

**A LEXICAL – SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE
LESBIAN, GAY BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER COMMUNITIES IN
NAIROBI CITY COUNTY, KENYA**

By

GEMMA KAIMURI KINYUA

C50/CE/27743/2013

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

NOVEMBER 2017

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or for any other award.

Signature Date

Gemma Kaimuri Kinyua - C50/CE/27743/2013

Department of English and Linguistics

SUPERVISORS

We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under our supervision.

Signature Date

Dr. Eunice Nyamasyo

Department of English and Linguistics

Signature Date

Dr. Kenneth Ngure

Department of English and Linguistics

DEDICATION

.....thank you Mam and Dad.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My profound gratitude to the almighty God for the gift of knowledge, wisdom and strength, that enabled me complete this thesis.

I also place on record, my deepest appreciation to my supervisors Dr Eunice Nyamasyo and Dr. Kenneth Ngunjiri for their continuous support, patience and motivation throughout the study. Their guidance saw me through the entire process of research and writing of this thesis.

My sincere thanks also go to Dr. Hilda Kebeya who introduced me to the interesting field of Sociolinguistics and whose enthusiasm for it has a lasting effect. I am extremely grateful and indebted to her for the sincere and valuable guidance and encouragement she extended to me throughout the period of my postgraduate studies.

I also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all of the department faculty members for their help and support.

I would also like to thank members of the LGBT community in Kenya whose participation made this study successful.

My very special gratitude also goes to my parents and my sisters who have provided moral and emotional support throughout writing this thesis and my life in general.

I finally wish to register my gratitude to one and all, who directly and indirectly, lent me their hand in this venture.

ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

AFRA – Artist for Recognition and Acceptance

AIDS – Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ART – Antiretroviral Therapy

F4F – Femme For Femme

FTM – Female To Male

GALCK – Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HOYMAS – Health Options for Young Men in HIV/AIDS and STIS

Ishtar MSM - A community-based organization working with men who have sex with men.

KIGALE – Kenya Gay and Lesbian Trust

LBQ – Lesbian bisexual queer

LGBT – lesbian gay bisexual transgender

LGBTQI – Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex

MM – Markedness Model

MMI – Married Men Initiative

MSM – Men having Sex with Men

MTF – Male To Female

MWA – Minority Women in Action

NOH8 – No hate

PEMA – Persons Marginalized and Aggrieved.

S4S – Stud for stud

SOGIE – Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Expression

TOMICK – The Other Men in Kenya

UNHRC – United Nations Human Rights Committee

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	iv
ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS	xiii
ABSTRACT	xv
CHAPTER ONE:	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.1.1 The Language Situation in Kenya	2
1.1.2 Queer Linguistics.....	3
1.2 Statement of the Problem	10
1.3 Objectives of the Study	11
1.4 Research Questions	11
1.5 Research Assumptions.....	12
1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study	12
1.7 Scope and Limitation.....	13
CHAPTER TWO.....	15
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	15

2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 The lexicon	15
2.2.1 South Africa Gayle	15
2.2.2 Gay speak	18
2.2.3 Polari.....	18
2.3 Word formation processes used in building up of the lexicon	20
2.4 Socio-psychological factors governing language use by speech communities	23
2.5 Theoretical Framework	28
2.5.1 The Markedness Model and its Application to the Study	28
CHAPTER THREE.....	31
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	31
3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Research Design	31
3.3 Variables.....	32
3.4 Location of the Study	33
3.5 Target Population	33
3.6 Sampling Techniques and Sample size	33
3.6.1 Sampling Techniques	34
3.6.2 Sample Size	34
3.7 Data Collection Instruments and Methods	35
3.7.1 Brain storming session	35
3.7.2 Questionnaire.....	36
3.7.3 Interview Guide	38

3.7.4 Participation in WhatsApp Group with LGBT Categories.....	39
3.8 Pilot Study	40
3.9 Validity and Reliability of Instruments	40
3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation	41
3.11 Data Management and Ethical Considerations.....	42
CHAPTER FOUR	43
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.....	43
4.1 Introduction	43
4.2 Data collected from the Brain storming session.....	43
4.3 Demographics.....	45
4.4 Development of LGBT Language in Kenya	49
4.5 Lexical Items in the language used by the LGBT in Nairobi.....	50
4.5.1 Word formation processes	55
4.5.1.1 Same word acquiring different meaning	55
4.5.1.2 Coinage.....	59
4.5.1.3 Acronyms	61
4.5.1.4 Borrowing.....	62
4.5.1.5 Compounding	63
4.5.1.6 Clipping	67
4.5.1.8 Abbreviation.....	68
4.6 Socio-psychological factors governing language use by the LGBT speech community	69
4.7.1. A visit to the First club	74

4.7.2 A visit to the Second club.....	76
4.8 Summary.....	77
CHAPTER FIVE	78
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS... 78	
5.1 Introduction	78
5.2 Summary of the Findings	78
5.2.1 Lexical items in use within the LGBT speech community in Nairobi	78
5.2.2 Word Formation Processes involved in the building up of the LGBT Lexicon....	79
5.2.3 Socio-psychological factors that influence the use of the LGBT lexicon	80
5.3 Conclusions of the Study.....	80
5.4 Recommendations	82
5.4.1 Recommendations from Findings.....	82
5.4.2 Areas for Further Research.....	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	84
APPENDICES	89
Appendix 1: Glossary	89
Appendix2: Questionnaire.....	101
Appendix 3: Interview guide	103
Appendix 4: WhatsApp Conversation.....	104
Appendix 5: Interviews (Lesbian, Gay, Transgender)	118
Appendix 6: Research Clearance Permit.....	132
Appendix 7: Research Authorization	133

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample of respondents	35
Table 4.1 Lexical items collected through Brain storming session.....	44
Table 4.2: Sample Size (number of respondents from each category).....	48
Table 4.3 Education level of respondents.....	48
Table 4.4: Word formation processes.....	55
Table 4.5: English Lexical items that acquire a different meaning.....	56
Table 4.6: Swahili lexical items acquiring different meaning.....	57
Table: 4.7: Kikuyu lexical items acquiring a different meaning	58
Table 4.8: Sheng lexical items acquiring a different meaning	58
Table 4.9: Coined words.....	60
Table 4.10: Coined phrases	61
Table 4.11: Lexical items borrowed from English.....	63
Table 4.12: Lexical items borrowed from Swahili.....	63
Table 4.13 Abbreviations used	68
Table 4.14: Socio-psychological factors influencing LGBT language use	69
Table 4.15: Patterns in the use of LGBT language	71

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Age distribution of the respondents	45
Figure 4.2: Gender distribution of the respondents	46
Figure 4.3: Sexual orientation of the respondents	47
Figure 4.4 Reasons for using queer language.....	70

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Transgender – a person who identifies with or expresses a gender identity that differs from the one which corresponds to the person's sex at birth.

Sexual orientation – an inherent or immutable enduring emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to other people.

Transsexual – a person who psychologically identifies with the opposite sex and may seek to live as a member of this sex especially by undergoing surgery and hormone therapy to obtain the necessary physical appearance (as by changing the external sex organs).

Bisexual - is a person who is sexually attracted to both men and women. An example of bisexual is someone who dates men and who also dates women.

Homosexual - is romantic attraction, sexual attraction or sexual behavior between members of the same sex or gender.

Gay – this refers to males who are sexually attracted to males.

Gayspeak – Refers to the language developed by gay men in the United States of America and given this name by Hayes (1981).

Lesbian – a female who is emotionally, romantically or sexually attracted to other females.

Queer - an umbrella term sometimes used by LGBTQI people to refer to the entire LGBT community.

Lexical – semantics – the branch of linguistics concerned with the analysis of word meanings and relations between them. The units of analysis in lexical semantics are lexical units which include not only words but also sub-words or sub-units such as affixes and even compound words and phrases. Lexical units make up the catalogue of words in a language, the lexicon. Lexical semantics looks at how the meaning of the lexical units correlates with the structure of the language or syntax.

ABSTRACT

This study undertook a lexico–semantic analysis of the language of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) speech community in Nairobi. It sought to achieve the following objectives: Identify and describe the lexical items used in specific ways by the LGBT speech community; to determine the word formation processes involved in the development of lexical items in the language used by the LGBT speech community and finally, to identify the Socio-psychological factors that govern the use of those particular lexical items by the LGBT speech community. The study utilized a purposive sample of 44 participants who were members of the LGBT community. Data was collected using a brain storming session, questionnaires administered to all the participants, an interview with the leaders of the various categories in the entire LGBT community and also the researcher’s participation in the WhatsApp group whose membership drew from the categories of the LGBT. Guided by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model (MM), data from respondents was analyzed in various ways. Data from questionnaires was analyzed descriptively and presented in terms of percentages and frequencies while data from the interviews, brain storming session and the WhatsApp conversations was presented in form of a list of lexical items together with some qualitative verbatim expressions that provided a context within which the semantics of such lexical items can be appreciated. The findings indicated that lexical items commonly used by the LGBT speech community are in seven broad categories including those describing sex roles/acts, those that are discrete/unique to the speech community, those that describe the sex organs/body physique, those that identify the various categories of the LGBT from their mode of dressing, those that reveal the socio-economic status of the members of the LGBT community among others. The study also established that the main word formation processes involved in the LGBT lexicon mainly include; same word acquiring different meaning, borrowing, coinage, compounding, acronyms, abbreviations, blending and clipping. Finally, the study revealed that the main socio-psychological factors that influence the use of the LGBT lexicon include the creation of a sense of belonging and to conceal their identity for fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization. Findings indicated that the formation of the LGBT lexical items follows similar processes like any other mainstream languages hence there is every possibility for the lexicon to develop into a discrete language, despite the social stigma associated with its speakers.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The term Linguistics has received a variety of interpretations making its meaning so obvious. The field of Linguistics is generally concerned with human language as a universal and recognizable part of human behavior and of the human abilities. Nasr (1984) stated differently, linguistics is the scientific study of language. It aims at the understanding of how the language faculty of the mind works and also, at describing how language itself works. Linguists observe patterns within a language and across languages to try to understand what principles drive our brains' comprehension and production of language. Languages are therefore the objects of study of linguistics. Accordingly, linguists learn to look at languages as data and recognize their patterns, just as doctors learn to recognize signs and symptoms of diseases.

As one of the branches of Linguistics, Sociolinguistics is the study of social patterns and norms of linguistic variability. Sociolinguistics also looks at the attitudes toward different linguistic features and their relation to class, race, sex, sexuality, identity and many other factors. However, Linguistics is not about prescribing what grammar is "correct". Rather, we describe language and its flexibility informed by the position that are the expressions being used by native speakers or members of a speech community are legitimate grammars with their own regular rules.

Indeed, social identity between interlocutors is an indispensable factor in the formation of a community in such a way that a social unit whose members are held together by an international network and who share certain interests, beliefs, views and attitudes) In this regard, language is known to be an influential symbol of identity, an important clue to social group membership. As Haugen, (1956) states, language is at once "a social institution, like the laws, the religion, or the economy of a community, and a social instrument which accompanies and makes possible all other institutions. As an institution it may become a symbol of the community". In other words, people who are in the process of establishing independent community links and bonds have a tendency to "give" this a distinct linguistic expression which may not only serve as a symbol of solidarity and positive social divergence from other groups, but also as a functional code for expressing valued feelings, attitudes and loyalties Mazrui, (1995). Accordingly, what has come to be popularly known as the language of the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) in Kenya and more so, Nairobi today, then, is probably one such variety whose origin(s) in society can, by and large, be attributed to factors that are essentially extra-linguistic in nature.

1.1.1 The Language Situation in Kenya

In Kenya, there are more than 50 languages spoken throughout the nation with English and Kiswahili dominating. Accordingly, English is used for official purposes and international communication, while Kiswahili is the national language and is used in the country by people from different ethnic groups to communicate (Kembo, 1999). According to Kembo (1999), and so is the situation in Kenya, language does not only

serve as a means of communication but as a marker of identity amongst the tribes of Kenya. The combination of these languages has brought about a language shift and a birth of Sheng, a new language amongst the youth of Kenya. Sheng is an East African patois originating from English, Swahili and other African languages. The slang started way back in the 1950s at the Eastlands slums of Nairobi city. Although initially the language was coined from Swahili and English only, nowadays it has embraced other African languages mostly from the Bantu group. The language is spoken in the streets, some radio stations and even at school. This language has, however, been accused of a number of things including corruption of culture and tradition, lacking in morals and poor performance in mainstream languages of English and Swahili in schools.

1.1.2 Queer Linguistics

Queer linguistics is a phenomenon that has, in the recent past, started gaining much more scholarly attention within the area of Sociolinguistics. This area of knowledge aims at studying the language of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and the Intersex. Cage (2003) observes that, all over the world members of the LGBT have developed a language that includes use of code switching in their spoken communication and non-verbal paralanguage to affirm their sexuality and gender. The development of this lavender culture has greatly been attributed to the hetero-normative ideas of sexuality, gender and language.

The study of gay male ways of speaking first emerged in the early 20th century. During this period, male homosexuality was understood largely in terms of gender expression, and men and women who displayed normative gendered behaviors were not generally

considered homosexual even if they engaged in sexual acts with members of their own sex (Chauncey, 1994). Early work typically viewed homosexuality as a psychological disorder and usually involved collecting lexical items from the ‘secret’ argot of homosexual men. Because gay male language was seen as a by-product of deviant sexuality and gender expression, research focused primarily on sexual vocabulary and the alternative use of gendered language such as the use of female pronouns and feminine proper names by gay men. During this period, the language of lesbians received much less attention, given the centrality of effeminate in prevalent understanding of homosexuality.

In the years before and after World war II, views of homosexuality shifted so that ‘gay’ identity was understood in terms of sexual practices rather than gender expression. It was during this period of research that current debates about gay and lesbian language began to emerge. Whereas linguists saw gay and lesbian language as a unique form of cultural expression, others viewed gay and lesbian ‘argot’ as a result of oppression and marginalization. Those who favored assimilation and believed that gay and lesbians should differ from heterosexuals only in terms of sexual practice viewed homosexual ‘slang’ as a by-product of oppression against homosexuality Mey, (2009).

After the Stonewall riots in New York in 1968 and the passage of the 1967 Sexual Offences Act in the United Kingdom, the gay and lesbian civil rights movement began to gain ground. During the 1970’s research on gay male language continued to focus primarily on lexical items and gender crossing. Building on the ‘ethnic model’ of the civil rights movement, linguistics typically viewed gay and lesbian languages as basic

components of gay and lesbian cultures. During this period, scholars such as (Rogers, 1972) and Stanley (1977) collected extensive vocabularies of lexical items that were typically seen as reflecting the unique cultural identity of gay and lesbian speakers. Some scholars, however, continued to view gay and lesbian language as a secretive argot Farrell (1972).

The first major collection of research specifically examining gay and lesbian language was *Gayspeak* Chesebro (1981) in the United States. Hayes (1981) argued that 'gayspeak' was an authentically gay way of speaking that differed from the heterosexual language in three particular contexts: the 'secretive setting,' the 'social setting', and the 'activist-radical setting'. In the secret setting gay men use particular forms of language to convey their sexuality to one another without making their sexuality known to the heterosexuals who might hear their conversation. Painter (1981) also described this type of covert communication among lesbians. In the social settings, Hayes (1981) described the use of specific vocabulary and discourse styles associated with contexts in which all participants were gay, whereas the activist-radical setting referred to the language of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement. Gay men developed their own language that was referred to as Gayspeak. Hayes (1981) examines some aspects of language use in the America's largest subculture - homosexuals. He analyzed the social function of language in this group. His aim was to find out ways in which the language used by gay men reflects and affects the relationship between normative and special dialects in the way they influence the self-image of their speakers. He called the language *Gayspeak*.

Polari as a gay male language used in the United Kingdom has extensively been studied by Baker (2002b). Polari evolved from a variety of sources, including Lingua Franca as used by English sailors, the language of those working in the entertainment industry, Cockney rhyming slang, and the language of prostitutes.

Gay people throughout the Western world have, for a long time, used a secret form of language to communicate amongst themselves. The term language is used here, not as an indication of a constructed language, with its own phonology, morphology or syntax but in the same way with which the linguist speaks about 'men's language', 'women's language' and 'children's language' Cage (1999). Gay and lesbian language is somehow grounded in gay and lesbian identities and instantiated in the speech of people who self-identify as gay and lesbian Kulick (2000).

Throughout the history of Western civilization, characterized mainly by the influence of the Christian church, which from the time of St. Augustine in the 15th C has maintained a fiercely homophobic position, gay men and women have often been forced, under pain of death, to conceal their sexual orientation and to live a fugitive and deceitful life among their heterosexual counterparts in the society. This persecution led homosexuals to having to communicate secretly with one another without fear of exposure (Maurer 1981). Because of sodomy laws and threat of persecution due to criminalization of homosexuality, LGBT slang serves as an argot of a secret language and a way for the LGBT to communicate with each other publicly without revealing their sexual orientation to others.

The research conducted by Ken Cage into the language spoken by gay men in South Africa initially did not have a name. Now the language has a name given by (Cage2003) *Gayle* and was established in South Africa media and among the South African gay men. Gayle is not a standard form of language nor is it a regional dialect of a language. It is a language that developed to meet particular communication needs of a specific portion of South African society in a specific socio-political and historical context for the marginalized group.

According to (Cage 2003) *Gayle* is not really a 'language' in the conventional sense of the word. He says instead, it is a type of argot - a group of words and expressions which are used as alternatives to synonymous English or Afrikaan words or expressions. *Gayle* is a situational variety of a language (also known as register) which is used in certain environments, only when certain people are present as interlocutors and only when certain topics are under discussion and so on (ibid).

Transgender is an umbrella term for individuals who display behavior patterns typically associated with the opposite sex, including transsexuals, drag queens/kings (a homosexual man who dresses as a woman especially to entertain people), and transvestites (a person who derives pleasure from dressing in clothes appropriate to the opposite sex). Transsexuals are those who believe that the sex they have been assigned based on physical appearance does not correspond to their psychological and social experience. Some transsexuals undergo sex-reassignment surgery to repair the dichotomy identity versus biology. We have a few examples: In Kenya male-to-female

(MTF) Audrey Mbugua who was formerly a male known as Andrew and an American Caitlyn Jenner currently a female who was formerly a male known as Bruce Jenner.

For male to female transsexuals, language is a central component in changing one's gender identity. According to J.L Mey (2009) MTF transsexuals typically adopt stereotypes of gendered language use and may undergo speech therapy in order to sound more feminine. The move towards stereotyped 'women's language' typically involves raising the pitch of one's voice, using a wider range of intonation patterns, speaking more softly, and using lexical items stereotypically associated with women's language. Although research on MTF transsexuals almost always includes a linguistic component, the language of FTM (female-to-male) transsexuals receives very little attention. This is often explained by the fact that the testosterone taken by FTM transsexuals thickens the vocal chords, lowering a speaker's pitch. Thus, it is often assumed that learning to speak 'like a man' is not a problem for FTM speech. However, the lack of attention given to FTM speech is also tied to an ideology in which men's language is unmarked with respect to women' language Kulick, (1999).

In the centuries after the advent of Islam in the 7th century in Arabia, religious doctrines against homosexuality were likely trafficked by Arab and Persian traders in the India oceanic coastline, and later the Omani and Portuguese settlers along the coastline up until the 19th century. With the arrival of European missionaries and explorers into the interior in the mid-19th century, the anti-homosexual doctrine of Christianity began to be disseminated among the various ethnic groups in the region in Kenya. In Kenya homosexuality is largely considered to be a taboo and repugnant to the cultural values

and morality of Kenya United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) (103rd session, Geneva, 22, 2011), and the state punishes same-sex sexual acts as crimes. Despite this, various organizations are working to protect and improve LGBT rights.

Sex acts between men are illegal under Kenyan statutes and carry a maximum penalty of 14 years' imprisonment, except in certain aggravating circumstances. Sex acts between women are not mentioned specifically in those statutes, although it is arguable that the gender-neutral term 'person' in section 162 of the Penal Code includes women. The Constitution of Kenya, which took effect 27 August 2010, does not expressly protect the LGBTI persons, despite their existence. At the same time, traditional religious and cultural values play a substantial role in discriminating the LGBTI community in Kenya.

Although gay sex is illegal in Kenya, there exists today a number of LGBTI activist organizations around the country, that with varying degrees of openness pursue the goal of bringing sexual minorities together. Some of these organizations include; The Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK), Minority Women in Action (MWA), ASWA, Ishtar MSM, Transgender Education and Advocacy (TEA), The Other Men in Kenya (TOMICK), Other Sheep East Africa (OSEA), Health Options For Young Men in HIV, AIDS and STIs (HOYMAS). This has made them interact with each other socially. Owing to this fact, it is construed here that this community is expanding steadily and so is their way of communication (language) thereby appealing for scholarly analyses of the language.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the United States of America the language of the gay males has widely been studied and was called Gayspeak, while in the United Kingdom, it is called Polari. Here in Africa, Ken Cage has studied the South African gay language and uses the term Gayle to refer to it. In the recent past news about the gay community has been hitting the headlines in the Kenyan Media, indicating an increase in the growing population of the queer community. In the various places where gay languages have been identified, this identification has been followed up by a description of the language.

However, in the Kenyan context, while the LGBT persons use a language similar to that used in the mainstream, this language has some lexical items that are used in ways that are unique and only meaningful to the users. These lexical items are yet to be described. Due to the general unacceptability of the sexual orientation of this group, not much scholarly attention or documentation has been given to this issue. Nonetheless, the existing societal perceptions and moral evaluation associated with these groups appear to have shaped, not only the development process but also nature of the group's communication in ways that would be of great interest to a linguist. A systematic examination, for instance of the linguistic strategies used to build the lexicon of the LGBT language and the meanings the words are put into has the potential of providing very new and useful linguistic insights. There is therefore, a need to study nature of interaction adopted by this group as a way of understanding not only its morphological and semantic features of linguistics but also how it has grown in response to the growing human (LGBT) needs. Accordingly, this study sought to describe the language

of communication by the queer community in Kenya, that is: Lesbians, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) by identifying and describing the lexicon used by these groups and the meanings associated with their usage. Additionally, attempts were made to identify the socio-psychological factors governing language the use by the LGBT speech community living in Nairobi city County.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The following research objectives guided this study:

- i. To identify and describe the lexical items used in a specific or peculiar way by the LGBT speech community living in Nairobi.
- ii. To determine the word formation processes that are employed in the specific ways in which the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi develop lexical items specific for their communication.
- iii. To identify the socio-psychological factors governing language use by the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to respond to the following questions:

- i. What is the nature of the lexicon of the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi city in Kenya?

- ii. What word formation processes are employed in the specific ways in which the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi city develop their lexical items for their communication?
- iii. What are the socio-psychological factors governing queer language use by the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi city?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study proceeded on the basis of the following assumptions:

- i. The LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi city exhibit a peculiar lexicon.
- ii. The LGBT speech communities employ various word formation processes to build their lexicon.
- iii. There are different socio-psychological factors governing the language use by the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi city.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The findings from this study will be useful in various ways. To begin with, they will generate a body of knowledge in the area of linguistics, and in particular, sociolinguistics. This is knowledge that will help linguists to understand the mode of communication amongst the group under study, and partly as a way of understanding the ways in which language grows. It is a demonstration of the fact that just as the society is dynamic, so is language. The study will also serve as a springboard for further research both in this area of sociolinguistics and as well as on the rather marginal populations of LGBT both in the country and elsewhere.

LGBT speech community being an acceptable group in Kenya, have come up with their own language which enable them communicate. Furthermore, the group is increasing day by day and their efforts to seek legal and social recognition. It is in this context that the study seeks to analyze the language used by this minority group.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

This study focused on the linguistic aspects of the LGBT speech community, which includes Gay, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Transgender people in Nairobi city. This was partly because Nairobi being largely cosmopolitan as well as multicultural, this is where most of those with such orientations are commonly found. More specifically, it focused on the lexico-semantic items, their meaning and the contexts of their usage. These two linguistic aspects were preferred because they were more convenient to study especially for such a group which operates in a somewhat clandestine manner. This way of operating can be attributed to the fact that the mainstream dominant culture is opposed to such a lifestyle while studying the lexico-semantic items is more convenient as compared to, say, phonology or pitch of voice, which might pose far more challenges in getting the respondents to act out articulations of certain words for analysis. Since the study was based on a group of people that rarely goes public, it appeared to be such an uphill task trying to gather information from them. However, as the researcher, I made use of the few reliable resource persons amongst them that helped in identifying other platforms and media that boosted my interaction with them as the process of data collection was underway.

This chapter has provided a comprehensive introduction to the study that was carried out by various scholars in the respective areas. The background, purpose and objectives and research questions together with the assumptions and significance of the study have been described. The next chapter presents a review of related literature and the theoretical model adopted to guide the study. The review will be guided by the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This section deals with the literature related to this study. In effect, it examines literature on studies done by other scholars and which are related to this study or any other relevant information. This review flows along the lines of the objectives that the study seeks to achieve. Accordingly, the chapter is organized in three main sections namely; the lexicon, word formation processes used in building up of the lexicon and Socio-psychological factors governing language use by speech communities. Later, the chapter presents the theoretical perspective

s that the investigation will take both in guiding the data collection and interpretation of the collected data. At the end of the chapter is a summary of the main ideas and the knowledge gaps identified in the course of review and which the study sought to bridge.

2.2 The lexicon

2.2.1 South Africa Gayle

This is an argot used mainly by the Afrikaan and English speaking homosexuals in the metropolitan societies of South Africa. This language is founded from English and Afrikaan. The most striking feature about *Gayle* lexicon is the alliterative female names used for a variety of nouns, adjectives and verbs (Cage 1999). A few examples of

female names are also in use in *Gayspeak*. On the other hand, *Polari* does not make use of this female marked nominal device at all.

Cage's study reveals a feminization of everyday nouns, verbs and adjectives in the speech of gay men. This feminization is seen in the infusion into the language words like *Mathilda*, *Chlora* and *Lily* to indicate nouns: *Dora*, *Mandy* and *Maureen* to indicate verbs: and *Nora*, *Cora* and *Hilda* to indicate adjectives.

In Gayle language there is a widespread use of feminine pronouns when referring to gay men generally, but not exclusively, for example; "who does she think she is? She'll get what's coming to her!" There is also a wide spread use of feminine-marked vocabulary in nouns used among gay men referring to each other. These include items like *girl*, *girlfriend*, *bitch*, *slut*, *Mary*, *inter alia*, (Cage 1999).

Although gay flight stewards were never in the majority, a large number of gay men were Afrikaan who were employed as flight attendants. Contrary to popular belief, being gay was not a prerequisite for the job. Gays were attracted to a lifestyle which enabled them to travel to exotic locations and escape the restrictions which they experienced at home under the watchful eyes of their families. The dissemination of Gayle among flight personnel is likely to have taken place in the infamous Rostering Office. Flight stewards who were on duty, but had not been allocated flights, were scheduled to be on stand-by in the Rostering Office for up to six hours, in case a flight steward did not turn up for duty. In this eventuality, a standby steward would be substituted for the no-show. The hours on standby were excruciatingly boring. Sitting on old Hawker-Siddely 587 seats, which was narrow, cramped and constructed from

steel pipe and plate, it was difficult to sleep, and so the stewards on standby would amuse themselves in time-honored gay tradition, by telling jokes and gossiping (Cage 2003, 21-22).

The socio-psychological factors governing the Gayle language use was mainly for secrecy and discretion due to the homophobic society around the gay people in South Africa. Gays also enjoyed having their own form of communication therefore using it to fun and as a way of socializing.

Gayle uses a large number of female names as synonyms for a variety of nouns, adjectives and verbs some of which are alliterative with their meanings in English. Examples of the alliterative use of women's names are Bella (beat up), Vera (vomit) and Erica (erection). Some older and well-entrenched female names used in Gayle include Hilda (ugly), Nora (stupid) and Dora (a drink). Other older words like Brenda Bris (a circumcised man), Josie (jealous) and Hattie (hat pin), have become obsolete. New words are added as required as the main society and the society of the smaller co-culture change. These include words like Estertjie (Ecstasy - drug) and Ciela (cell phone) (Cage, 2003).

The remarkable characteristic of Gayle's use of women's names is their flexibility and that they are linguistically multi-functional. Many can be used either as verbs, nouns or adjectives. These lexical items in Gayle are very versatile in that they can be used as a variety of parts of speech. Example: *Dora* which means (a drink) can be used as an adjective ("She's so Dora she can't stand up straight"), a noun ("Anyone got a Dora for

me”), and a verb (“Don’t Dora too much tonight”). Noonan (1997) calls this multifunctionalism a phenomenon of Versatile Nominalisations.

2.2.2 Gay speak

According to Hayes (1981), the richest features of social gayspeak are found in the lexicon, particularly in compound constructions, with *queen* being possibly the most widely employed stem word for building compounds used for a limitless series of images to describe sexual preferences (that is *size queen*), subculture types (*queen of tarts*, a pimp for hustlers), to make fun of a man’s hobbies or interest (*poker queen* for someone who likes playing cards) or as an all-purpose term of derogation (*queen Mary* for someone fat) Hayes (1976/2006)

Hayes’s assertion was that Gayspeak was characterized by use of argot, innuendo, categorization, strategic evasions such as omitting or changing gendered pronouns and conscious revaluation of formerly derogatory terms Cameron & Kulick (2003). Gayspeak is characterized by an abundance of sex-themed expressions and expressions for physical appearance, as well as intimacy of relationship, rank and eccentricities within the subculture, Hayes, (1976). It was important for gays to keep the language hidden from the majority which resulted in “over - lexicalization of terms for sex, body parts, and people” (Taylor, 2007; 20).

2.2.3 Polari

Polari (also spelt Palarie, Parlary, Palare and various other ways) is a form of language that is most commonly associated with gay men (and to a lesser extent lesbians), used in

the first two-thirds of the 20th century in British cities that had large and mainly underground gay subcultures.

The language was particularly well known in London and was associated with chorus boys who danced and sang in West End productions, and male prostitutes who drank endless cups of tea in seedy cafes hanging out around Piccadilly ("the dilly") looking for "steamers" (clients). It arose from a number of overlapping "low" forms of slang that were associated with travelling or stigmatized and itinerant groups (Baker 2002). The Polari lexicon was relatively small and items in it were products of over-lexicalisation (refers to the phenomena where lots of words exist for the same concept in a particular language). Polari words are distributed according to parts of speech. That is nouns, verbs and adjectives.

The majority of Polari lexical items (70 per cent) are nouns, with verbs and adjectives contributing to a significant proportion of the remaining 30 per cent. The nouns tend to be concerned with the following broad semantic fields: Types of people (such as occupation); body parts (including genitalia); clothing; terms of endearment (Baker 2002). There are hardly any proper nouns in Polari, exceptions being *The Dilly* (Piccadilly) and a number of terms used to describe, and notably feminize, the police: *betty bracelets, lily law, hilda handcuffs* etc. (ibid)

According to Baker, one practice among some Polari speakers was to give themselves and each other female names (also known as 'camp names'), a practice some gay men continue to use today. There would usually be a link, perhaps near homophony between the male name and the female name – so *Martin* become *Martina*, and *Harold* is

Harriet. Otherwise the name could reflect a personality trait that would perhaps ‘suit’ a particular person. In the present study therefore, I sought to establish the patterns taken by the ways in which the LGBT language community in Kenya develop the lexical items for the specific purpose of communication amongst themselves. The foregoing studies therefore provide guidance in terms of how to identify these lexical items.

2.3 Word formation processes used in building up of the lexicon

The term lexical semantics refers to the relationship between the lexicon of a language (that is, its root-words and word-stems) and the various possible semantic categories created by the human mind. Every language (and particularly every language family) divides the world up differently in terms of what sorts of concepts are made into words and how the meanings of those words reflect the reality around us. In other words, the lexical semantics of a language answers the questions what semantic concepts does this language psycho-linguistically categorize into autonomous words and how are each of these categories internally organized? In other words, lexical semantics is the study of word meanings and their relationships. This study sought to establish the origin, word formation processes, how the words come to existence and probably how the existing words are put into different or varied usage and meanings in the LGBT speech community in Kenya.

Gayle language in South Africa operates on the basis of vocabulary switching. Many words in Gayle are poly-lexicalised. For example; *Betty Bangles*, *Betty Blue*, *boys in blue*, *dolly sisters*, *lily law* and *her silver bangles* and *Priscilla*, all these refer to policeman. This, according to (Cage, 2003) could be due to regional difference and

words entering the language at different times. Gayle uses the linguistic structure of English/Afrikaans but uses lexical items which refer to those central activities of the subculture which set it off sharply from established society. The most striking feature of the South African Gayle language is the plethora of alliterative female names used for a variety of nouns, adjectives and verbs. These include *Dora, Bella, Vera, Ester* etc.

The word formation processes involved in building up Gayle mostly was the use of female names and coinage. It was through gossiping that these stewards nicknamed each other using names from famous South African female murderesses. Gayle grew rapidly during these hours of gossip. The lexicon developed from use of female nicknames. According to (Cage 2003) new words were coined for entertainment and older ones entrenched or re-introduced into the language use if the koffie-moffies.

Hayes (1981) argued that Gayspeak was an authentically gay way of speaking that differed from heterosexual language in three particular contexts: the 'secret setting', the 'social setting', and the 'activist-radical setting'. In the secret setting gay men use particular forms of language to convey their sexuality to one another without making their sexuality known to heterosexuals who might hear their conversation. In their social setting Hayes described the use of specific vocabulary and discourse styles associated with contexts in which all participants were gay, whereas the activist-radical setting referred to the language of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement. Harvey (1998, 2000) analyzed what he called 'camp talk' as a set of rhetorical devices that produce a style that indexes gay male identity. Harvey argued that camp talk involves four basic linguistic strategies: paradox (the juxtaposition of contradictory or conflicting

meaning), inversion (the reversal of the expected meanings of signs, such as the use of 'she' to refer to a man), ludicrism (utterance that might highlight ambiguity or indeterminacy in meaning), and parody (forms that exaggerate stereotypes about speaker orientation).

American Gayspeak lexicon has heavily been built from borrowing some of the terms are directly borrowed from Polari. The words in the Polari speaker's lexicon tell us which aspects of their lives they considered important enough to give names to – perhaps because there were no existing English words; or which parts they wanted to reconstruct or reclaim, because the existing words and meanings were somehow inappropriate. For example, words such as *gay* and *homosexual* existed – but weren't really used by Polari speakers from the 1950s, so instead employed a whole catalogue of words to describe themselves and each other. There were also words relating to the mechanics of male – male sex, some of which like *rimming*, weren't normally known to the average English speaker Baker (2002, 5).

Over-lexicalisation in a language is one of the quickest routes to revealing the preoccupations of its users. The phenomenon of having lots of words for a single concept in a secret language can be motivated by several factors, for example a group of people may create lots of words for the same thing, in order to confuse others, or as a reflection on the thing's importance. Baker (2002) observes that in Polari, there are lots of words for 'homosexual', but each word can then relate to other categories concerned with sexual availability, masculinity/effeminacy, attractiveness, age, particular sexual preferences, etc. Additionally, sets of words based semantically around antonyms, may

reveal something about the way that Polari speakers categorize their experiences as positive or negative. In this way hierarchies can be created, and concepts and people can be positioned in opposing factions, with one word relating to something good (*THB*: to be heard), and another meaning something bad (*NTBH*: not to be heard).

Polari lexicon can be considered in terms of metaphor use. Many of the words in the lexicon existed first in English and have therefore been borrowed and subverted by Polari speakers. The relationship between an original and new meaning of a word can be revealing. Therefore, not much inquiry has been focused on this aspect in relation to the LGBT in Kenya and hence the gap and need to studying the lexical semantics and how they are derived or developed in this context.

Gayle language mainly uses alliterative female names in building up its lexicon. Polari lexicon was relatively small and items in it were products of over-lexicalisation (refers to the phenomena where lots of words exists for the same concept in a particular language), therefore the Kenyan study is to find out how the LBGT speech community build their lexicon.

2.4 Socio-psychological factors governing language use by speech communities

One of the objectives of this study is to find out what factors have been said to govern the use of language in various speech communities. Notably, all languages are in a constant state of influx and both their form and the use to which they are put are subject to this invariable change. When a language has evolved for a very specific reason and the reason itself no longer exists, this language will eventually die out because the

speakers will no longer use it. This regularly happens to pidgin languages which are established for trading purposes (Cage 2003). This has happened to many languages. But before they die out completely, languages become endangered as fewer and fewer people speak them. Kenya, like most African countries, has several ethnic groups and ethnic languages. These various languages generally fall under three major language sub-families: Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic, although there are a few such as Gujarati and Hindi that do not fit into any of these classes. As is common in most multilingual communities, Kenyans have always juggled their languages to fit various contexts. Most speakers have in the past maintained a triglossic situation where English, Kiswahili and indigenous languages co-exist and are used in various domains. Young Kenyans no longer maintain this trilingualism pattern, and unfortunately, it is the indigenous languages that are being lost. The degree of a language endangerment or vitality depends on how many of these factors are operational and at what level. Accordingly, the study sought to identify the socio-psychological factors governing the use of this particular kind of 'language'.

The religious intolerance and concomitant secular prejudice against homosexuality over the past thousand years have forced gay men and women consistently to lead second, concealed lives. Those who were unable to hide their true natures have often been imprisoned, exiled, ostracized or executed. Those who did manage to pull the wool over the establishment's eyes, survived and pursued secret homosexual existences under the very noses of their persecutors (Cage 2003). As so much of human existence is bound by, dependent on, and dictated by language, one of the outcomes of this persecution was that homosexual people needed to be able to communicate secretly without fear of

exposure (Maurer 1991). Polari appears to have been introduced to Britain by the continental travelling showmen who wandered the countryside providing entertainment. Because of varied linguistic backgrounds of these entertainers, Polari was used as a lingua franca among this diverse group, enabling them to communicate across language barriers (Cage 2003). Britain remained steadfastly conservative in its attitude to homosexuality, which was decriminalised only in 1967 on the recommendation of the Wolfenden Report. As a result of this oppression, the gay community had, by the 1950s, organized Polari into an elaborate code used by its members to conceal their identity while at the same time communicating with others of similar persuasion (ibid:17-18).

The oppressive government crackdown on gays in South Africa in the late 1960s also resulted in a much more affable climate between English-speaking and Afrikaans gays. Besides being used for purposes of secrecy and discretion, Gayle was also used simply because gays enjoyed having their own form of communication (ibid: 22). As Halliday (1978) observed registers rely on situational contexts, Gayle was restricted in use to certain situational contexts, which were social and sexual situations involving other gay people (Cage 2003:24).

The register is thus restricted to represent situations and meanings which were inherent in the social system of the gay co/culture. It encodes the experience of reality of its member, focusing on the properties which gay men use to accomplish social and cultural acts within the parameters of gay co-culture which makes part of the larger culture of the whole society and/or the country. Gayle was used as a counter-language to make meaning inaccessible to outsiders, to people who do not belong to the counter-

culture. Besides gay languages being used as secret way of communication, the counter-language is also used to formulate the speaker's perception of the world he lives in.

Part of the whole world view in the gay community and part of the gay identity is the universally accepted gay wit and humor. Wit and humor are used to maintain the counter-reality of the second life. New additions are frequently made to the counter-language in a display of humor rather than need constantly to renew the vocabulary, as is the case in language generally. A single English word like "policeman", might thus have a number of synonymous alternatives in Gayle, among which are Pricilla, Betty Bangles, Jennifer Justice, Betty Blue, Boy in Blue, Lily Law, Priscilla Presley, Dolly Sister, Priscilla Louw, etc (Cage 2003).

The usage of Sheng' among the urban youth in Nairobi serves various functions amongst them, like to exclude their parents in their conversation (for concealment), to identify with each other, for their daily communication, identity and so on. These various speech communities have shared social norms, attitudes and beliefs that drive them to developing their kind of special speech; they vary their speech according to various contexts both social and psychological. The use of lexical items and simple phrases is determined by the speech community. The study on the LGBT speech community is to find out the various Socio-psychological factors that motivate them to have a special code of communication and whether heteronormative can comprehend the lexical-semantics used by the group.

Any language has developed because it serves a function or a number of functions. Gayle served a number of functions among the gay speakers in South Africa some of

which include: Concealment – this meant it was crucial to conceal one’s gay identity in order to avoid persecution and prosecution. Identity – Gayle gave members of its speech community a sense of solidarity and unity. Members identify with one another as well as with the group. Revelation – Gayle allowed gay people to reveal indistinctly that they were gay and were candidates to be included in a particular social setting. Also gay users of Gayle, would use this language to ascertain the sexuality of another party whose sexual orientation was not known. Humor – Gayle was used for fun, mainly just for laugh. Linguistic creativity – Gayle allowed speakers to outwit each other verbally and to entertain their listeners at the same time.

Gayle’s original function, to give white and colored gay men a language of secrecy to be able to talk to one another in public without facing prosecution as well as to have an in-group language of belonging, is changing in post - apartheid South Africa. With LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intergender) rights improving in South Africa (same -sex marriages were legalized in 2006 making it the fifth country in the world and the first in Africa to do so), the original function of Gayle, for speakers to avoid prosecution, is no longer a legal threat. With more people openly sharing their sexual orientation and South African citizens in general becoming more educated and accepting a variety of sexual orientations, Gayle continues to change Luyt (2014 minor dissertation).

Hayes (1981) suggested that Gayspeak used by the gay men in America served three specific functions or dimensions. First, that it was a secret code developed for protection against exposure characterized by innuendo and by the avoidance or switching of specific gender reference when discussing one’s partner. Second, the code

enables users express a variety of roles within the gay subculture that involves use of vocabulary to define sexual roles and behaviors. Third and last, Gayspeak is a resource that can be used by radical-activist for politicizing social life.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study sought to explore the language of communication by the (LGBT) community in Kenya by identifying and describing the lexicon used by these groups and the meanings associated with their usage; studying the word formation processes employed in the building of the lexicon and finding out the socio-psychological factors that govern language use among LGBT communities in Kenya. For this reason, a theoretical framework has been used to provide a perspective from which these tasks were executed and from which interpretation of the identified factors were done. It is therefore conceived of within the Markedness theoretical model as explained in the following section.

2.5.1 The Markedness Model and its Application to the Study

The study adapted Carol Myers-Scotton's 1993 Markedness model. The model explores use of code switching. It takes into account the socio-psychological motivations of a speaker when codeswitching. The model also conveys the idea that a major motivation for variety in linguistic choice in any given community is the possibility of social-identity negotiations (Myers-Scotton 1993: 111). Negotiations play an important role in any interaction because it is a dynamic enterprise with at least two sides, without a foregone conclusion. Therefore what the speaker provides is a presentation of self

(ibid). The markedness model is predominately a speaker-centered model which seems to imply that no model of conversation can ignore the effect of the addressee and the audience even on speaker choice. The Markedness model is motivated by the fact that speakers make choices primarily based on enhancing their own positions and on communicating their own perception (ibid).

No community is without at least two different speech styles. In many communities, more than one language is spoken and often more than one dialect of a language is spoken. These different styles, languages and dialects are typically associated with different social groups or contexts. Not everyone in the community has a complete command of all the varieties in the community's linguistic repertoire, and not everyone uses the varieties with the same frequency (Myers-Scotton 1998). The speaker-hearer has the option of choosing what may be considered marked choices to convey certain messages of intentionality. The Markedness Model states that, when an individual speaks a language, other individuals can exploit the relationships that have become established in a community between a linguistic variety and those that use the variety (ibid).

This study is about lexical semantics of the language of the lesbian gay bisexual and transgender. It can also be observed, from the tenets of this theory that scholars have argued that linguistic choice, marked or unmarked, takes place as a result of specifiable social and situational constraints and incentives which are quite amenable to analysis. In its investigations, the study therefore sort to establish the markedness of the potential choices of the LGBT as determined by the social forces at work in their community that

makes them decide either to follow or reject, and in this case, to reject the normative model hence coming up with their own linguistic variety. This therefore provided further guidance to the nature of questions that were asked to the respondents.

This chapter has provided a comprehensive literature review along the lines of the objectives of the study. It has also presented the theoretical as well as the conceptual model that guided the conceptualization of the study as well as the analysis of the data gathered from the respondents. The next chapter presents the methodology adopted by the researcher in carrying out the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design the researcher used to collect information, the composition of the respondents in the study, the sampling techniques and sample size determination. It also highlights the research instruments used, the main content and validity and reliability determination. Data collection methods have been explained and how data analysis and interpretation was done. Finally, the section has discussed the ethical and logistical considerations in the process of carrying out the study.

3.2 Research Design

A research design refers to the overall strategy that a researcher chooses to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring that the problem under investigation is addressed effectively. Essentially, it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. Accordingly, this study adopted a descriptive survey design. This design, when used in a study, provides information about the current status of something. It is used to describe what is in existence in respect to variables that are found in a given situation or other characteristics of a particular group. In effect therefore, a descriptive research design is adopted with the effect that it depicts the participants in an accurate way since it is all about describing people who take part in the study. As a design that is helpful when one wants to know something about a group of people, this design was found to be the most

relevant since the researcher is seeking to know more about the LGBT as a group of people, more particularly, in terms of the kinds of lexical items they use and how they communicate amongst themselves and with what effect. In brief therefore, the researcher aimed at describing the mode of communication used by the LGBT and in particular, the lexical items and the phrases they use. The researcher sort to establish the lexical items commonly used in their communication to express various sentiments, situations, feelings, to name whatever objects relative to the reasons why this rather 'deviant' language is used.

3.3 Variables

In this study, there are two types of variables; dependent and independent variable. A dependent variable is the variable that is affected during an interaction of variables. It responds to the independent variable. It is thus called dependent because it "depends" on the independent variable. Put differently, it is the variable that does change in relation to other factors or variables. In this study, Language (usage) changes depending on the context or prevailing circumstances hence it is the dependent variable. On the other hand, an independent variable is a variable that stands alone and is not changed by the other variables you are trying to measure. It is the variable that does not change in relation to other factors or variables, no matter what. However, it may only cause changes in the others but it remains unchanged. In this study, the context or prevailing circumstances are both the cultural and social contexts of usage of language become the independent variable.

3.4 Location of the Study

This study was carried out in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. This is cosmopolitan area and those who live there belong to different social and cultural orientations. The main languages spoken in Nairobi, being the capital city, are English and Swahili. There is also Kikuyu language given its physical location, that is, it is surrounded by speakers of Kikuyu language. There are also instances of speakers of other local languages using it within the city such as Kisii, Luhya, Luo, Akamba, Kalenjin, Meru and so on. Generally, Nairobi being the main and cosmopolitan city and located at the center of the country makes good scenery for having members of the LGBT group fairly distributed in the city. As a cultural melting pot of sort there was every possibility of encountering more of the members of this speech community. Essentially, this city is the place where the effects of globalization are predominant in the country.

3.5 Target Population

Orodho (2008) defines the target population as a set of elements that the researcher focuses upon and to which the results obtained by testing the sample should be generalized. The target population in this study comprised of the Lesbians, Gay, Bisexuals and Transgender population in Nairobi, Kenya.

3.6 Sampling Techniques and Sample size

This section presents the techniques the researcher adopted in determining the size of the sample on which to carry out the study. The actual sample size of the research population was also examined in this section.

3.6.1 Sampling Techniques

This study mainly used purposive and snow-balling sampling techniques. Purposive sampling is a sampling technique that allows the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. In purposive sampling, the subjects are chosen according to a certain specified criterion. Accordingly, the criterion used here was that the participant should belong to the general category of the LGBT. And for snow-balling, this is a non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit other subjects from among their acquaintances. Accordingly, the few members of the LGBT that were reached, the researcher requested them to lead her to or introduce her to their friends and in the process this is how the sample grew.

3.6.2 Sample Size

According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000), a sample is a group on which information is obtained in order to generalize it to the population. The authors suggest that a sample should be as large as the researcher can obtain with a reasonable expenditure of time and energy. In this study, the samples consist of 44 members of the LGBT and a leader of each of the LGBT categories distributed as shown in the table below:

Table 3.1: Sample of respondents

LGBT Category	Number
Lesbians	12 + 1 (leader)
Gay	19 + 1(leader)
Bisexuals	7
Transgender	3 + 1(leader)
Total	44

3.7 Data Collection Instruments and Methods

A brain storming session was carried out involving participants from the two major LGBT category; the Lesbians and Gay. This was made possible when the lesbian respondent that the researcher used invited her friends, who were her fellow lesbians. This lesbian friend that the researcher knew is quite influential in the entire LGBT community as a leader of one category therefore she was able to include the gay category in the brainstorming session as most of them (gay) knew her as a friend and a ‘celebrity’ among their peer. This method provided insights on the initial number of lexical items that were used in question one to generate the questionnaire that was administered. Data was collected using the survey method since the researcher prepared questionnaires which were administered to the LGBT as well as interview schedules were administered to the leaders of the LGBT categories.

3.7.1 Brain storming session

It involved the use of a semi-structured group interview process. This tool serves as a valuable resource in gathering specific information from persons of similar

backgrounds. The strengths of this tool is to provide insights on how a group thinks about an issue, range of opinions and ideas and the inconsistencies and variation that exist in a particular community. The researcher involved 7 participants (4 Lesbians and 3 Gay persons). One known lesbian participant organized the session for the researcher by asking her three fellow lesbians and four friends from the gay category to gather for the brain storming session. Questions were posed to the participants on the constant vocabulary items they use in their daily communication that was confined to the LGBT community and not known by the mainstream community. The lexical items raised from this interview were used to develop the first question of the questionnaire. Data collection using this tool took two hours of discussion.

During data collection using this tool, there were lexical items that participants would differ on and those that they would agree. Those that they would agree upon are the ones that were used to construct the first question of the questionnaire. And those that they disagreed upon were dropped.

3.7.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is not always the case. It is a list of questions designed to collect specific information. This instrument was used to solicit information from all the respondents across the LGBT categories. This information covered issues such as demographic information of the participants including age, gender, sexual orientation, level of education, profession, words and

phrases in LGBT language and their meanings and finally the reasons for developing and using lexical-semantic items in this queer language different from the mainstream language. Generally, this tool mainly solicited information for all the objectives. (See Appendix 2).

During data collection using questionnaires, the researcher gave out about 70 questionnaires but only 48 were returned, constituting a return rate of 68%. Most of those who did not return are those the researcher reached through snowballing and so, they may not have been so committal given that they were never given those questionnaires by the researcher herself. This therefore constitutes one of the weaknesses of snowballing as a method of reaching out to respondents. At the same time, there were cases of participants who demanded for a pay before they fill the questionnaire and so when the researcher did not yield to this demand, they withheld the questionnaires. This happened at one research site which is popular with the MSM. The environment and the presence of a female felt odd since the bar is mostly frequented by male patrons who are either; regular customers, MSM, old gay men looking for sex from the MSM or the MMI. Some of the potential respondents who were MSM either requested for a bottle of beer and others for money that the researcher would not yield to. In general, it was rather tricky for the researcher, especially in the beginning, to get to meet these respondents of the various categories in their specific *social joints* and even formal spaces and getting to earn their trust given the perceivedly rather invasive nature of the study. It took up to two months to collect data using this tool.

3.7.3 Interview Guide

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2001) an interview can produce in-depth data that would not be possible to obtain with the questionnaire, and the reason for particular responses can be determined. This is not far from what Gall et al (1996) assert that semi-structured interviews involve asking a series of structured questions and then probing more deeply using open – form questions to obtain additional information that is quite vital in a study like this one. Interviews are adaptable in that questions can be adjusted as the need arises. Interviews guide against confusing the questions since the interviewer can clarify the questions thereby helping the respondent give relevant responses. In this study, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from the leaders of the respective LGBT since the group is organized in a way that the various sub-groups usually meet to discuss matters of their welfare and in these subgroups, there is always a leader as well as a leader for the entire LGBT group. This tool solicited information on the population and distribution of the members of the LGBT community, the nature of LGBT language as the medium of communication, the context of use of the language, the motivation of developing and using the language and the other people’s (mainstream people) perception of those who use this language. Accordingly, this tool mainly solicited information for objective 3 in supplementation to the information solicited by the questionnaire (See Appendix 3). While the researcher had targeted 4 leaders of the four categories as respondents for this tool, she was only able to collect information from three of them as one leader from the Bisexual category was not available, since there was no leader in that particular category per se. The collection of data using this tool took the researcher a period of two weeks.

3.7.4 Participation in WhatsApp Group with LGBT Categories

In addition to the above three ways of data collection, the researcher also used the social media – the Lesbians group WhatsApp, which she was introduced into by a friend who is in the group to interact with the members as she studies the lexical–semantic items used in their communication. The researcher did not have to disclose her sexual orientation but had to disclose her gender and declared the reasons for my presence for being a member in the group, which was to pick out lexical items used in their daily communication. WhatsApp is an instant messaging application for smart phones that operates under a subscription business model. The proprietary, cross-platform app uses the Internet to send text messages, images, video, user location and audio media messages. In this way, the WhatsApp was a method of data collection which was used to get the views of the informants who are part of the LGBT community. Such a social forum provided the researcher with an opportunity to interact with the live discourse as played out with these members. She was therefore keen to isolate the lexico-semantic items as used in the conversations on the forum for analysis.

The data collected through this method was downloaded from the WhatsApp platform into a word format and then the researcher read through the conversations marking out the sections that had information that was relevant to the study (see appendix 6). At the same time, the lexical items were harnessed directly from their immediate context of usage and this really helped the researcher particularly at the semantic level. The names of the participants and cellphone numbers were replaced with pseudonyms that were

developed by the researcher to enhance anonymity of the informants as was promised and as part of the researcher's ethical obligations.

During data collection through the WhatsApp method, some members were inactive in terms of participation in the communication on this platform. The researcher had the consent from the group administrator and the members. This tended to limit the amount of data collected. There was also not much the researcher could do to provoke the discussion and this tended to limit data generation through this method, despite the researcher being in the group for three months though as an inactive participant. Data through this method was collected in a period of three months.

3.8 Pilot Study

Pre-testing of research instruments was done with some selected members of the LGBT group in Nairobi. This was done before the actual study. The objective was to measure the validity and reliability of the research instruments with a view to improving them. The results of the pilot were used to determine whether or not the instruments were giving the expected results. Questions that were found rather confusing or not yielding the intended information were revised accordingly before the actual study.

3.9 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

To ensure the validity of the research instruments the researcher ascertains that the items are consistent with set objectives, the questionnaires and interview guides were assessed and verified. Validity was further clarified through a pilot study and verification by my supervisors. The pilot study helped identify problems that occurred

when administering the questionnaire and time used when responding to each instrument. According to Grinnel (1993) when items are actually administered they help in removing possible errors in the instrument.

3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

In this study, there are four sets of data; data from the brain storming session, data from questionnaires, data from the interview schedules and that from the WhatsApp conversations. Data from the brainstorming was basically used to develop question one of the questionnaire, which was; Question 1: How much do you know? Below is a list of words/phrases used by the queer community in their conversations. Kindly provide the meaning of the words/phrases as used in queer conversations. Also provide the possible source language (language from which the terms are borrowed) of the words. Data from the questionnaires was analyzed descriptively and presented in frequencies and percentages on charts and tables while data from the interview schedules was analyzed thematically and presented in terms of quotations especially in foregrounding a certain issue or even giving the narrative behind a certain trend as generated from the quantitative data. On the other hand, it is notable that data analysis in qualitative research is an on-going process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions and writing memos throughout the study (Creswell, 2003).

Accordingly, the qualitative data was analyzed thematically by reading through the responses and the WhatsApp conversations to pick out the lexical items as used in the conversations and the responses to the questions posed and presented as a glossary consisting of terms and their meanings. In effect, having collected the data, a list of all

the words and phrases and their meanings given by the respondents to the researcher was compiled. Collected information concerning the origin of the words was tagged a long side also as it is part of the question on words or phrases and by use of guidelines learnt in class about word formation processes. This information was categorized accordingly under the relevant word formation process. As for socio-psychological factors, a compilation was done on the factors they gave as responses and categorized them into social, economic, political and so on and moved ahead with further and deeper reflections on the socio-psychological ones.

3.11 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the graduate school for purposes of applying for a research permit from the National Commission Science Technology and Innovations before administering the research instruments in the field. This is in accordance with the procedures of Kenyatta University and even the procedures laid down by the National Commission for Science and Technology and Innovation for anyone one who wants to carry out any research in this country even when one feels that they are close enough to the respondents or the respondents are too ignorant of such procedures. The researcher then made preliminary visits to the relevant offices (for the LGBT) to make the necessary courtesy calls before proceeding to talk with the selected respondents. Other considerations included: getting informed consent from respondents before interviewing them and giving them an assurance of using the information only for the disclosed purpose and treating the respondents with respect and dignity and keeping confidentiality of the information.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study is about the language used by the Lesbian, Gay Bisexual and Transgender in Nairobi, Kenya. Essentially, it sought to interrogate the language used by the LGBT community in terms of its lexical items, the word formation processes and the socio-psychological factors that govern the use of this language. This chapter therefore presents the findings of the study and their subsequent discussion based on the three main objectives of the study. Accordingly, the first objective sought to identify and describe the lexical items used, in a specific or peculiar way, by the LGBT speech community living in Nairobi. The second objective sought to determine the word formation processes that are employed in the specific ways in which the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi develop lexical items specifically for their communication while the third objective sought to identify the socio-psychological factors that influence language use by the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi. The researcher also has discussed the routines and practices including the environment within which some of the LGBT members like the gay and MSM carry out their daily lives.

4.2 Data collected from the Brain storming session

A brain storming session was conducted with some members of the LGBT group with an intention to generate a list of some lexical items which would form part of the

questions in the questionnaire that was administered to all the participants in the study. Samples of the lexical terms (words/phrases) collected through brain storming session discussion drawn from the research respondents are presented in the table below.

Table 4.1 Lexical items collected through Brain storming session

Words/Phrases

Mesbian	Pink lipstick	S4S	Come out	Shoga
Tommy/s	Straight	F4F	Muff munch	Lesbian
Lesville	Q/queer	Gadar	Sogie	Gay
Lele	Rainbow	Give head	MWA	Intersex
Butch	Rainbow family	Closeted	Tomboy	Transgender
Stud	Familia	Touch me not	Kuchu	Cisgender
Stem	Pride	Give a head	Homie	Kuuz
Femme/fem	Boiz	Tough me not	Msenge	Wasagaji
Lesbo	Flag	Top	Sissy	WSW
Red lipstick	Dyke	Bottom	Fag	MSW
NoH8	Rainbow	Pillow princess	Stone butch	Walanisi
Sponsor	GNC	Gold star lesbian	Bicurious	Cunnilingus
Closeted	Soft butch	Bisexual	Androgyny	Scissoring
Dominance	Wannabe	BDSM	Wank	BG
Butt yogaring	Nunu	Jerk	Lez	Go down
Asexual	Stubby			

The data in Table 4.1 above is the list of lexical items compiled from the brain storming session by seven participants among them 4 lesbians and 3 gays. The words in the table are independent. They are the lexical items collected during the brain storming with the two categories of the LGBT group. The purpose of the brain storming was to ask the participants to mention some of the terms or phrases they used amongst themselves as the LGBT, terms that were only confined to them that they felt were not used or known

in the mainstream in Nairobi city. This data was used to generate a list of lexical items used to develop the lexicon as required for the first objective.

4.3 Demographics

The following demographic characteristics of the respondents were analyzed. The trends were useful in understanding certain sociolinguistic dynamics in the subsequent sections.

Age:

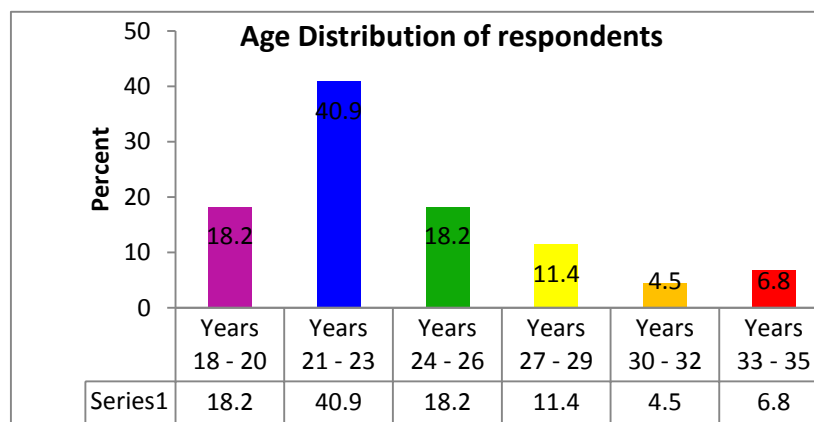


Figure 4.1: Age distribution of the respondents

From figure 4.1 above, the highest percentage of the respondents were in the age group between 21-23 years old, followed by a tie between 18-20 years old and 24-26years, while the least age range was between 30-32 years. This statistics could indicate that the membership of the LGBT community draws more from the youth rather than middle-aged people. ‘

Gender:

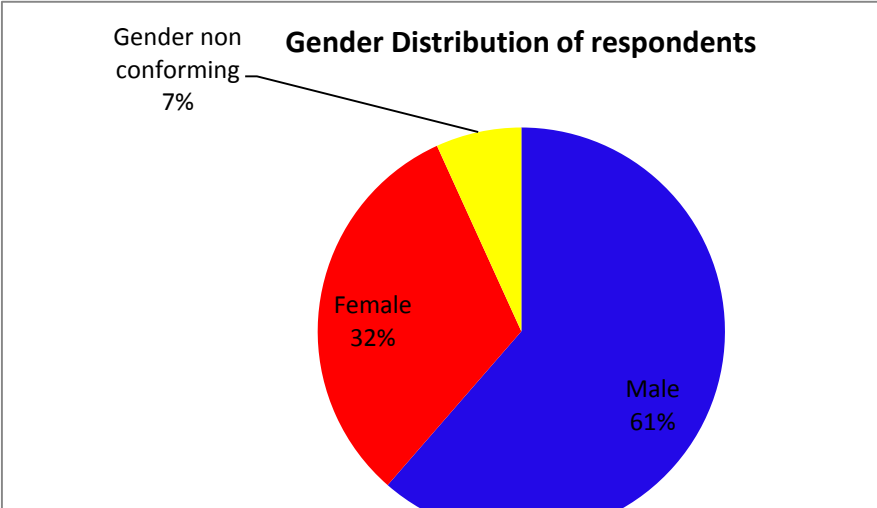


Figure 4.2: Gender distribution of the respondents

Figure 4.2 gives an account of the gender distribution of respondents who participated in the study. Accordingly, male participants constituted the highest percentage at 61 percent with the lowest being the gender non-conforming at 7 percent. The difference in the number could be attributed to the fact that more gay and bisexual males were more willing to participate in the study compared to their female lesbian and bisexual counterparts. The big male percentage could also be attributed to the fact that males are more open about their orientation compared to females. Furthermore our cultural practices discourage women from being with sexual matters especially. This is the reason why even in traditional courts where disputes between couples were discussed, most of the time figurative language was used. For example, denial of conjugal rights was referred to as denial of food, Kenyatta (1938). Research ethics demand consensual and voluntary participation hence outcome of the number and category of participants.

Indeed, during data collection the researcher noted that not as many bisexual females were willing to participate she received from especially the lesbian participants was that, they felt they were trapped between two worlds; where some of them were afraid of being seen as not fully queer by their queer peers while others were just not willing to be associated with the LGBT community due to the stigmatization. Their male counterparts on the other hand were willing to share information and participate in the study as they were reportedly not shy about their sexual orientation. This is further illustrated by the fact that in the bisexual category, which was initially intended to have an equal number of male and female participants, ended up being dominated by the males.

Sexual Orientation:

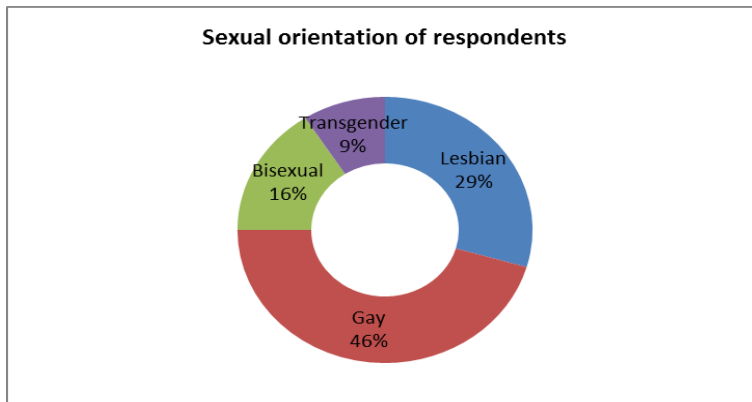


Figure 4.3: Sexual orientation of the respondents

Figure 4.3 above represents the sexual orientations of participants in the study. In this distribution, the highest percentage was the Gay with 46 % possibly due to the fact that the gay respondents were the most willing group to participate and return the questionnaires on time, followed by the lesbian. The transgender constituted the least number of participants, possibly because they do not constitute a high number in the

queer community. While there are no reliable statistics regarding the correct figures of the different categories of LGBT speech community, interviews with the leaders of the LGBT persons revealed that the gay constitute the majority while the Lesbians and a handful and the transgender are minority. The number of the bisexual is not known as they belong in the mainstream and partly in the queer community.

Table 4.2: Sample Size (number of respondents from each category)

LGBT Category	Number
Lesbians	12 + 1 (leader)
Gay	19 + 1(leader)
Bisexuals	7
Transgender	3 + 1(leader)
Total	44

The apparent low number of the sample collected can be explained by the fact that, this group being studied is a minority group. Not many of them are willing to ‘come out’ and volunteer information or even be considered as belonging to the group.

Education level:

Table 4.3 Education level of respondents

Education level	Frequency	Percentage
Primary	2	4.5
Secondary	6	13.6
College	17	38.6
Undergraduate	19	43.3
Total	44	100.0

From table 4.3 above, only a minority of 18.1% had basic education while a majority of them are educated to the level of college (38.6%) and university (43.3%), this could be attributed to because they are aware of their rights and are willing to assert themselves. In general therefore, these are people who are well educated and who, by virtue of their level of education, are presumably exposed to the global LGBTQI community.

4.4 Development of LGBT Language in Kenya

While it is not so clear when exactly the language used by the LGBT, or queer language for that matter, emerged in Kenya, sources which include the respondents' narratives indicate that the use of this medium of communication can be traced back to the period between the years 2005 and 2010. According to one of the leaders of the LGBT organizations (AFRA), the use of this form of expression emerged in three or so of the leading national secondary schools in Kenya (names withheld). In its usage, the lexical terms used, and as developed by the youth in these schools later started flowing into the rest of the LGBT language community outside the schools. At this time, the speakers of this language spoke using a lexicon that drew words from English, Swahili and Sheng. In their articulation of the words, they tended to articulate the words with last syllable truncated as in the statement:

Umekuwa wap(i)

Nakupend(a) yang(u) yot(e)

This is clearly a case of clipping which, even though appears to have disappeared especially in sentences, clauses and phrases, it has been sustained in some lexical items

in the current use such as *kuuz* (instead of “kuuza”) which is to peddle sex for money and others like *trans* where part of the word has been clipped from the word “transgender”.

The LGBT community in Kenya does not necessarily have a distinct language per se, but rather they use words borrowed from different cultures and spaces which are adopted by the community hence becoming part of their linguistic repertoire. With time, some of the lexical items are becoming globally recognizable e.g. *queer*, *S4S*, while others are regionally recognizable such as; *shoga* and *Kuchu* in east Africa.

4.5 Lexical Items in the language used by the LGBT in Nairobi

One of the readily prevalent features of the medium of communication (language) used by the LGBTI is that there are words and phrases used by the non-LGBT to refer to the LGBT, often offensive in nature but which are also present in their (LGBT) lexicon though not used in the same derogatory manner. Examples of such lexical items include; *fagot*, *homo*, *mama* e.t.c.

Other than these lexical items, there are those that do not need any translation as they are used by the mainstream language users too. Examples of lexical items in this category include; lesbian, gay, bisexual and omnisexual. The rest of the collected lexical items consist of words which are not known by the mainstream community, or at least, are not in the mainstream community use but are in common and frequent usage within the group, in this case the LGBT community for instance; no hate (noH8), stud for stud (S4S), top, bottom, verse, kuchu, chichi, masc for masc, stemme.

While many of the words in the LGBT language would be originating from either English or Swahili there are many of such words which despite having been borrowed from say English or even Swahili would be assigned a different meaning in their usage amongst the members of the LGBTI community, example; bakuli, happy, and even phrases such as 'come out'. The extended use of abbreviations that refer to organizations that are in essence movements that advocate for the rights of LGBT community. Such include: AFRA, SOGIE, GALCK, NGLHRC, HOYMAS, MWA, PEMA and SWOP.

These lexical items have been clustered in the following subcategories; those that mention the sex organs/ body physique, sex roles/acts, economic status, dressing, LGBT organizations, borrowed terms from either English, Kiswahili or Kikuyu and also known by the mainstream and words that are discrete/unique and meaning confined within the LGBT speech community.

The highest percent of these lexical items are those whose usage is uniquely or rather discretely associated with the LGBT members. This means that the meaning is only known to the members of the LGBT speech community. The second highly ranked are those lexical items that describe sex roles of the various persons within the LGBT together with those associated with acts of sex.

Lexical items on the socio-economic status sub-category were particularly from the MSM. These were young male sex workers who trade sex for money with their clients who vary from MMI (married men initiative) and the older male clients. Most of these MSM were young, broke and homeless with little education and no formal or informal skills and so they have to trade sex for a penny.

Lexical items describing sex roles/sex acts:

Adam	Alienda chips akarudi viazi rojo	Mesbian/mesbo
Top stud		
Bakuli stubby	Bare back/breed it raw	Modern top
Basha	Bicurious	Monopoly
Top queens		
BJ	Foot job	Power bottom
Tops for tops		
Bottom	Chapatti	MSM
Tumbukiza		
Drilla	Fisting	Pillow princess
what is your role		
Funga	Give head	Kuuz
Go down	Gold star lesbian	Muff munch
Got dicked	Grand coalition	Kujipuli
HabibiHand jobs	Hanisi	Karaga
Juu ama chini	King	Husband/hubby
Lone star	Mafinga	Cunnilingus
Maji ya tamu	Mams/mama	Chafua
Rim job	Steve	Butt yogering
Samaki	Samaki wa kupaka	Scissoring
Wife	Asexual	Bonyoto
Seketa	Shag	Shoga
Shoshste/shoste	Sissy	Sisters

Lexical items discrete/unique to the LGBT community:

Afmado	Aggressive femme	No hate (NoH8)
Totoise		
BDSM	Chichi	No label
Totositoto		
Community unicorn	L community	Mtots/z
Come out/coming out urban	Closeted	Msenge
Gadar	Grindr	Mradi
Wasagaji		
Gay bashing	Gay hand	MMI
Dry spell		
Idaho	Kuchomwa	Mkoko
Kuchu	Kuanua/kuosha	Minji (minji minji)
S4S	F4F	Lesville
GNC	Burgina/bujeje	Lesbo
Femme phobia	Mihad/Muhad	Lez/s

Booty man	Stud for stud	Lele
Breeder	Burst a nut	Kuch kuch
Discrete	Dominance	Kissing fish
Dongu	Drama queen	Kichuna
Femme for femme (F4F)	Fag/go/t	Jocund
Familia	Femme phobia	Hotspot
Femme/fem	futch	Jisenge
Gala	Gay pride	Gillette blade
Gayborhood	queer	Questioning
Happy	Rainbow	Rainbow family
Rainbow flag	Straight	Strap-on/s

Lexical items that describe Sex organs/body physique:

Buns	Cake/s
Cup cakes	Bear
Burgina/bujeje	Cheeks
Coco channel	Madigda
Nyungu	Masc for masc
Nunu	Boner
Bone	Janey

Lexical items borrowed from English, Kiswahili and Kikuyu and whose meaning is shared with the mainstream speech community:

Ally	Androgyny	Omnisexual
Bisexual	Homophobic	Pansexual
Lesbian	Gay	
Biphobia	Transgender	
Wank	Lube	
Cisgender	Intersex	
Polyamorous	Twink	
Fluid sexuality	futch	
Gender queer	Homo/sexual	
Hunk	Jerk	
Kinky	No strings attached	

Lexical items that identify the various sub-categories of people within the LGBT from the way they dress:

Baby butch	Boiz/bro/brah	Stud
Butch	Cross dresser	Winyo
Danga	Diva	futch
Diesel dyke	Drag	Tommy/s
Drag queen	Dyke	
Femme	Geisha girls	

Lipstick lesbian	Chapstick lesbian
Mshono	Pink twink
Queen	Stem
Stone butch	Tomboy

Lexical items that are essentially abbreviation of organizations within the LGBT speech community that advocate either for the rights of this group, various health groups and other consortia:

AFRA	GALCK
MWA	NGLHRC
PEMA	SWOP
TEA	SOGIE
HOYMAS	LBQ
LGBT	

Lexical items for the economic status of the members of the LGBT community:

Cucu	Wera
Daddy	MMI
Investor	MSW
Sponsor	WSW
MMI	Thoko

The meanings for the above identified lexical items have been given in the subsequent subsection of the second objective of the word formation processes to avoid redundancy. A glossary of all the lexical items (words and phrases) has also been provided (See appendix 1).

From the tenets of Myers-Scotton (1993) theory, scholars have argued that linguistic choice, marked or unmarked, takes place as a result of specifiable social and situational constraints and incentives which are quite amenable to analysis. In its investigations, the study therefore sought to establish the markedness of the potential choices of the LGBT as determined by the social forces at work in their community. This markedness is what makes them decide either to follow or reject and in this case, to reject the normative model hence coming up with their own linguistic variety. These findings present LGBT

community as a group of speakers who have identified themselves as unique from the mainstream and one that wants to assert themselves through lexical items (language) that is marked and whose interpretation is confined within their speech community. For instance, a word like bottom in the mainstream speech could mean a noun to mean the lowest point or part, it could also mean buttocks. As a verb it could mean the lowest point before stabilizing and as an adjective it means the lowest position. But in the LGBT speech community it is used to refer to a certain category of a gay person.

4.5.1 Word formation processes

Various types of word formation processes have been identified after the collection of data which include: coinage, acronym, borrowing, compounding, clipping, blending, same word acquiring a different meaning, abbreviation.

Table 4.4: Word formation processes

Word formation process
Same word acquiring a new meaning
Coinage
Acronym
Borrowing
Clipping
Blending
Compounding
Abbreviation

4.5.1.1 Same word acquiring different meaning

The highest percent of LGBT speech community word formation process involves change of meaning of the existing words to other meaning. The most probable explanation to this kind of nature of developing the lexicon could be the fact that this

community is a marginalized/stigmatized group whose ideas and content would be confined only to them and hence the desire to deviate from the mainstream without causing a stir and going unnoticed. This could be due to the repercussions of what can happen to some in case the mainstream gets to know that one is queer. From the interviews conducted, the participants prefer to use this kind of language and develop this lexicon for a number of reasons as will be tabulated in the third objective. The tables below give a compiled list of items collected which have a meaning in their respective languages, that is English, Swahili, Kikuyu and Sheng but given a new meaning different from the mainstream one by the LGBT speech community.

Table 4.5: English Lexical items that acquire a different meaning

English lexical terms	Meaning
Bear	A large hairy gay man
Bone	Male genitalia
Bottom	A gay who plays the physical role of a woman in a sexual intercourse
Breeder	Used to refer to straight people/ Heterosexuals
Buns	Buttocks
Butch	A masculine lesbian
Cake	A safe word for ass E.g. I want your cakes means I want to have sex with you
Chapatti	A versatile gay, one that can play the top or bottom role
Cheeks	Buttocks
Closeted	Not disclosing one's sexuality
Coco channel	Word used to describe an effeminate gay person
Come out	Disclosing one's sexuality to family, friends, social media voluntarily making public one's sexual orientation and/or gender identity
Community	A general term for all the LGBT people
Daddy	An older financially stable gay guy
Discrete	A gay person who passes for straight/heterosexual. One that conceals gay orientation
Diva	A stylish gay bottom
Dominance	A situation where either of the partners in gay relationship(lgbt) controls bed matters and the relationship. For the lesbians mostly this role is taken by the stud/butch and in gay the top.
Drag	A bottom gay who dresses in women clothes Dressing in women's cloths
Dry spell	Staying long period without having sex
Dyke	Masculine lesbian who dresses like a man
Fisting	Inserting the whole fist in the female genitalia/anus
Gala	A Gay and lesbian Memory in Action – a day set to award gay and lesbian persons who have done an outstanding act. An initiative started by GALCK and other partners

Happy	A queer / gay person
Hotspot	A meeting place for gay people
Husband/ hubby	Either of the partners in a gay relationship
Investor	Sponsor (see sponsor)
King	Gay top
Mam	Bottom gay (see power bottom)
Monopoly	Strictly top or bottom gay
Queen/s	Gay crossdressing person A bottom/s
Queer	Homosexual persons (umbrella term for all LGBTQI)
Questioning	Exploring one's sexual orientation
Rainbow	Gay pride
Sponsor	A person in gay community who gives money in exchange for sex especially in Men Sex workers
Stamp/ing	A term used especially among the MSW to mean infecting someone with HIV willingly
Stem	A lesbian who dresses both as a femme or a stud at any given time (a lesbian who dresses boyishly or sometimes girlish)
Straight	Heterosexuals
Stud	A masculine lesbian who dresses and behaves like a man
Top	The dominant partner in gay relationships who assumes the male role during sexual intercourse
Urban	A gay person
Versatile/Verse	A gay male who can top or bottom
Wife	A gay bottom who is married to top gay or a lesbian married to another lesbian

Table 4.6: Swahili lexical items acquiring different meaning

Swahili	Meaning
Bakuli	A gay bottom who only loves big dicks
Chafua	A well-known gay top or bottom known to have sex with anyone
Familia	The gay community
Funga	One night stand date/random sex
Kuchomwa	A term used mostly by the gay and male sex workers when one has been infected with an STI. It is a safe way to say I have an STI
Kuosha/kuanua	The act of blackmailing someone who is not openly gay, and in most cases prominent person or celebrities after having an affair with an openly gay person
Mama	A word used to refer to bottom gay men also power bottom
Mradi	The gay community
Nyungu	A gay bottom with a big ass
Samaki	A versatile gay man who can be top or bottom (like a fish turned both ways when eating)
Seketa	To fuck
Sisi	A word for the transgender and how they refer to each other
Soko	An act of prostitution in gay community/ A rich of well off gay man who buys MSW
Tumbukiza	A gay bottom

Table: 4.7: Kikuyu lexical items acquiring a different meaning

Kikuyu	Meaning
Wera	Male client (the buyer) in MSM
Minji (minji minji)	Twinkie- young beautiful bottom gay
Thoko	Sex worker
Cucu	Old gay top client

Table 4.8: Sheng lexical items acquiring a different meaning

Sheng	Meaning
Shosh	An old gay person
Madigda	A gay person with a big ass

There is a remarkable use of feminine pronouns when referring to gay men especially the bottoms (the effeminate). This commonly happens when they are at their social meeting places and one has to introduce themselves. At this point they use female nicknames and insist on being referred to using pronoun **she** or **her** and the preferred female name. The same also applies to the lesbians where mainly the masculine lesbians take up male nicknames and prefer to use male pronoun **he**, they get offended when someone uses pronoun **she** to refer to them. They clearly declare that as their preference. Also there was a large number of the gender non-conforming persons who did not want to be identified or conform to any gender as **he** or **she** pronouns but who wished to remain as non-conforming or go as **them** even if it is a single person.

Dealing with the transgender was quite complicated as the researcher had to be extremely cautious when it came to a point I had to talk to them. It was not known which gender to ascribe to them while addressing them as some would be offended. This was because some of the male transgender wished to be identified as **she**, while the

female transgender wished to be identified as **he**, even if their physical appearance was depicting otherwise.

The use of renowned character names is also witnessed in their communication to communicate certain sentiments such as *Adam* and *Steve*, instead of *Adam* and *Eve* to refer to a gay couple. *Romeo*, from the Shakespearean handsome *Romeo* in *Romeo and Juliet* is used to refer to the ideal handsome gay person, admired/liked by many.

4.5.1.2 Coinage

Words in this type of word formation process are invented. It involves creation of new words either purposefully or accidentally. But in the case of the LGBT speech community, they deliberately coin these new words to fit into their context for various reasons which are explained in the third objective of the study which hypothesizes that there are various social-psychological factors that govern the language use by the said speech community. The table below shows the lexicon that has been coined. This happens at two levels; at the word level and the phrase level. Some of the coined English words can be found in the urban dictionary. This is an online dictionary, and the words are therefore in common slang usage by the LGBT speech community globally but not exclusively. The tables below give a summary of the coined lexical words and phrases.

Table 4.9: Coined words

Coined words	Meaning
Afmado	A gay person
Boiz	A masculine or group of masculine lesbians
Bonyoto	Masturbation
Brah	A name studs refer to each other (see studs)
Bujeje/burgina	A gay man's anus, that gay men refer to a male vagina
Channel O	A word used to describe a gay bottom
Chichi	A gay person
Closeted	Not disclosing one's sexuality
Condiko	Sheng term for condom
Danga	A gay person mostly bottom who dresses in a way to show he is gay or someone can easily tell he is gay
Divalicious	A gay person acting womanly
Dongu	A young twink who is underage (below 18 years)
Drilla	A top good in bed
Gadar/gaydar	Mental radar used to detect persons whose sexual preference is members of the same gender. The members have a mental capacity to detect from the crowd another person who is also gay (lgbt)
Grindr	A social media application for gay men used as a platform for dating or quick sex
Habibi	Refer to a gay bottom
Hanisi	A gay bottom who does not erect
Janey	female genitalia
Jisenge	An abusive term to refer to someone gay
Karaga	Male client (the buyer) in MSM
Kichuna/Chuna	Handsome gay man
Kuch kuch	A slang for gay
Kuchu	A gay person
Kujipuli	To wank/masturbate
Lele	A sheng word for a lesbian
Lesbo	A sheng word for a lesbian
Lez/s	A sheng word for a lesbian
Madigda	A gay person with a big ass
Mafinga	Fingering (stimulating and penetrating one's genitalia using fingers)
Mesbian	A male sexually attracted to lesbian and he is in most cases the bottom during sexual intercourse
Mesbo	Means a mesbian
Msenge	An abusive term referring to a gay person
Msende duni	A gay man who is not financially stable
Nunu	Females genitals
Scissoring	A sex position for lesbians
Shoshte/shoste	An old gay
Stubby	A stud married to another lesbian, she acts as the husband
Tomboy	A lesbian dressing like a boy
Tommy/s	Also tomboy
Totoise	Pretty
Wasagaji	Lesbians

Table 4.10: Coined phrases

Coined phrase	Meaning
Aggressive femmes/fem	These are feminine lesbians who are aggressive sexually in their relationships and even in their nature
Alienda chips akarudi viazi rrojo	He was a top gay now he is a bottom
Bare back/ breed it raw	Having unprotected sex with another gay person
Booty man	A derogatory term used to describe gay person especially MSM
Burst a nut	To ejaculate during sex or when masturbating
Clean cut	Circumcised gay man
In the closet	Not disclosing one's sexuality
Come out/ coming out	Disclosing one's sexuality to family, friends, social media etc voluntarily making public one's sexual orientation and/or gender identity
Femmes for femmes	A sexual relationship between two girly girl lesbians
Got dicked	Was penetrated during sex
Juu ama chini	A phrase used by gay men to ask what role one plays during sex, either being a top or a bottom.
Maji ya tamu	Bottom gay person
Masc for masc	Some gay men prefer to have sex with more masculine gay than the stereotyped relationship where one is masculine and the counterpart gay is feminine
L community	The lesbian community/world
Samaki wa kupaka	A versatile gay (can top or be the bottom)
Tops for tops	A top who only has sexual intercourse with a fellow top, probably not penetrative sex in gay relationships
Touch me not/s	Lesbians who like pleasure their women but do not want to be touched and always claim that they derive pleasure from pleasuring their partners. In most cases they are the studs or butches.
Vitu vya chai	Mainly used in Mombasa to mean a bottom
What is your role	A question used by gay men to ask which role one plays during the sex
Stud for stud	A relationship involving two stud lesbians

4.5.1.3 Acronyms

This is the word formation process where a word is formed from the initial letter of every constituent of phrase or sentence. According to the data collected, there are several groups which have come together to form various organizations that advocate

for the rights of the LGBTQI community in Kenya and the health institutions that take care of the LGBTQI.

Examples include:

GALCK – Gay And Lesbian Coalition of Kenya

SOGIE – Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Expression

MWA – Minority Women in Action

AFRA – Artist For Recognition And Acceptance

PEMA – Persons Marginalized and Aggrieved

HOYMAS – Health Options For Young Men in HIV, AIDS and STIs

TEA – Transgender Education and Advocacy

Idaho – International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia

SWOP – Sex Workers Outreach Program

4.5.1.4 Borrowing

Borrowing is a word formation process where new words are formed in another language by adopting words from a language together with the concepts and ideas they stand for. In this word formation process the original meaning is maintained in the L2. The results from the data collected indicate that most of the borrowed words are from English language. The table below shows lexical items formed by borrowing.

Table 4.11: Lexical items borrowed from English

Words borrowed from English Language	Meaning
Ally	Typically a non-LGBT person who supports LGBT rights
Androgyny	A person with masculine and feminine physical traits
Asexual	having no sexual attraction for any genders
Bicurious	An heterosexual person who is trying to adventure his or her sexuality by having sex with both genders.
Biphobia	Aversion towards bisexuality and bisexual people
Butch	A masculine lesbian
Cisgender	someone who identifies with the gender they were designated at birth; the opposite of transgender and the vast majority of us
Cunnilingus	Lesbian acts of stimulating their partners genitals using the tongue or lips
Faggot	An offensive term for a gay person
Femme	A girlish lesbian
Futch	A lesbian woman who is neither a butch nor a femme. She is in between, both in dressing and behavior.
Gay	A male who is sexually attracted to members of same sex
Homophobic	People who hate gay people
Homosexual	A person sexually attracted to his/her own sex
Intersex	It is a condition where a person is born with a reproductive anatomy that does not fit in as male or female
Kinky	Abnormal sexual desires or fetishes
Lesbian	A female sexually attracted members of her gender
Lube	Water based lubricants used during sex
Pansexual	Person expressing attraction to all genders Attracted to someone's character and not sex
Polyamorous	Being in a sexual relationship with more than one person where all parties involved are in consent
Shag	To have sex
Transgender	A person who's gender does not rhyme the sex assigned at birth
Twink	A young cute gay man not more than 25 years old
Wank	To masturbate

Table 4.12: Lexical items borrowed from Swahili

Borrowed from Swahili	Meaning
Basha	Swahili word for a top
Shoga	A Swahili term for gay

4.5.1.5 Compounding

This is the process where two lexemes are linked together to create a new word. There is a big percentage of compounding in the LGBT speech community. In this study various lexemes join to form new word at different levels.

Noun+noun – as seen in the following cases

Compounded words	Meaning
Baby+butch → baby butch	a young boyish lesbian
Chapstick + lesbian → chapstick lesbian	a lesbian who has both feminine and masculine traits, but is not a butch.
Coco + channel → coco channel	Word used to describe an effeminate gay person
Cup + cakes → cupcakes	small and curvy ass
Diesel + dyke → diesel dyke	super masculine lesbian
Drag + queen → Drag queen	a man who dresses in women cloths to entertain in gay bars/clubs
Drama + queen → drama queen	a gay diva who has tantrums or makes mountains out of issues
Foot + job → foot job	touching someone's private parts especially in a club by use of feet
Fluid + sexuality → fluid sexuality	the notion that sexual orientation and identity is not fixed and can evolve over time
Gay + hand → Gay hand	a girlish way of shoving a hand, a behavior mainly displayed by the bottom gay men as a way of expressing exhaustion, boredom or trying to pass an idea.
Geisha + girls → geisha girls	a word used to refer to gay who have a fetish for women's clothes and make-up
Gender + queer → gender queer	people possessing identities which fall outside sexual binary

Gillette + blade → Gillette blade bisexual woman

Modern + top → modern top This is a gay man who looks girlish by way example of grooming of nails, dressing etc and mostly assumed from the outlook by fellow gay to be bottom but in reality plays the top role during sex.

Gold + star + lesbian → gold star lesbian a lesbian who is a virgin (Has never had sex with a man)

Grand + Coalition → Word used to describe an effeminate gay person

Lipstick + lesbian → lipstick lesbian a feminine lesbian who loves wearing lipstick/makeup

Pillow + princess → pillow princess the passive recipient lesbian during sexual intercourse (she is pleased by her partner)

Queer + love → queer love gay love

Rainbow + family → rainbow family all LGBTQI feel they belong together as a family

Noun + verb / Verb + noun

Kissing + fish → kissing fish a lesbian

Muff + Munch → muff munch the act of a lesbian eating/licking another females genitalia

Gay + bashing → gay bashing to be physically assaulted by mob because of one's sexual orientation as a gay person

Give + head → give head to perform cunnilingus or blow job

Dry + spell → dry spell staying long period without having sex

Femme + phobia → femme phobia the view by queer community that femme lesbians as less gay/lesbian

Verb + adverb

Go + down → Go down stimulating a partners genitalia by licking it using lips and tongue

Noun + adjective/ Adjective + noun

Gay + pride → gay pride term commonly used by the gay community to signify a day when they hold a ceremony called gay pride

Hot + spot → hotspot a meeting place for gay people

Soft + butch → soft butch a girly stud

Lone + star → lone star gay/lesbian who have only slept with one person in their life

Pink + twink → pink twink a word for a flamboyant young gay

Adverb + noun

Bottom + stud → Bottom stud a submissive in the S4S relationship

Top + queen → top queen a feminine gay who is a top during sexual relations

Top + stud → top stud the dominant stud in the S4S relationship

Verse + top → verse top a versatile who prefers topping but can be the bottom

Determiner + Noun

No + label → No label a queer who doesn't believe in labels like top, bottom, stud, fem/femme, butch

4.5.1.6 Clipping

This is the word formation process where a word is shortened or reduced, also known as truncation.

From → to	Meaning
Versatile → verse	a gay who can be the top or the bottom at any time
Faggot → faggo/fag	an offensive term for a gay person
Homosexual → homo	a person sexually attracted to his/her own sex
Kuuza → kuuz	selling sex by gay persons especially MSM
Lesbian → lez/s	a female sexually attracted to members of her gender
Mihadarati → mihad	a safe word used by HIV positive gay men to refer to ARTS (plural)
Muhadarati → muhad	a safe word used by HIV positive gay men to refer to ARTS (singular)
Femme → fem	a girlish lesbian

4.5.1.7 Blending

This word formation process involves joining two parts or more of a word and mostly but not exclusively the morphemes, where they combine to form a new word.

Un/iversal + corn → unicorn	all LGBTIQ persons
No + hate → NOH8	a term that advocates on same sex relationship acceptance
Lesbian + village → lesville	a term for lesbian community

Gay + neighborhood → gayborhood
are queer

places that are gay friendly and majority

4.5.1.8 Abbreviation

This is a word formation process where a word or phrase is shortened. From the data collected a list of abbreviations was compiled.

Table 4.13 Abbreviations used

Abbreviation	Shortened word/phrase	Meaning
S4S	Stud for stud	a sexual relationship between two lesbian studs
F4F	Femme for femme	a sexual relationship between two girlish lesbians
BDSM	Bondage dominance submission and masochism	The sexual/erotic acts by the gay community of subjecting a partner to Bondage and Discipline, Dominance and Submission and Masochism. This involves handcuffing, blindfolding, whipping etc
BJ	Blow job	The act of stimulating a males genitalia by another gay using his mouth
GNC	Gender non-conforming persons	These are persons within the LGBTIQA who do not ascribe to any gender
LGBTIQA	Lesbian gay bisexual transgender intersex queer asexual	The queer community
MMI	Married men initiative	married men who solicits sex from the MSW/ MSM
MSM	Men having sex with men	Gay
MSW	Men sex workers	Gay men who trade themselves sexually for money gains
NGLHRC	National gay and lesbian human rights commission	An organization that defends the rights of the LGTBTAQI persons
NSA	No strings attached	
TMN	Touch me not/s	Lesbian especially butches or studs who do not want to be touched by their lesbian partner during sexual intercourse
WSW	Women sex workers	Women who have sex with men for money

Findings present a speech community that appears determined to confine communication amongst themselves even when they seem to use the same lexical terms

as in the mainstream language. The LGBT speech community picks lexical items from the mainstream community and marks them. These items are put in a wide variety of usage only confined to them.

South African Gayle was a lexicon of words from English and Afrikaans which constituted a particular register used by gay in social discourse. Similarly the Nairobi LGBT speech community lexicon comes from English, Kiswahili and few aspects of Gikuyu but these lexical items are marked to refer to those central activities of this subculture.

4.6 Socio-psychological factors governing language use by the LGBT speech community

The study sought to identify the socio-psychological factors that govern language use by the LGBT speech community. The findings have been recorded as follow:

Table 4.14: Socio-psychological factors influencing LGBT language use

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
To conceal identity for fear of: arrest, oppression, stigmatization?	26	59.1
To feel/create a sense of belonging?	33	75.0
To feel good about myself as a queer person?	21	47.7
Because it has always been part of the queer identity?	18	40.9
To conceal my queer identity among straight?	28	63.6
For fun	17	40.9
To separate the queer community from the straight world?	19	43.2
I feel I must use it if I am queer?	5	11.4
To be accepted by other queer people?	11	25.0
For fear of alienation by the family?	16	36.4
To socialize?	25	56.8

The table 4.14 above gives a summary of the socio-psychological reasons on the LGBT ‘language’ usage. The highest ranked reason with 75% number of Yes is to feel/ create a sense of belonging, just like every other language.

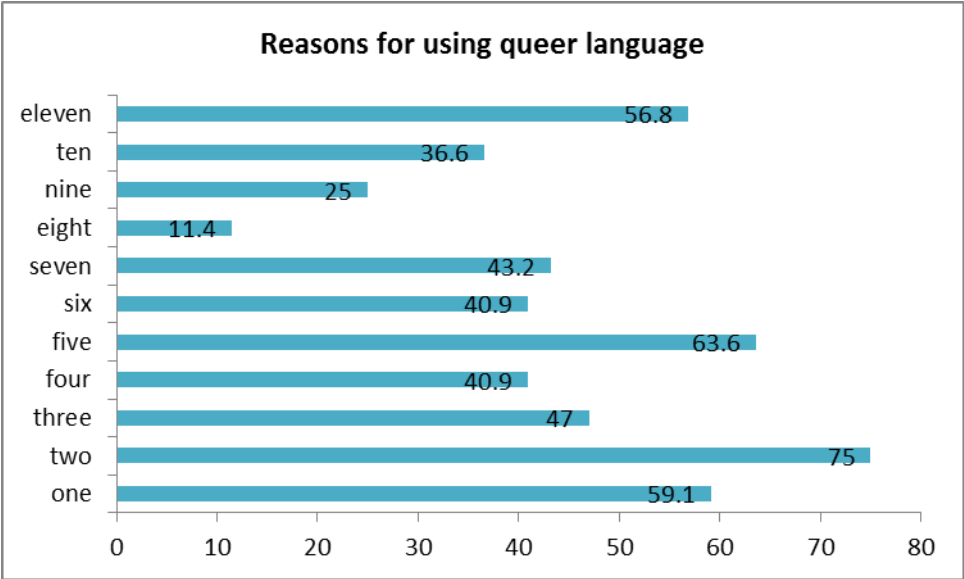


Figure 4.4 Reasons for using queer language

From the figure 4.4, numerals on the horizontal indicate the percentage and those on the vertical are the reason as to why the LGBT use the language. It appears that most of the queer people use the queer language mainly to create or feel a sense of belonging, to conceal their identity among the heterosexuals and to conceal their identity for fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization. These being the main reasons, the researcher went further to find out the sexual orientation of those who use the language for these three main reasons for purposes of analysis. The results for this further analysis are presented in the table below:

Table 4.15: Patterns in the use of LGBT language

Sexual Orientation	Percentage of respondents using LGBT language because of:		
	To feel/create a sense of belonging?	To conceal my queer identity among straight?	To conceal identity for fear of: arrest, oppression and stigmatization?
Lesbians	84.6	61.5	53.8
Gay	88.8	60.0	65.0
Bisexual	28.6	71.4	71.4
Transgender	100	75.0	25.0

From the table above all the transgender participants (100%) indicated that they use the LGBT language to create/feel a sense of belonging while only 28.6% of the bisexual feel so. During data collection, the researcher observed that the transgender are not shy about their sexual orientation and that they tend to be more cohesive amongst themselves while the bisexuals tend to be discrete with a tendency not to like being associated with the LGBT community. It is in this perspective that the least percentage of bisexuals used the language to create a sense of belonging. They do not fully identify themselves as queer and thus as many as 71.4% indicated that they use the language to conceal their identity and also for fear arrest, oppression or stigmatization.

On the contrary, the least of the transgender (25%) would use the language to conceal their identity for fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization simply because they have fully accepted their identity (sexual orientation) and some were even looking forward to transiting to the orientations of their choice and no wonder there was some kind of observed solidarity amongst them as illustrated by the fact that all of them (100%)

indicated that they use the LGBT language to feel/create a sense of belonging (to this group).

It was also notable that apart from the bisexuals, the rest of the categories of the sexual orientation had the majority indicating that they use the language to feel/create a sense of belonging. This therefore means that in as much as some of them may not have 'come out' to the community about their sexual orientation they have accepted themselves and so they find solace in the community with their kind. In any case, the pattern from the transgender table is such that more Lesbians, Gay and Transgender use the LGBT language mainly for purposes of creating a sense of belonging more than for purposes of concealing identity as motivated by fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization.

Interviews with respondents who were members of the LGBTI reinforced the fact that safety is a key factor that determines the usage of the language of the LGBT. For instance, interview with a gay respondent revealed that:

“First of all it is safe and then you are used to it. It becomes like a norm. For example, you are in a public place and say I am a *kuchu* or he is a *kuchu* someone not gay will not know that term. It is safe to use such a term because homosexuality is not allowed in Kenya or on the other hand even if it is allowed people would like abuse you and say *huyu ni shoga* or use abusive language on you. People use these terms to feel safe.”

This safety is also important in instances where the LGBTI users are not sure about the attitudes of the other people around towards them as members of the LGBTI community, thus:

“Let’s say we can be in *matatu*, we are travelling together, let’s say two gay people and someone comes in and we say *yule anakaa kuchu*. Or let’s say I know someone and my pal doesn’t know him, huh *nimwambie...yule ni kuchu*. So you see nobody would know. People seated next to you would not know. Or would say; *yule ni sister yako*, you would know what that means.”

Other than the spoken language whose lexical items are part of the concerns of this study, there is also the body language as described by one of the gay respondents, thus:

“Let’s say in a physical term if you meet with someone and you greet and then *atatumia* this finger (indicates with the middle finger and how to scratch the palm) and then *akuscratch* hivi, so you know that is a gay person. Then in terms of language there is *kuchu* which is famously known to mean gay. There those who will use and those who will use body contact”.

Comparing the reasons for the use of this LGBT language in Kenya like to create a sense of belong and conceal identity, researches by other scholars indicate the same kind of atmosphere. The Gayspeak was used for secrecy which is one of the reasons the LGBT in Kenya use the language. In South Africa, Gayle language was used to create a sense of belonging amongst its user. This is not any different from the Kenya context.

4.7.1. A visit to the First club

The researcher had been informed of this club that is the hot point for the Kenyan LGBT, located at the heart of Nairobi city. It was a rainy Sunday evening and the following day was to be a public holiday. The streets in Nairobi are not so complex hence locating the club did not take long. When the researcher arrived there, the club was an ordinary one with few clients already in. She walked in and noticed a balcony at the far end of the club and with few patrons seated already. She settled for the balcony. At one corner was a table full of young men. They were about six or seven of them. She walked past their table and sat adjacent to them. Their table was with a pot of shisha and full of beers.

The researcher ordered for a soft drink and as she sipped it slowly she was hypnotized by what she saw. Never in her life had she seen men dance like girls before! What caught her by surprise was also how they held each other passionately. One of the men, whom the researcher presumed was the ‘top’ from what she had learnt later on how they relate and meanings of names assigned to them from the study, sat as his effeminate friend probably the ‘bottom’ was lap dancing on his laps’. The researchers’ intention in the club was to get to know a few of the gays whom she would give questionnaires to. According to the researchers’ personal judgement from the way they related, she was sure these men were gay. But the biggest problem was how she would approach one of them if not all of them. She sat there watching them dance and steal a few kisses from each other. Well! This was real culture shock! For almost half an hour after the entry in the club, the researcher had developed cold feet, gazing from one corner of the balcony

to the other afraid to approach one of the presumed gay patrons. She was afraid of reproach in case these young men were not willing to respond to her request of acknowledging that they were gay and would help with the questionnaires.

Before she realized it one hour was over and worse still she had not managed to talk to anyone. The club was already buzzing with activities and more and more patrons were already there. The club was quite modern, clean, well-lit and playing hip-hop music on this night. Most of the patrons were young men and women.

Finally the researcher 'manned up' when the opportunity arose. As the men danced, she stood up and asked one of them if she could talk to him. To her surprised, he responded with a smile and sat by the table.....and this is how he happened to be the most invaluable person in the study. He was willing to participate in the study at the same time assisted with the snowballing of the questionnaires. He happened to be the link between the researcher and most of the gay respondents and transgender. It was him that took the researcher to the next club.

Having taken his number the researcher would disseminate the questionnaires through him by snowballing. We organized for a day the researcher would meet some of the respondent at their social joint. For anonymity reasons the researcher called the club YY. This willing respondent whom the researcher called X had forewarned her about YY club, that it was not a pleasant place in terms of hygiene. This however did not deter the researcher from pursuing the study. He said that this is the place frequented mostly by gay category of LGBT. Those the LGBT speech community refers to as 'sponsors, investors or the shoste'; that is, the old men soliciting for sex from the

younger men. The second category is of the middle class men in terms of age, and these they call them the ‘MMI – married men initiative’; these are the heterosexual men married but conceal their true self and come to seek sex services from the broke young men who belong to the last category called the MSM – men sex workers.

4.7.2 A visit to the Second club

This dingy holding would not qualify to be called a club, walls stained with dirt and other discolorations, floors with potholes and poorly lit. We were greeted by foul smell that emanated from their washrooms which were visible from where we sat. It was infested with cockroaches and rats that scampered for safety. The setting or sitting arrangement of this place was in a way only the patrons knew how, until it was explained to me by X.

We sat in the middle of YY where there were plastic chairs and tables. X continued to explain to the researcher that the middle of the YY where the chairs and tables are arranged belong to the ‘sponsors’ or the old men and the MMI. The far left with only wooden benches and no tables was for the MSM who normally sit there idling waiting for their ‘catch’. These poor men did not necessarily buy any product from the club. There reason for being in the club is to look for clients who are the sponsors, MMI etc. The YY management has no problem with the idling MSM’s since they gain from their clients. X was a ‘celebrity’ among the MSM when we finally approached them. He was not new to them since they were his friends. They actually addressed him as ‘mama’. Five of the MSM took the questionnaires and agreed to fill them in and would later be

picked up by X. About three others turned down to fill them because they wanted to fill at a fee, of which the researcher would not yield to.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. The findings have been presented along the lines of the study objectives. Accordingly, each objective has formed a sub-theme on which the related findings, together with the related discussion were executed. In objective one, the findings have shown that there is a lexicon that can be categorized into various subgroups that include those that mention the sex organs/ body physique, sex roles/acts, economic status, dressing, LGBT organizations, borrowed terms from either English, Kiswahili or Kikuyu and also known by the mainstream and words that are discrete/unique and meaning confined within the LGBT speech community. In Objective two, the lexical items have been crafted through various word formation processes which include: coinage, acronym, borrowing, compounding, clipping, blending, same word acquiring a different meaning, abbreviation. For the third objective, the findings have revealed that the lexicon constitutes a form of register which is used in various contexts including when the LGBT members are together maybe in social places or when the members are in public places with the mainstream community. Accordingly, the main socio-psychological factors determining the 'language' by the LGBT speech community was mainly to create or feel a sense of belonging, to conceal their identity among the heterosexuals and to conceal their identity for fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization. It has also given some of the experiences the researcher encountered in the field.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study focused on the lexical semantic analysis of the language of the LGBT speech community in Nairobi County. This was explored under three broad objectives. Firstly the study sought to identify and describe the lexical items used in a specific or peculiar way by the LGBT speech community living in Nairobi. Secondly, to determine the word formation processes that are employed in the specific ways in which the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi develop lexical items specific for their communication and finally, to identify the socio-psychological factors governing language use by the LGBT speech communities living in Nairobi. This chapter provides a summary of the entire study beginning with the outline of chapter one to chapter four. The conclusions of this study have been drawn from this summary. Finally, recommendations have been made in connection to the study findings and for further research.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

5.2.1 Lexical items in use within the LGBT speech community in Nairobi

The study collected a total of 258 lexical items (including words and phrases) which were classified into seven broad categories thus; those describing sex roles/acts, those that are discrete/unique to the speech community, those that describe the sex

organs/body physique, those borrowed from other languages such as English, Swahili, Kikuyu languages, those that identify the various categories of the LGBT from their mode of dressing, those associated with the organizations that advocate for the rights of the LGBT groups and finally those that reveal the socio-economic status of the members of the LGBT community.

At the same time, the study findings revealed that there are some terms used by speakers in the mainstream to refer to the members of the LGBT community in an offensive or derogatory manner e.g. homo, faggot/fago or Semenya, but which are also present in the LGBT language yet not used in the same derogatory manner. There were those lexical items that are used by the mainstream users too hence do not require any translation e.g. gay, homosexual and lesbian. Finally, the study established that there are those words that may have been borrowed from either Swahili or English, Sheng or Kikuyu but have a different meaning. Example for English there are words such as; community, versatile, husband, mum, rainbow; for Kiswahili there are words such as: bakuli, mama, samaki, kuchomwa, kuanua/kuosha. For Kikuyu, there is wera, minji (minji minji), thoko and for Sheng, there were terms such as Shosh.

5.2.2 Word Formation Processes involved in the building up of the LGBT Lexicon

The study found out that the main word formation processes involved in the building up of the LGBT lexicon include; same word acquiring same meaning, coinage and compounding while the least processes by which the lexical items were formed is blending and clipping.

5.2.3 Socio-psychological factors that influence the use of the LGBT lexicon

The study found out that in terms of the psycho-social factors that influence the use of the LGBT lexicon, all the transgender participants indicated that they use the LGBT language to create/feel a sense of belonging compared to only 28.6 percent of the bisexual who felt the same way. On the contrary, the least of the transgender (25%) would use the language to conceal their identity for fear of arrest, oppression or stigmatization simply because they have fully accepted their identity (sexual orientation) with some even looking forward to transiting to the orientations of their choice.

Interviews with members of the LGBT reinforced the fact that safety is a key factor that determines the usage of the LGBT lexicon in their communication especially in instances where the LGBT language users are not sure about the attitudes of the other people around towards them as members of the LGBTI community.

5.3 Conclusions of the Study

This study sought to attain three main objectives namely, to identify and describe the lexical items used in a specific or peculiar way by the LGBT speech community living in Nairobi, to determine the word formation processes that are employed in the specific ways in which the LGBT speech community members living in Nairobi develop lexical items specific for their communication and to identify the socio-psychological factors governing language use by the LGBT speech community members living in Nairobi.

Based on these three objectives and the associated findings, this study drew the following conclusions:

The language used by the LGBT, though not yet fully independent, has an appreciable lexicon which enables the speakers communicate whatever sentiments they wish to communicate amongst themselves without spillage to the mainstream community and that this lexicon is continuously growing. The fact that a sizeable stock of this lexicon is made up of words and phrases used amongst the LGBT speech community alone is an indication that this speech community still operates in clandestine ways.

The ways in which the words and lexical items in the language of the LGBT are formed follow processes that are similar to those followed by other languages – mainstream or otherwise. This led the researcher to conclude that the language spoken by the LGBT has all the potential to develop into an independent language, despite the social stigma associated with its speakers.

With respect to the socio-psychological factors influencing LGBT language usage, the three main factors found to influence the sampled members of the LGBT are to feel/create a sense of belonging, concealment of the queer identity among the mainstream community members and concealment of identity for fear of arrest, oppression and stigmatization. Accordingly, the researcher concluded that the development of this language is clearly constrained and is therefore bound, with time, to develop more creative ways of developing its lexicon and which will certainly be of interest to a linguist.

5.4 Recommendations

This study provides two sets of recommendations. The first set consists of recommendations that seek to address the ways in which the language of the LGBT is used in communication. The second set provides recommendations on the areas that may require further academic inquiry.

5.4.1 Recommendations from Findings

This study was designed with a view of systematically describing the language used by the LGBT community in Nairobi as well as the factors influencing the use of this language. In line with the objectives of the study the following recommendations have been made:

Such systematic analyses of a language spoken by people who suffer segregation and oppression such as the ones that formed the sample in this study must consider such circumstances and be sensitive to the needs and frustrations of such populations if such analyses are to be successful.

Given the sensitive and normative nature of the lifestyle of such a group of people especially considering their identities and sexuality, linguistic research with such populations must always strive to remain as linguistically descriptive as possible and at the same time objective, without being judgmental of the values of such populations if such studies are to achieve their objective.

5.4.2 Areas for Further Research

In the course of the interpretations and reflections on the data collected in this study, the researcher identified certain areas that require further academic inquiry as relates to the area of the language of the LGBT speech community in Nairobi.

This study sought to describe the language used by the LGBT community in Nairobi and the factors that influence its usage. The study was however limited to Nairobi area. This implies that the findings can only be generalized to the language used by the LGBT in the other areas in Kenya with considerable caution. In this regard, this study recommends that more studies of this nature be carried out at a larger scale, if possible, in the other two cities of Mombasa and Kisumu and other major towns in Kenya, so as to further reinforce the applicability of the approach used together with the conclusions made in this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, P., (2002a). *Fantabulosa: A Dictionary of Polari and Gay Slang*. London: Continuum. Baker, Paul. (2002b). *Polari: The Lost Language of Gay Men*. London: Routledge.

Baker, Paul. (2005). *Public Discourses of Gay Men*. London: Routledge.

Burn, S. M., (2008). Heterosexuals' Use of "Fag" and "Queer" to Deride One Another:A

Butler, J., (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York:

Butler, J., (2004). *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cage, K., (1999). *An Investigation into the Form and Function of Language Used by Gay Men in South Africa*. Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg: Unpublished M.A. thesis.

Cage, K., (2003). *Gayle: the language of kinks and queens: a history and dictionary of gay language in South Africa*. Houghton: Jacana Media.

Cameron, D., (1997). *Performing Gender Identity: Young Men's Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity*. In: S. J. a. U. H. Meinhof, ed. *Language and Masculinity*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 47-64.

Cameron, D. & Kulick, D. eds., (2006). *The Language and Sexuality Reader*. London; New York: Routledge.

Cameron, D. & Kulick, D (2003). *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chauncey, G., (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940*. New York: Basic books.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison K. (2001). *Research Methods in Education* (5th Edition). London: Routledge Falmer.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Farrell, Ronald A. 1972. *The Argot of the Homosexual Subculture*. *Anthropological Linguistics* 14:97-109.

Fraenkel, Jack R, Wallen, Norman E. (2000) *How to design and evaluate research in Education* (7th Edition 2008), New York, USA, McGraw-Hill

Gall, M.D., Borg, W.R., & Gall, J.P. (1996). *Education research: An introduction* (6th Ed. White Plains, NY, USA: Longman Publishers

Grinell, M.R.J.R. (1993). *Social Work Research and Evaluation*. 4th ed. Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc.

Gevisser, M. & Cameron, E. eds., (1994). *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. Bloemfontein: Ravan Press.

Hayes, Joseph J. (1976). Gayspeak. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 62:256-266. Reprinted in Hayes, Joseph J. (1981). Lesbian, Gay Men and Their “languages”. In

Jmaes W. Chesebro (ed.), *Gayspeak: Gay Male and Lesbian communication*. New York: Pilgrim Press

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978 *Language as social semiotic. The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, Keith. 1998. *Translating Camp Talk: Gay Identities and Cultural Transfer*. The Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication 4.2.

James W. Chesebro (ed.), *Gayspeak: Gay Male and Lesbian Communication*. (1981). New York: Pilgrim Press. Pp. 45-57.

Kenyatta J (1938). *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu*. London: Mercury Books

Kulick, D., (2000). *Gay and Lesbian Language*. Annual Review of Anthropology, 29(1), pp. 243-285.

Kulick, D. (1998). *Language and Transgender: A Summary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maurer, David W., (1981-2). *Language of the Underworld*, University Press of Kentucky.

Mey, J.L (2009). *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics : Linguistics*. Oxford , UK: Elsevier

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993 [1997]) *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching* (1997 edition with a new Afterword). Oxford : Clarendon Press.

- Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1998) *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. Oxford University Press US.
- Nasr, Raja T. (1984) *The Essentials of linguistic science: selected and simplified readings*. Longman.
- Ogechi, Nathan Oyori. (2002). *Trilingual Codeswitching in Kenya – Evidence from Ekegusii*, Kiswahili, English and Sheng. Doctoral dissertation, Universität Hamburg.
- Orodho, A. J. (2008). *Techniques of writing Research Proposals and Reports in Education and Social Sciences* first edition. Masola Publishers, Nairobi, Kenya
- Painter, Dorothy S. 1981. Recognition Among Lesbians in Straight Settings. In James W. Chesebro (ed.), *Gayspeak: Gay Male and Lesbian Communication*. New York: Pilgrim Press. Pp. 68-79
- Rodgers, Bruce. (1972). *Gay Talk: A (Sometimes Outrageous) Dictionary of Gay Slang*. New York: Parragon Books.
- Samper, David. (2002). *Talking Sheng: The role of a Hybrid Language in the Construction of Identity and Youth Culture in Nairobi Kenya*. PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Stanley, Julia Penelope. (1977). *The Sexist Tradition Words and Meaning*. [Washington, D.C.] : Distributed by ERIC Clearinghouse

Sure, Kembo. 1999. "*Bilingual Education on an Uneven Playfield: The Kenyan Case.*"
Journal of Third World Studies, 16 (1): 147–164.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Glossary

Word/phrase	Meaning	Source Language	Word formation process
Adam	Referring to a top gay	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Afmado	A gay person	Sheng	Coinage
AFRA	Initials for Artists For Recognition and Acceptance	English	Acronym
Aggressive fems/femmes	These are feminine lesbians who are aggressive sexually in their relationships and even in their nature	English	Coined phrase
Alienda chips akarudi viazi rojo	He was a top gay now he is a bottom	Swahili	Coined phrase
Ally	Typically an non-LGBT person who supports LGBT rights	English	Borrowing
Androgyny	A person with masculine and feminine physical traits	English	Borrowing
Asexual	having no sexual attraction for any genders	English	Borrowing
Baby butch	A young boyish lesbian	English	Compounding
Bakuli	A gay bottom who only loves big dicks	Sheng/swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bare back/ Breed it raw	Having unprotected sex with another gay person	English	Coined phrase
Basha	Swahili word for a top	Coastal swahili	Borrowing
BDSM	The sexual/erotic acts by the gay community of subjecting a partner to Bondage and Discipline, Dominance and Submission and Masochism. This involves handcuffing, blindfolding, whipping etc.		Abbreviation
Bear	A large hairy gay man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bear/daddy	An old gay person who is fat or is potbellied.	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bicurious	A heterosexual person who is trying to adventure his or her sexuality by having sex with both genders.	English	Borrowing
Biphobia	Aversion towards bisexuality and bisexual people	English	Borrowing
Bisexual	A person romantically attracted to both gender (male and female)	English	Borrowing
BJ	The act of stimulating a males		

	genitalia by another gay using his mouth		
Boiz/brah/bro	A masculine or group of masculine lesbians	Sheng	Coinage
Bone	A penis	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
3Boner	An erected penis	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bonyoto	Wanking/masturbation	Sheng	Coined
Booty man	A derogatory term used to describe gay person especially MSM	Sheng	Coinage
Bottom	A gay who plays the physical role of a woman in a sexual intercourse	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bottom stud	The submissive stud in the s4s relationship	English	Compounding
Brah	A name studs refer to each other	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Breeder	Used to refer to straight people	English /sheng	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bro	Also brah	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Bujeje/Burgina (for vagina)	A gay man's anus, that gay men refer to a male vagina	Sheng	Coinage
Buns	Buttocks	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Burst a nut	To ejaculate during sex or when masturbating	English	Coined phrase
Butch	A masculine lesbian	English	Borrowing
Butt 'yogaring'	Sex position among lesbians	Sheng	Coinage phrase
Cake	A safe word for ass Eg. I want your cakes means I want to have sex with you	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Chafua	A well-known gay top or bottom known to have sex with anyone	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Channel O	A word used to describe a gay bottom person	Kenya slang	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Chapati	Meaning a versatile gay	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Chapstick lesbian	A lesbian who has both feminine and masculine traits, but is not a butch		
Cheeks	Buttocks	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Chichi	A gay person	Sheng	Coinage
Cisgender	someone who identifies with the gender they were designated at birth; the opposite of transgender and the vast majority of us	English	Borrowing
Clean cut	Circumcised gay man	English	Coined phrase

Closeted/ in the closet	Not disclosing one's sexuality	English	Coined phrase
Coco-channel	Word used to describe an effeminate gay person	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Come out/ coming out	Disclosing one's sexuality to family, friends, social media e.t.c. voluntarily making public one's sexual orientation and/or gender identity	English	Coined phrase
Community	A general term for all the LGBT people	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Condiko	Sheng term for condom	Sheng	Coinage
Cool down	It means to conceal the transgender social attributes like not acting girlish	English	Compounding
Cross dresser	A word to describe a person who dresses, at least partially, as a member of a gender other than their assigned sex; carries no implications of sexual orientation	English	Compounding
Cucu	Old gay top client	Kikuyu	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Cum	The liquids that come from the male or female genitals during ejaculation To orgasm by either male or female		
Cunnilingus	Lesbian acts of stimulating their partners' genitals using the tongue or lips.	English	Borrowing
Cup cakes	Small and curvy ass	English	Compounding
Daddy	An older financially stable gay guy	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Danga	A gay person mostly bottom who dresses in a way to show he is gay or someone can easily tell he is gay	Sheng	Coinage
Diesel dyke	Super masculine lesbian	English	Compounding
Discrete	A gay person who passes for straight. People do not know about his orientation Eg A gay man who hasn't gone public about his orientation, he is closeted/reserved. He hides his identity as gay.	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Diva	A stylish gay bottom	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Divalicious	A gay person acting womanly	Sheng	Coinage
Dominance	A situation where either of the partners in gay relationship (lgbt) controls bed matters and	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning

	the relationship. For the lesbians mostly this role is taken by the stud/butch and in gay the top.		
Dongu	A young twink who is underage (below 18 years)	Sheng	Coinage
Drag	A bottom gay who dresses in women clothes Dressing in women's cloths	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Drag queen	Men who dress in female clothes to entertain in a gay bar/club		Compounding
Drama Queen	A gay diva who has tantrums or makes mountains out of issues	English	Compounding
Drilla (driller)	A top good in bed	Sheng	Coinage
Dry spell	Staying long period without having sex	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Dyke	Masculine lesbian who dresses like a man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
F4F	Femme for femme relationship	Sheng	Abbreviation
Faggo/fag	To mean faggot	Sheng	Clipping
Faggot	An offensive term for a gay person	English	Borrowing
Familia	The gay community	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Fem	Short term for femme	Sheng	Clipping
Femme	A girlish lesbian	English	Borrowing
Femme for femme/ F4F	A relationship of two lesbian who are both feminine/girlish	English	Coined phrase
Femme phobia	The queer community does not accommodate femme lesbians. They are seen as being less gay.	English	Compounding
Fisting	Inserting the whole fist in the pussy/anus	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Fluid Sexuality	The notion that sexual orientation and identity is not fixed and can evolve over time.	English	Compounding
Foot job	Touching someone's private parts especially in a club	English	Compounding
Funga	One night stand date/random sex	Sheng	Same word acquiring a new meaning in swahili
Futch	A lesbian woman who is neither a butch nor a femme. She is in between, both in dressing and behavior.	English	Borrowing
Gadar /gaydar	Mental radar used to detect persons whose sexual preference is members of the same gender. The members have a mental capacity to detect from the crowd another	English	Coinage

	person who is also gay (lgbt)		
Gala	A Gay and lesbian Memory in Action – a day set to award gay and lesbian persons who have done an outstanding act. An initiative started by GALCK and other partners.	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
GALCK	Initials for Gay And Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (Umbrella body for all the LGBT)	English	Acronymy
Gay	A male who is sexually attracted to members of same sex	English	Borrowing
Gay bashing	To be physically assaulted by mob because of one's sexual orientation as a gay person	English	Compounding
Gay hand	The girlish way of shoving a hand, a behavior mainly displayed by the bottom gay men as a way of expressing exhaustion, boredom or trying to pass an idea.	English	Compounding
Gay Pride	Term commonly used by the gay community to signify a day when they hold a ceremony called gay pride	English	Compounding
Gayborhood	Places that are gay friendly and majority are queer	English	Compounding
Geisha girls	A word used to refer to gay who have a fetish for women's clothes and make-up	Sheng	Compounding
Gender queer	People possessing identities which fall outside sexual binary	English	Compounding
Gillete blade	Bisexual woman	English	Compounding
Give head	To perform cunnilingus	English	Compounding
LGBT	Initials for Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender	English	Abbreviation
Glory hole	Holes on walls either in public toilets or gay bar toilets where gay men engage in sexual acts through the hole on the wall without seeing the partner for anonymity reasons.	English	Compounding
GNC	Gender Non-Conforming Persons	English	Abbreviation
Go down	Stimulating a partners genitalia by licking it using lips and tongue	English	Compounding
Gold star lesbian	A lesbian who is a virgin (Has never had sex with a man)	English	Compounding
Got dicked	Was penetrated during sex	English	Compounding
Grand coalition	Versatile	English	Compounding
Grindr	A social media application for		Coinage

	gay men used as a platform for dating or quick sex		
Habibi	Refer to a gay bottom	Swahili	Coinage
Hand jobs	Stimulating another gay's genitalia using hands	English	Compounding
Hanisi	Is a gay bottom who doesn't erect	Sheng	Coinage
Happy	A queer person	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Homo	Offensive term for a gay person	Sheng	Clipping
Homophobic	People who hate gay people	English	Borrowing
Homosexual	A person sexually attracted to his/her own sex	English	borrowing
Hotspot	A meeting place for gay people	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
HOYMAS	Health options for young men on HIV/AIDS/STD'S – an organization started by a male sex worker	English	Acronym
Hubby/husband	Either of the partners in a gay relationship		Same word acquiring a new meaning
Hunk	Sexually attractive and masculine gay man	English	
Idaho	A worldwide celebration of sexual and gender diversities called International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia		Acronym
Intersex	It is a condition where a person is born with a reproductive anatomy that does not fit in as male or female	English	Borrowing
Investor	Sponsor	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Janey	Pussy/female genitalia	Sheng	Coinage
Jerk	To masturbate	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Jisenge	An abusive term to refer to someone gay	Swahili	Coinage
Jock	A gay person who is into sports	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Jocund	A word used to refer to a gay person who is cheerful	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Juu ama chini	A phrase used by gay men to ask what role one plays during sex, either being a top or a bottom.	Swahili	Coined phrase
Karaga	Male client (the buyer) in MSM	Kikuyu	Coinage
Kenya kimbo	A white man who is gay		Compounding
Kichuna/Chuna	Handsome gay man		Coinage

King	Gay top	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Kinky	Abnormal sexual desires or fetishes	English	Borrowing
Kissing fish	A lesbian	English	Compounding
Kuch kuch	A slang for gay	Jamaican slang	Coinage
Kuchomwa	A term used mostly by the gay and male sex workers when one has been infected with an STI. It is a safe way to say I have an STI	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Kuchu	A gay	Swahili	Coinage
Kujipuli	To wank/masturbate	Swahili	Coinage
Kuusha/ Kuanua	The act of blackmailing someone who is not openly gay, and in most cases prominent person or celebrities after having an affair with an openly gay person	Sheng /English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Kuuz	Selling sex for gay persons/msw	Sheng	Clipping
L community	The lesbian community	Sheng	Compounding
Lele	A sheng word for a lesbian	Sheng	Coinage
Lesbian	A female sexually attracted to members of her gender	English	Borrowing
Lesbo	A sheng word for lesbian	Sheng	Coinage
Lesville	A sheng word for a lesbian community	Sheng	Blending
Lez/s	Sheng word for a lesbian	Sheng	Clipping
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender	English	Abbreviation
LGBTIQA	Initials for Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Intersex Queer Assexual	English	Abbreviation
Lipstick lesbian	A feminine lesbian who loves wearing lipstick/makeup	English	Compounding
Lone star	Gay/lesbian who have only slept with one person in their life	English	Compounding
Lube	Water based lubricants used during sex	English	Borrowing
Madigda	A gay person with a big ass	Sheng	Coinage
Mafinga	Fingering (stimulating and penetrating one's genitalia using fingers)	Sheng	Coinage
Maji ya tamu	Bottom gay person	Swahili	Coined phrase
Mama	A word used to refer to passive gay men (bottom)	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Mamz/mama	Bottom/power bottom	Sheng/swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Masc for Masc	Some gay men prefer to have sex with more masculine gay	Sheng	Coined phrase

	than the stereotyped relationship where one is masculine and the counterpart gay is feminine		
Mesbian/mesbo	A male sexually attracted to lesbian and he is in most cases the bottom during sexual intercourse	English	Coined
Mesbo	Means a mesbian		Coined
Mihad/ Muhad	A safe word used by HIV positive gay men to refer to ARTs	Sheng	Clipping
Minji	Twinkie- young beautiful bottom gay	Kikuyu	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Minji minji	Also minji	Kikuyu	Compounding
Mkoko	A top who has a big dick	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
MMI	Married Men Initiative (married men who solicits sex from the MSW/ MSM)	English	Acronym
Modern top	This is a gay man who looks girlish by way example of grooming of nails, dressing etc and mostly assumed from the outlook by fellow gay to be bottom but in reality plays the top role during sex.	English	Compounding
Monopoly	Strictly top or bottom	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Mradi	The gay community	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Msenge	Gay man	Swahili	Borrowed
Msenge duni	A gay man who is not stable financially	Sheng	Compound
Mshono	This is when a gay person wears something smart or has a new outfit especially among the MSW	Sheng	Coinage
MSM	Men having Sex with Men	English	Abbreviation
MSW	Men sex workers	English	Abbreviation
Mtots/z	A young cute gay man	Sheng	Coinage
Muff munch	The act of a lesbian eating/licking another females genitalia	English	Compounding
MWA	Minority Women in Action	English	Acronym
NGLHRC	Initials for National Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission	English	Abbreviation
No label	A queer who doesn't believe in labels like top, bottom, stud, fem, butch etc	English	Compounding
NoH8	No Hate (Advocates on same sex acceptance)	English	Blending
NSA	No strings attached - casual	Slung/sheng	Abbreviation

	sex of just having fun or a one night stand		
Nunu	Female genitals	Sheng	Coinage
Nyungu	A gay bottom with a big ass	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Omnisexual	Attracted to someone's character and sex	English	Borrowed
Otter	Thin hairy gay man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Pansexual	Person expressing attraction to all genders Attracted to someone's character and not sex	English	Borrowing
PEMA	An abbreviation for persons marginalized and aggrieved	English	Acronymy
Pillow princess	A passive recipient lesbian during sexual intercourse	English	Compounding
Pink twink	A word for a flamboyant young gay person	Kenyan slang	Compounding
Polyamorous	Being in a sexual relationship with more than one person where all parties involved are in consent	English	Borrowing
Poppa/daddy	Old gay man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Power bottom	Can have sex with more than one top without tiring Is a gay man who is much more of a woman sexually and doesn't have to use artificial lubricants during sex	English	Compounding
Q/queer	Homosexual persons (umbrella term for all LGBTQI)	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Queen	Gay crossdressing person Gay bottom	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Queens	A group of gay bottoms	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Queerlove	Gay love	English	Compounding
Questioning	Exploring one's sexual orientation	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Rainbow	Gay pride	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Rainbow family	The LGBTQI persons	English	Compounding
Rainbow Flag	A flag that is a symbol of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, Queer and intersex (LGBTQI) pride and LGBTQI social movements.	English	Compounding
Rim job	Licking the ass	English	Compounding
Romeo	Handsome gay man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
S.W.O.P	Sex workers outreach programme – A clinic for the	English	Acronym

	sex workers whether male or female where some services are rendered		
S4S	Stud for stud	Sheng	Acronym
Samaki	A versatile gay man who can be top or bottom (like a fish turned both ways when eating)	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Samaki wa kupaka	A versatile gay	Swahili	Coined phrase
Scissoring	A sex position for lesbians	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Seketa	To fuck	Sheng	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Semenya	This is a transgender		Same word acquiring a new meaning
Shag	To have sex	English slang	Borrowing
Shidinding	A term used to refer to gay men	Sheng	Coinage
Shoga	A Swahili term for gay	Swahili	Borrowing
Shosh	An old hug gay	Kikuyu	Coinage
Shoshste/shoste	An old gay person	Sheng/kikuyu	Coinage
Sisi	A word for the transgender and how they refer to each other	Swahili	Coinage
Sissy	Effeminate gay man	Sheng	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Sister/s	A word used by gay bottoms to refer to one another	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Soft butch	A girly stud	English	Compounding
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Expression. An abbreviation commonly used in the gay community	English	Acronym
Soko	An act of prostitution in gay community/ A rich of well off gay man who buys MSW	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Sponsor	A person in gay community who gives money in exchange for sex especially in Men Sex workers	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Stamp/ stamping	A term uses especially among the MSW to mean infecting someone with HIV willingly	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Stem	A lesbian who dresses both as a femme or a stud at any given time (a lesbian who dresses boyishly or sometimes girlish)	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Steve	Referring to a gay bottom (from Adam and eve/Steve)	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Stone butch	A masculine woman both in dressing and looks mostly touch me nots	English	Compounding
Straight	Heterosexuals	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning

Strap-on/s	A sex toy used mostly by lesbians.		Compounding
Stubby	A stud who is married to another woman mostly a femme	Sheng	Blending
Stud	A masculine lesbian who dresses and behaves like a man	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Stud for Stud	Relationship where two studs are involved	English	Coined phrase
Stud for stud (s4s)	A relationship involving two stud lesbians	English	Coined phrase
TEA	Abbreviation for Transgender Education and Advocacy	English	Acronym
Thoko	Sex worker	Kikuyu	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Tomboy	Masculine woman	English	Compounding
Tommy/S	A soft masculine woman who dress like boys and with boyish behaviors/tendencies	English	Coined
Top	The dominant partner in gay relationships who assumes the male role during sexual intercourse	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Top queens	A feminine gay who is a top	English	Compounding
Top stud	The dominant stud in the S4S relationship	English	Compounding
Tops for tops	A top who only has sexual intercourse with a fellow top, probably not penetrative sex in gay relationships	English	Coined phrase
Totoise	Pretty	Sheng	Coinage
Totositoto	Pretty and sexy	Sheng	Coinage
Touch me not/s (TMN)	Lesbians who like pleasure their women but do not want to be touched and always claim that they derive pleasure from pleasuring their partners. In most cases they are the studs or butches.	English	Coined phrase
Transgender	A person who's gender does not rhyme the sex assigned at birth	English	Borrowing
Tumbukiza	A bottom gay	Swahili	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Twink	A young cute gay man not more than 25 years old	English	Borrowing
Uncut	Uncircumcised gay man	English	Affixation
Unicorn	LGBTIQ persons		Blending
Urban	A gay person	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Versatile	A gay male who can top or bottom	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Verse	Short form for versatile of a	Sheng	Clipping

	gay who can be top or bottom		
Verse bottom	Prefers bottoming but can top	Sheng	Compounding
Verse top	Prefers topping but can bottom	Sheng	Compounding
Vitu vya chai	Mainly used in Mombasa to mean a bottom	Swahili	Coined phrase
Wank	To masturbate	English	Borrowing
Wasagaji	Lesbians	Sheng	Coinage
Wera	Male client (the buyer) in MSM	Kikuyu	Same word acquiring a new meaning
What is your role	A question used by gay men to ask which role one plays during the sex	English	Coined phrase
Wife	A gay bottom who is married to top gay/a lesbian married to another lesbian	English	Same word acquiring a new meaning
Winyo	Drug queens who wear wigs or weaves	Sheng	Coinage
Wira	Client (MSM)	Kikuyu	Same word acquiring a new meaning
WSW	Women sex workers	English	Abbreviation

Appendix2: Questionnaire

My name is Gemma Kaimuri Kinyua. I'm a student at Kenyatta University, pursuing a Masters Course in English and Linguistics. I am carrying out a study on the lexical items and their meanings used by the LGBT community in Nairobi city in Kenya. I would like to assure you that the information that you will give me will be used strictly for purposes of this research which is limited to language issues only. All participants are guaranteed confidentiality.

Demographics

Age:

Gender:

Sexual Orientation: Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender

Education Level:

Profession:

Question 1: How much do you know?

Below is a list of words/phrases used by the queer community in their conversations. Kindly provide the meaning of the words/phrases as used in queer conversations. Also provide the possible source language (language from which the terms are borrowed) of the words.

Word/phrase	Meaning	Source language

Question 2: What doesn't the researcher know?

Are there words which you know which are not already on my list? If so, please fill them below together with their meanings and also indicate their source language. This will help me compile a comprehensive lexicon of Kenyan queer terms.

Word/phrase	Meaning	Origin (borrowed or coined)

Question 3: Why use Queer language?

Below are reasons why the queer community uses language as it does. Tick most common reasons why you as a queer person use this language.

Reasons	
To conceal identity for fear of: arrest, oppression, stigmatization?	
To feel/create a sense of belonging?	
To feel good about myself as a queer person?	
Because it has always been part of the queer identity?	
To conceal my queer identity among straight?	
For fun?	
To separate the queer community from the straight world?	
I feel I must use it if I am queer?	
To be accepted by other queer people?	
For fear of alienation by the family?	
To socialize?	

Appendix 3: Interview guide

1. Please give a general overview of the LGBT community in Kenya. (Probe for: Numbers, different subgroups, age range, tentative population).
2. Do you have a way of communication whose usage is confined to your group? If yes, briefly tell me about it (Probe for: words used and from which language and how they have come up with them).
3. In what circumstance do you find yourself using this language? (Probe for: time and place).
4. Would you please share with me why you choose to use this form of language?
5. a.) Do you ever use these lexical items with the heterosexuals?

b.) If you do, how do they others perceive you when you speak this language in their presence? And how do you feel while using this language that they do not understand?

Appendix 4: WhatsApp Conversation

First Conversation Excerpt

17/05/2016, 1:54 PM - Bena: Adele btw nilikuwa nataka kukuuliza kitu

17/05/2016, 1:55 PM - Adele : □□□□uliza naskiza

17/05/2016, 1:56 PM - Adele: Lakini Bena

17/05/2016, 1:56 PM - Adele: □□□□□□□□□□

17/05/2016, 1:56 PM – Bena : Lakini nini?🤔□

17/05/2016, 1:57 PM – Bena : Kuna mtu anatafuta nyumba gumba,nakuja weekend kumleta,utasaidia sisi?

17/05/2016, 1:59 PM - Adele: □□□□□situation mtanilipa ?

17/05/2016, 1:59 PM - Adele: Ni **stud** ama ni **femme**□

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Adele: Meant sitaki😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Bena: Hahaha atakukiss

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Bena: Ni **femme**

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Adele: Hahaha sitaki kiss ya **femme**

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Adele: Ni mhot ? Tuma pic

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:00 PM - Rina: Btw adele two bedroom house huko ni how much?

17/05/2016, 2:01 PM - Adele: If I ain't held up I will but sitapromise Bena. Next week kasneb na mimi na sec 6,exams🤔□🤔□🤔□sijasoma

17/05/2016, 2:02 PM - Adele: Anataka nyumba aina gani ?akuje nimpee yangu loss budget?

17/05/2016, 2:02 PM - Adele: Rina depends most ni 18-22k hapo

17/05/2016, 2:03 PM - Adele: Rarely u get za 17k.zile za kitambo but kuget ni hard

17/05/2016, 2:05 PM - Bena: Hahahaha,I'll call you tukikuja

17/05/2016, 2:07 PM - Bena <Media omitted>

17/05/2016, 2:08 PM - Bena: Anataka 1 bedroom

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - Rina: Ai Bena Huyu umetoa wapi?

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - adele: Eeeeeeh😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊😊 I know a lot of hot people

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - Adele: Huyu ako single?

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - Adele: Is she **gay**?

17/05/2016, 2:10 PM - Bena: Ako single na anataka **stud**

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Adele: □□□□□

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Adele: **Basi stud** ampeleke

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊😊akatafute hao

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Bena: Gai,eti sasa umecatch😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Bena: Namleta umkatie

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Adele: Nimuuze kwa **my studs**😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Rina: 😊😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Rina: Hahaha Adele

17/05/2016, 2:11 PM - Adele: I know hot ones? How old is she

17/05/2016, 2:12 PM – Adele: I know a few who needs **wives**

17/05/2016, 2:12 PM - Ciara: Solution

17/05/2016, 2:12 PM - Adele: What's her budget??

17/05/2016, 2:12 PM - Adele: Rina 🙄🙄🙄🙄am just saying

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Bena: Ako 27

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Adele Mwambie namtafutia **stud**

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Rina: Bena sasa nashuku your friends

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Adele: What's her name?

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Rina: They are made up

17/05/2016, 2:13 PM - Ciara: Woi hiyo si ya huku

17/05/2016, 2:14 PM - Rina: Ciara toa maoni

17/05/2016, 2:14 PM - Rina: Za hawa wasichana wa v

17/05/2016, 2:14 PM - Rina: Bena

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Mariah: Nude?

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Mariah: 😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Mariah: Ooooooh 😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:14 PM - Bena: Ciara wewe umejitolea

17/05/2016, 2:15 PM - Winfrey: Nimeskia **hot single femme stud** 😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:15 PM - Bena: Winfrey unamjua, mwenye alikuja na kile kingine

17/05/2016, 2:15 PM - Bena: Natuma picha ingine

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Bena: Anaitwa Sally

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Adele: □□□□□

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Winfrey: Ebu tuma nimwone

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Adele: Ata Winfrey ameskia single

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Adele: Team mawhat 😊😊😊👯👯👯👯👯👯👯👯

17/05/2016, 2:16 PM - Bena: Hahaha, apana Mariah, fisi wewe

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Bena: <Media omitted>

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Bena: <Media omitted>

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Winfrey: Sana Sana hapo pa **single stud** ndio nimeskia sana

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Bena: <Media omitted>

17/05/2016, 2:17 PM - Ciara: Huyu Bena nimejitolea kumpeleka

17/05/2016, 2:18 PM - Ciara: Eti mnaenda lini Bena

17/05/2016, 2:18 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊😊 woi huku ni mafisi tu

17/05/2016, 2:18 PM - Bena: Tunaenda weekend 😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:18 PM - Adele: □□□□□□ Ciara

17/05/2016, 2:18 PM - Winfrey: Weeknd kwa Bena

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Bena: Nishabook

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: 👯👯👯👯👯👯 me nishagiveup

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: Rina ukiadd **new hot studs**

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: Add me back

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Ciara: Wee Adele nikii

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: Hawa ni mafisi sana

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊😊 woi na watu wanasema mimi ni fisi

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Ciara: Mi ni **single stud**

17/05/2016, 2:19 PM - Adele: □□□□□

17/05/2016, 2:20 PM - Adele: Adele lefted

17/05/2016, 2:20 PM - Adele: Ata si left

17/05/2016, 2:20 PM - Bena: Woi,aki nimecheka karibu nikojoe

17/05/2016, 3:16 PM - Mariah: Woooooi

17/05/2016, 3:17 PM - Mariah: Adele unataka mtu ako 7ft??

17/05/2016, 3:17 PM - Mariah: Ama?

17/05/2016, 3:18 PM - Mariah: Hutapata😊😊

17/05/2016, 3:18 PM - Mariah: Wote wako taken.... The short ones remain

17/05/2016, 3:18 PM - Mariah: Chagua ule mrefu kwa wale wafupi...

17/05/2016, 3:20 PM - Mariah: Winfrey nakutetea alafu unanion ivo....

Juu wewe ndio mrefu kwa walio wafupi😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:21 PM - Ciara: Aaii sasa mtu hatawai appreciate hotness

17/05/2016, 2:22 PM - Adele: Ciara appreciate yako

17/05/2016, 2:22 PM - Adele: Ya Mombasa

17/05/2016, 2:22 PM - Adele: Wengine achieve single people

17/05/2016, 2:22 PM - Bena: Wewe Adele si unakataa wengine

17/05/2016, 2:22 PM - Adele: □□□□sasa watu taken mnaappreciate ndio single wado😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:23 PM - Adele: □□□□Bena freedom of choice aki. Niwache

17/05/2016, 2:24 PM - Ciara: Aaii i just said am single

17/05/2016, 2:25 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊 mafisi!!

17/05/2016, 2:26 PM - Ciara: Ako wapi huyu aaddiwe huku

17/05/2016, 2:28 PM - Bena: Simleti,mtamraru nyinyi. Kujeni kwangu weekend atakuwa

17/05/2016, 2:30 PM - Ciara: 😊😊😊😊 hakuna kuraru itakuwa fair game

17/05/2016, 2:32 PM - Bena: Acha nimwambie

17/05/2016, 2:32 PM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:32 PM - Adele: Kwako ni wapi

17/05/2016, 2:32 PM - Adele □□□□□ want **studs with long hair**😊😊😊😊sina
nywele mimi

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM - Bena: Mathare😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM - Adele: I crush on hair😘😘

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM – Adele: Marion usiongee

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM - Adele: And height damn👤👤👤👤👤👤👤👤

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM - Bena: Mimi nataka mwenye ako na ass,boobs nimembebea

17/05/2016, 2:33 PM - Adele: And tummys😊😊😊lols

17/05/2016, 2:34 PM - Adele: **Stud ako na ass** Bena😊□□□□

17/05/2016, 2:34 PM - Bena: Si lazima **stud**, as long as kuna pussy😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:39 PM - Winfrey: Me nimetoka kwa hii race

17/05/2016, 2:52 PM - Rina: Adele you are describing funk 😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 2:52 PM - Rina: Hii crush jamani

17/05/2016, 2:58 PM - Adele: □□□□□□😊😊😊😊😊lakini Rina

17/05/2016, 2:59 PM - Rina: Hahaha kusema tu

17/05/2016, 3:01 PM - Adele: Lols no I wasn't actually 😊am describing the kinda
people I crush on.but now that u mention it□□□□□

17/05/2016, 3:02 PM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊but Winfrey why unajitoa😘□□😘😘😘

17/05/2016, 3:02 PM - Adele: Your hair😊😊😊tummy¹⁰⁰□□ sasa height tutatoa wapi ...
□□

17/05/2016, 3:06 PM - Winfrey: Height ndio shida😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 3:06 PM - Winfrey: Siwes make

17/05/2016, 3:09 PM - Adele: Hapana Rina👤👤👤👤👤 Nimeleft

17/05/2016, 3:09 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 3:10 PM - Adele: 😘😘😘😘mtu agawie Winfrey height jameni

17/05/2016, 3:10 PM – Adele: Aki Bena wewe ni hater😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 3:12 PM - Bena: Hahaha,anafaa ashikwe kichwa na miguu and pull to your
desired height😊😊😊

17/05/2016, 3:16 PM - Adele: 😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄

17/05/2016, 3:17 PM - Rina: and with long hair

17/05/2016, 3:18 PM - Winfrey: Trouble

17/05/2016, 3:19 PM - Adele: 😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄

17/05/2016, 3:19 PM - Winfrey: 😄😄😄😄😄 Marion hate speech

17/05/2016, 3:19 PM - Adele: Aki Mariah hater

17/05/2016, 3:19 PM - Bena: 😄😄😄😄 ama akae single

17/05/2016, 3:20 PM - Adele: But Rina si long hair.... I just love hair not particularly on **studs** 😄it could be hot n kept amazingly well

17/05/2016, 3:20 PM - Adele: 😄😄😄😄😄😄 Bena I am dating myself

17/05/2016, 3:21 PM - Adele: Sasa me sitaki **studs** I want a female who loves me. All **hot femmes** mkuje👉👉👉

17/05/2016, 3:21 PM - Adele: Meant short hair

17/05/2016, 4:40 PM - Bena: Gai,it is raining rain for maize!!!!👉👉👉👉👉👉

17/05/2016, 4:45 PM - Adele: 😄😄😄where? I hate rain

17/05/2016, 4:45 PM - Bena: Roysambu

Second Conversation Excerpt

19/05/2016, 12:18 PM – Bena : <Media omitted>

19/05/2016, 12:20 PM - Adele: But Bena □□□□□□

19/05/2016, 12:20 PM – Adele : **Cunt** ni nini

19/05/2016, 12:20 PM - Adele : 😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊

19/05/2016, 12:21 PM - Bena: **Cunt** aka kuma aka pussy aka keino aka koochie aka **nunu**

19/05/2016, 12:22 PM - Rina: Adele. Una haribu haka □□□□□□

19/05/2016, 12:23 PM - Ciara: Wooo jeso!

19/05/2016, 12:24 PM - Bena: Cunt nilijua nikiwa highschool, when I used to write porn😊😊😊

19/05/2016, 12:27 PM - Adele: Yes Bena unaniharibu nitaleft group

19/05/2016, 12:28 PM - Adele: I like **nunu** always finds it cute😊

19/05/2016, 12:29 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊 I like kuma. Hiyo ni direct

19/05/2016, 12:30 PM - Adele: Nkt kuma ni strong n too sijui

19/05/2016, 12:33 PM - Bena: 😊😊😊😊 ni kusema tu

19/05/2016, 12:34 PM - Winfrey: Naskia tu **nunu** kuma👁👁👁

19/05/2016, 12:35 PM - Bena: Gai,Iryn you need to get laid

19/05/2016, 12:36 PM - Bena: <Media omitted>

19/05/2016, 12:36 PM - Winfrey: 😊😊😊😊Bena

19/05/2016, 12:37 PM - Winfrey: No thanks Bena..am good👤□👤□

19/05/2016, 12:48 PM – Adele : 😊😊😊😊😊😊😊😊

19/05/2016, 1:04 PM - Ciara: Gai Bena what's that?

Third Conversation Excerpt

23/06/2016, 9:54 AM - Stella: Good morning ladies
23/06/2016, 9:58 AM - Adele Good morning Stella
23/06/2016, 9:59 AM - Adele: Good morning everyone... Hii baridi mwaiskia lakini
23/06/2016, 10:01 AM - Tracy: Adele nikubaya nakusho
23/06/2016, 10:01 AM - Rina: Morning ladies
23/06/2016, 10:01 AM – Rina: Been ages
23/06/2016, 10:02 AM - Stella: Rina hi
23/06/2016, 10:02 AM - Stella: Tangu upate mtu ulinyamaza kapisa what's up???
23/06/2016, 10:02 AM - Stella: Adele Sasa
23/06/2016, 10:03 AM – Adele: Rina me natafuta **bibi** sasa 😞😞😞😞
23/06/2016, 10:04 AM - Adele: Fiti sana Stella . Za kupotea
23/06/2016, 10:04 AM - Stella: Adele rudi kwa **ex wife** □□□□□
23/06/2016, 10:04 AM - Stella: Sio Sana
23/06/2016, 10:04 AM - Adele: □□ □□ mbona **ex wife** □□☹️
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - Stella: Mimi naendea jacket niliacha kwa Ex aki
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - Adele: I want a **new wife** 😊tukabiliane na hii baridi
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - Stella: Ako na joto unayo elewa
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - Stella: Watu waliacha jackets kwa exes endeeni
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - Stella: Joke big one
23/06/2016, 10:05 AM - +Adele: 😊😊😊😊msalimie huyo ex wako sana
23/06/2016, 10:06 AM - Adele: Me naendea viatu zangu niliacha 🚶🚶🚶🚶
23/06/2016, 10:06 AM - Stella: Hehe hehehe
23/06/2016, 10:07 AM - Stella: **New wife** upata wapi wote wamerudia exes wao
23/06/2016, 10:07 AM - Stella: This cold aki
23/06/2016, 10:08 AM - Rina: Karibuni Chai
23/06/2016, 10:08 AM - Stella: Rina chai ya saa nne apana
23/06/2016, 10:08 AM - Stella: Asante Sana
23/06/2016, 10:09 AM - Adele: Me nataka coffee Rina

23/06/2016, 10:12 AM - Tracy: Kujia Adele.

23/06/2016, 10:12 AM - Tracy: Stella endea jacket, and while you are away,, **the cat will play** 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:12 AM - Tracy: Unajua fimbo ya mbali haiui nyoka

23/06/2016, 10:13 AM - Adele: ☐☐ the cat will play. That's all I saw

23/06/2016, 10:13 AM - Adele: 🏃🏃🏃🏃 ndio huyo mimi

23/06/2016, 10:13 AM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊 ona huyu

23/06/2016, 10:14 AM – Rina : Btw nina swali Adele

23/06/2016, 10:15 AM - Adele: Uliza☐☐

23/06/2016, 10:17 AM - Rina: What they say about kambas,, and sex drive, is it true?

23/06/2016, 10:18 AM - Mariah: Hello

23/06/2016, 10:18 AM - Mariah: You do not need to be kamba to know that😊😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:18 AM - Mariah: just need to date one or sleep with one....then you will have an answer

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Adele: I don't think it's a tribal thing more like a personality. I don't think it's all of them, if I was to judge with me my sex drive is zero. I can go for years without sex unless am dating

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Winfrey: Sex drive👉☐👉☐👉☐

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Adele: Am I weird😊☹☐

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Winfrey: Hi everyone

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Adele: But when am dating my sex drive 100%%180% I think. Lol so sijui😊

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Rina: Haha Winfrey, thanks for coming, I was about to tag you hapa

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Winfrey: Mariah😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:19 AM - Rina: What's your take, Winfrey?

23/06/2016, 10:20 AM - Winfrey: Sex drive it all depends with someone...it ain't tribal

23/06/2016, 10:20 AM – Rina: I am asking cz I have seen somewhere, watu wakiji gauge na tribes according to sex drive

23/06/2016, 10:20 AM - Adele: Mariah 😊

23/06/2016, 10:20 AM - Mariah: Yes Winfrey....

23/06/2016, 10:21 AM - Mariah: But it is nothing to do with the tribe

23/06/2016, 10:21 AM - Mariah: Mimi najua ni ukweli..wako na kakitu

23/06/2016, 10:21 AM - Rina: Kuna hii group fb inaitwa *****.. Ndio watu wanaongea sasa

23/06/2016, 10:21 AM - Adele I know a kikuyu whose sex drive is major n a kao who is almost naaaaah 😊😊 sex drive has nothing to do with tribes trust me Rina

23/06/2016, 10:22 AM - Rina: Akina nani Mariah?

23/06/2016, 10:22 AM - Adele: U on how many groups yawa Rina ☐

23/06/2016, 10:22 AM - Winfrey: But have heard the talk about kamba women...from men tho

23/06/2016, 10:22 AM - Rina: Fb

23/06/2016, 10:23 AM - Mariah: Akina kamba mamas....

23/06/2016, 10:24 AM - Mariah: ata sijaskia about men btw....

23/06/2016, 10:24 AM - Winfrey: Majamaa huwa wanasifu madem wakamba Sana he he

23/06/2016, 10:24 AM - Mariah: Rina lives on groups....Man shall not live by bread alone..but by groups too..huyo ni Rina

23/06/2016, 10:24 AM - Adele: Kamba women are rumoured to be good in bedroom matters. How true that is sijui

23/06/2016, 10:24 AM - Adele: I need date or sex one then nitakujibu Rina na Mariah

23/06/2016, 10:25 AM - Mariah: eeh coz of their sex drive...they have mastered the art 😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:25 AM - Winfrey: 😊😊😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:25 AM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊sex is important

23/06/2016, 10:25 AM - Adele: Very very very very 😊😊😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:25 AM - Winfrey: Who hasn't mastered the art of sex? he he

23/06/2016, 10:26 AM - Rina: Haha Mariah niachanwo

23/06/2016, 10:26 AM - Mariah: weeeeh...kuna logs in bed. They have not mastered shit!

23/06/2016, 10:26 AM - Mariah: kujitandaza tu

23/06/2016, 10:26 AM - +Rina: Inaitwa kifo cha mende

23/06/2016, 10:26 AM - Rina: 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:27 AM - Winfrey 😊😊😊😊kifo cha mende

23/06/2016, 10:28 AM - Rina : Cheka tu hapo

23/06/2016, 10:28 AM - Rina: Nishawahi Pata **stud pillow princess** aki

23/06/2016, 10:28 AM - Rina: Nilishangaa tu

23/06/2016, 10:28 AM - Rina: 😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:28 AM – Winfrey : Mariah wanajitandaza wakingoja?

23/06/2016, 10:30 AM – Rina: Utamu

23/06/2016, 10:30 AM - Rina: 😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:31 AM - Adele: Napenda kujitandaza😊

23/06/2016, 10:31 AM - Adele: I haven't mastered shiet. I need lessons😞😞before July ifike

23/06/2016, 10:31 AM - Winfrey: 😊😊😊wololo

23/06/2016, 10:32 AM - Adele: **Stud pillow princesses** 🙈🙈🙈🙈🙈🙈nkt where are they found? Na **touch me notes**🙈🙈wenye mnamaliza while she is fully clothed... Nkt do this things happen??

23/06/2016, 10:32 AM - Rina: Haiya they do

23/06/2016, 10:33 AM - Rina: July kuna nini kwani Adele?

23/06/2016, 10:33 AM - Winfrey: Who even have sex fully clothed?

23/06/2016, 10:33 AM - Adele: Kuna baridi nataka bibi mimi😞

23/06/2016, 10:34 AM - Adele: People do Winfrey. Haiya😊**some touch me notes**

23/06/2016, 10:34 AM - Ciara: This kamba thing with sex i hear is true

23/06/2016, 10:34 AM - Adele: 😊😊😊😊😊😊 Ciara experience?

23/06/2016, 10:35 AM - Ciara: Naona baridi inaharibu watu ata mind wanathink binu za kutoa baridi kabisa

23/06/2016, 10:35 AM - Wendy: 😏😏😏☐☐ **touch me not** are the worst people

23/06/2016, 10:35 AM - Ciara: **Touch me nots** imetoa Wendy kwa bench hehe

23/06/2016, 10:36 AM - Ciara: Adele maybe ni experience na wewe 😊😊😊😊 sijui

23/06/2016, 10:36 AM - Wendy: 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:36 AM - Rina: Wendy, support your answer

23/06/2016, 10:36 AM - Winfrey: Wendy 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:36 AM - Rina: Me, wangu alikua **touch me not** but alikua anatoa nikitoa hehehe

23/06/2016, 10:37 AM - Rina: Ooh Wendy sorry

23/06/2016, 10:37 AM - Ciara: Adele nataka bibi pia like Rihanna said fimbo ya mbali

.....

23/06/2016, 10:37 AM - Rina: Hahaha.

23/06/2016, 10:39 AM - Winfrey: Ata Mimi nataka bibi 🐼🐼🐼

23/06/2016, 10:41 AM - Wendy: Would rather masturbate than have sex with **touch me not** 😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:41 AM - Wendy: Winfrey 😊😊😊☐☐

23/06/2016, 10:41 AM - Rina: 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:42 AM - Rina: Hahaha, hua fun btw,, unakaa tu, na unacum tu

23/06/2016, 10:42 AM - Rina: Hakuna kazi mob

23/06/2016, 10:42 AM - Rina: 😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:44 AM - Ciara: Aarrghh Rina hiyo ni boring sana ata mi siezi

23/06/2016, 10:44 AM - Rina: 😊😊😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:44 AM - Rina: Sasa hapo ndio mtu huturn huyo **tmn**

23/06/2016, 10:44 AM - Rina: Unampea sex awesome anakua **pillow princess**

23/06/2016, 10:44 AM - Rina: 😊

23/06/2016, 10:45 AM - Wendy: 😊😊😊😊

23/06/2016, 10:46 AM - Rina: I have converted **two tmns**

23/06/2016, 11:08 AM - Wendy: Stella ha-ha mimi cjatetea mtu
23/06/2016, 11:09 AM - Stella: Winfrey my sex drive huwa 210% on normal days na
250% at this time of the year
23/06/2016, 11:21 AM - Stella: Don't go away
23/06/2016, 11:47 AM - +254 725 584156: Mumefanya Stella nini sasa 😊😁Rina😁

23/06/2016, 11:51 AM - Wendy: Adele tuko busy generating warmth
23/06/2016, 11:54 AM - Adele: □□□□haukuji haki
23/06/2016, 11:54 AM - Adele: 😁😁😁😁😁
23/06/2016, 11:58 AM - Wendy: Ha-ha no not today
23/06/2016, 3:55 PM - Rina added Stella
23/06/2016, 12:12 PM - Adele: Uko leave😁
23/06/2016, 3:55 PM – Stella left
23/06/2016, 12:23 PM - Rina: Unaenda wapi wewe **wife**. Kaa hapa
23/06/2016, 12:47 PM - Rina: Akona issues kiasi
23/06/2016, 12:47 PM - Rina: Atarudi akitaka
23/06/2016, 12:56 PM - 😁😁😁😁😁😁😁
23/06/2016, 1:55 PM - Mariah: 😁😁😁😁😁😁

Appendix 5: Interviews (Lesbian, Gay, Transgender)

Interview with a 28 year old Lesbian Leader. She works for/with one of the organizations amongst the LGBT networks that focuses on tapping and nurturing talents. She is a renowned activist for LGBT movements and human rights.

Interviewer: Please give a general overview of the LGBT community in Kenya (Numbers, different subgroups, age range, tentative population).

Interviewee: First on the numbers we have none, on the age bracket neither do we have something concrete on that or some number that could even pass for correct or estimate because first of all the context of criminalization of homosexual persons within Kenya and gender identity people being sidelined makes it very hard for people who are actually are homosexual, Trans or gender conforming to hold that identity. So it's not even a space of who are homosexuals in Kenya it's who are willing to accept they are homosexuals or who are willing to articulate that they are queer in Kenya. We will be using word queer to refer to the whole community : Lesbian, bisexual, gay, trans, intersex, gender nonconforming persons and other gender fluidity that fall under that. That is how the community covers it. The subgroups include, lesbians, gay, MWM (medical term), Transgender, gender non-conforming persons (referred as ze), Intersex, Pansexuals.

Interviewer: Do you have a way of communication whose usage is confined to your group? If yes, briefly tell me about it (Probe for: words used and from which language and how they have come up with them).

Interviewee: for sure yes. I found that how they spoke was very different, that was in the year 2011, 2012.

Interviewer: How different was that?

Interviewee: Their language at that time was a mix of English and Sheng and Swahili being spoken without the last syllable. You understand the linguistics around high school language? Some girls in one girls school could speak different from that if the other school. This can be traced back to years 2005 to 2010. A period where by the culture of queer conversation had started in schools like XXXXX school, XXXXX school, XXXXX boys (boys schools) etc. These were the schools whereby the language came from and was adopted into the community.

Interviewer: Is it because they were queer (speakers of the language in these schools)?

Interviewee: Yeah, the persons who were there who were together and who were queer enter the community together, and when they got to the community they spoke in the same way they found comfort back in high school. And the language for example would be like when it came to expression, people were very loving and affectionate with each other. There was the emotional part of the language. and things like I love you were thrown around a lot in the community. Someone would enter the club and shout to the other one umekua wap.... Nakupend yang yot nimekumis. Only the last part of the sentence would the syllable be cut off and it is within sheng. Right now that disappeared, That does not exist anymore.

Interviewer: What is in existence at the moment

Interviewee: At the moment there isn't a particular language used, they are words borrowed from different cultures and spaces that are being understood and utilized within the community to the point they feel they are part of the community. Each term holds its own story according to the source others from the media, shows etc. there are lesbian terms that are becoming global based on what the whole globe is accessing.

Some of the terms include: *Queer*, *S4S*, *shoga* is a word that has been subjected in conversation and has been used to *bash queer* people especially in especially in the coastal region for many years.

Interviewer: What is *bashing*?

Interviewee: Is to scandalize...to throw hate at a person sometimes verbal sometimes physical. So within the Islam space queer people have more challenges than within what we have in Nairobi. Within the Quran understanding for most claimed that what it stated was that every *queer* thing should be killed *by queer I mean homosexual*. And this was given more attention in terms of men having sex with men. There are many unrecorded deaths, some undocumented even because the family approved that they should be killed because it is against allahs wishes. In the past the term had very dark and bruised history but in the last few years queer people have owned it and even to express promiscuity among the community.

Interviewer: In what circumstance do you find yourself using this language? (Probe for: time and place).

Interviewer: I have found the communication within the community. When a queer person is speaking to another queer person. This is when mostly people are socializing. Within work circles where all the people are queer e.g. at the Ngo's. The social gatherings of the queer community. It depends on walks of life whenever there are other queer.

Interviewer: Would you please share with me why you choose to use this form of language?

Interviewee: To understand each other because there are words that we have that don't have any other language. To also relate, in that every human being seeks a space of belonging hence this kind of language creates that sense of belonging. To create comfort and to also understand each other on things that other words don't exist.

Interviewer: Do you ever use these lexical items with the heterosexuals?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. I live my life not in consciousness of what others are. I will talk to a person not because they are queer or heterosexuals, because they are a person. Meaning when I talk I will use any word some might be from any space including who I am professionally as a writer and all I ask is you understand if you don't understand I explain what that means to you. And sometimes that's how you bond with that person not because of sexuality but at a composition of understanding each other.

Interviewer: If you do, how do they others perceive you when you speak this language in their presence? And how do you feel while using this language that they do not understand?

Interviewee: We don't care and it shouldn't matter how they perceive us as queer. We are socializing in order to get to know each other, it's not a space of hate or competition. There is no that imaginary wrangle of heterosexual or homosexual even in language. Please stop! Everybody is just existing. If they don't understand I will explain.

Example If I went and said do you have a phone case with a *rainbow sticker*. I don't know who you are, I don't know what you do. To me you a person who is selling phone cases. If you ask me why I will tell you the *flag is the symbol for the rainbow meaning gay community* and I would like my phone to have that. And then you will ask me you're gay? Yes, so the *rainbow* has what to do with gay and I will deconstruct what a rainbow is to you, that's all. If am not in the mood to have a conversation, I will walk away politely.

Interview conducted with a 25 years old gay man who works for one of the LGBT health organization that deals with HIV counselling and treatment. He represents a majority of the male sex workers.

Interviewer: Please give a general overview of the LGBT community in Kenya. (Probe for: Numbers, different subgroups, age range, tentative population).

Interviewee: In terms of numbers it is hard to know how many we are like “sisi wote” in Kenya because there are those who are *out*, those who are *not yet out*, those who have not yet confirmed because they are *bicurious*.

Interviewer: So what do you mean by *out*

Interviewee: Out meaning say willingly telling their parents, out to everyone but their area those who are out on social media or whatsapp but not yet out to the real world.

Interviewer: what is the meaning to the word out?

Interviewer: Out meaning they’ve come to terms that they are homosexuals, they are gay. So they are either freely open on social media, on whatsapp with the friends....

Interviewer: What could be the age range?

Interviewee: Those who are out are between the ages 18 to 30. Those are the most active.

Interviewer: Do you have a way of communication whose usage is confined to your group? If yes, briefly tell me about it (Probe for: words used and from which language and how they have come up with them).

Interviewee: There is the physical communication and the language communication.

Interviewer: Could you kindly explain

Interviewee: Let's say in a physical term if you meet with someone and you greet and then atatumia this finger (indicates with the middle finger and how to scratch the palm) and then akuscratch hivi, so you know that is a *gay* person. Then in terms of language there is *kuchu* which is famously known to mean *gay*. There those who will use language and those who will use body contact.

Interviewer: Give me example of terms that come to your head.

Interviewee: There is *kuchu*, *top*, *bottom*. If you meet two and they call each other like *sisters* then you know those are two *bottoms*.

Interviewer: In what circumstance do you find yourself using this language? (Probe for: time and place).

Interviewee: Let's say when we meet in a public place, in house party, when we are together may be like in a club.

Interviewer: Would you please share with me why you choose to use this form of language?

Interviewee: First of all it is safe and then you are used to it. It becomes like a norm. example you are in a public place and say I am a *kuchu* or he is a *kuchu* someone not gay will not know that term. It safe to use such a term because homosexuality is not allowed in Kenya or on the other hand even if it is allowed people would like abuse you and say huyu ni *shoga* or use abusive language on you. People use these terms to feel safe

Interviewer: what do you mean safe?

Interviewee: You don't want to be stigmatized or discriminated. So that they don't know what you are trying to communicate.

Interviewer: Do you ever use these lexical items with the heterosexuals?

Interviewee: yeah we do. Let's say we can be in matatu, we are travelling together, let's say two gay people and someone comes in and we say *yule anaka kuchu*. Or let's say I know someone and my pal doesn't know him, huh nimwambie...*yule ni kuchu*. So you see nobody would know. People seated next to you would not know. Or would say *yule ni sister yako*, you would know what that means.

Interviewer: If you do, how do they others perceive you when you speak this language in their presence? And how do you feel while using this language that they do not understand?

Interviewee: Most people don't understand it, others will think it is sheng a language for the young people. But if you see that you have used that word and someone looks at you, so it's either they know what it means or they are gay.

Interviewer: What do you feel when you use this language, and why do you prefer using it?

Interviewee: The most important thing is you feel safe, you feel like you are in your safety zone. You can be able to sit two gay people and use this language without fear, can communicate without other people not knowing what you are saying.

Interview with 21 year old transgender university student at one of the local universities in Nairobi County. Caitlyn is a name the interviewee prefers to go by, he has nicknamed himself after the American transgender who transitioned from male Bruce Jenner to become a female Caitlyn Marie Jenner. 'Caitlyn' is not necessarily the leader of the transgender category, but represented the category.

Interviewer: Please give a general overview of the LGBT community in Kenya. (Probe for: Numbers, different subgroups, age range, tentative population).

Interviewee: We have a big number. So we are afraid of *coming out*, like we are not accepted in our country even at our homes, our parents. Some of us live in secrets. We don't show it out. We only show it when we are clubbing. We lie to our parents, may be some of our parents know we are *Trans/ gay* but do not tell us, and us we are not ready to tell them because they won't accept us. We always feel like it's bad not to be accepted. We have nothing to do. We always do it secretly. Some do not hide their orientation. Like me sometime I don't hide it, when someone comes across me an insults me when am walking, I always show them that am trans. I don't care. I wear girlish cloths sometimes, pants vest shoes makeup sometimes. Then we walk people call you in Kiswahili *shoga*. And us we react back with insults too so as to defeat them. The age bracket can go up to 40, the youngest can be between 16 to 25. I believe it's difficult to tell on the numbers because some have *come out* others have not.

Interviewer: Are there other subgroupings apart from the abbreviation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender?

Interviewee: Not as much, but we have . Us as gay we have our own *lesbianisms*.

There are lesbians who date.

Interviewer: How is that?

Interviewee: A boy and a boy who are both *bottoms* and they date, we call ourselves lesbians. We use terms like *fem to fem (F4F)* or lesbian to lesbian. That is the only group I know.

Interviewer: Do you have a way of communication whose usage is confined to your group? If yes, briefly tell me about it (Probe for: words used and from which language and how they have come up with them).

Interviewee: Yeah, like if someone wants to know that one is gay or 'lesbian'. We have a word called '*sisi*'. When someone says I saw will come to me and ask me are you *sisi*? And I will say yeah. Like in school we have straight guys. They know the word *sisi*. They came to learn it because we wrote it on the board. My trans friend wrote it on the board *am sisi*. If a new student comes and he is gay, and you seated somewhere so he will come and you start chatting and like stories of each other and he will notice and will ask are you *sisi*? And I ask him why? and he says I can tell...and I will say yeah...and I ask him are you *sisi* and he will say yeah ...(chuckles)

Interviewer: In what circumstance do you find yourself using this language? (Probe for: time and place).

Interviewee: Terms like *sisi*?

Interviewer: Yes

Interviewee: When maybe you are in a restaurant having a meal and you see someone passing and you're like that's sisi....(chuckles). You see someone cute someone passes and then you're impressed with him or her and say that is sisi, that 'girl' is cute. We always have that courage to go sit with her and talk to her. May be become friends, but we won't tell her we are sisi at that time may be she will guess. But won't know about it

Interviewer: but of course this 'girl' is a trans?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: How do you get to know each other? (as trans)..you can tell?

Interviewee: You can tell of course, blood is thicker than water ..(chuckles) you get yourself attracted to each other you just get to know. Or maybe you know *grindr*...you can find someone in grinder and chart...

Interviewer: What is *grindr*?

Interviewee: Grindr is a gay application/site that shows you gay people near you. You can chat, meet or you go and have sex if you want.... (chuckles). From *grindr* you can chat with someone then find him at another place if he recognizes you'll talk to each other, may be if you know him you just go and say hi, ask him questions...like have you ever seen me somewhere I will be like yeah....yeah...grinder... may be like Romeo tweets like grinder and shows people near you. It is a dating site that shows gay people

near you. It's a dating site for dating if you want friends, if you want sex, it's written, you chose what you want.

Interviewer: Ok. Those are some of the scenarios you find yourself using this kind of a language, from the grinder, restaurant ...is there any other place you find yourself using this language?

Interviewee: Maybe if my friend (who is trans) comes home when am with my parents...(chuckles) I have to use a different term, I like if I don't want him to act girlish am like *ghai sisi cool down*....chuckles

Interviewer: What about a club? Is there a particular club going with your fellow *sisi*

Interviewee: We never tried straight club, we normally go to a gay club.

Interviewer: Are there gay clubs in Nairobi?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: How many?

Interviewee: I only know of one. That is XXXX

Interviewer: Would you please share with me why you choose to use this form of language?

Interviewee: We use the language as a form of protection, to protect ourselves from being harmed by others. Because when you pass somewhere they say *nyinyi mashoga* let's say a place like KenCom, there you can even be stoned. You just stand there and

say hi and try act like it but it's not it. You can't even say darling or sweetheart I can even call you by your name like hi Paul hi Max. You can even change the way of talking like daaah daah....you try to hide your identity.

Interviewer: Do you ever use these lexical items with the heterosexuals?

Interviewee: I use it with some straight. There are some straight who accept you. Who love you, who take you the way you are but there are some who are homophobic. Now, there you have to use a different language, those terms for them not to understand. But if those straight who understand you, you call yourselves any names you want they'll be happy, they want to hear more, they always want to hang out with you, everything you say.

Interviewer: If you do, how do they others perceive you when you speak this language in their presence? And how do you feel while using this language that they do not understand?

Interviewee: Some straights are not accommodative. Like in school some are not accommodative. Like you can't sit with a straight if they know you are gay, he gets out of his sit and changes it with another guy. But there are some who are very welcoming. But we don't care. I always try to be myself. I live because of myself. I live my life. I don't feel bad using these hidden terms. They make us feel more superior.

Appendix 7: Research Authorization

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
State Department of Basic Education

Telegrams: "SCHOOLING", Nairobi
Tel. 0202453699
Fax 2244831 Nairobi
Email: rcenairobi@gmail.com
cdenairobi@gmail.com
When replying please quote



REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI REGION
NYAYO HOUSE
P.O.BOX 74629- 00200
NAIROBI

REF: RCE/NRB/1/14/(29)

23rd February 2017

Gemma Kaimuri Kinyua
Kenyatta University
P. O. Box 43844-00100
Nairobi

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

We are in receipt of a letter from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation regarding research authorization in Nairobi County on "A lexical semantic analysis of the language of the lesbian gay bisexual and transgender speech communities in Nairobi City County, Kenya."

This office has no objection and authority is hereby granted for a period ending 11th February, 2018 as indicated in the request letter.

Kindly inform the Sub County Director of Education of the Sub County you intend to visit.



MAINA NGURU
FOR: REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI

C.C

Director General/CEO
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
Nairobi