengu* { Who is not taught by one's mother is taught by the world }
- 1 *Amani haipatikani ila kwa ncha ya upanga* { Peace is available only with the point of a sword }
- 1 *Alikuwa bendera inayofuata upepo* { He was a flag that followed the wind }
- 1 *Akufukuzaye hakwambii toka* { The one who chases you away does not tell you to leave }
- 1 *Akiba Haiizi* { Reserves do not get rotten }

- 1 *Ajizi nyumba ya njaa* { The house with hunger is lazy }
- 1 *Afunike kombe mwanaharamu apite* { Put a lid on the dish so that the bastard may pass }
- 1 *Adhabu ya kaburi aijuaye ni maiti* { It is the corpse who knows the agony of the grave }
- 1 *Ada ya mja kunena, muungwana ni vitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*
- 1 *Ada ya mja hunena muungwana ni vitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*
- 1 *Ada ya mja hunena muungwana ni kitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*
- 1 *Ada ya mja hunena, muungwana ni kitendo* { Reward of a passer-by are words, of a free person it is deeds }\*\*